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By *Dr. S. A. Jones*

July 20, 1886

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AP
2
A628
Vol. 6

CONTENTS OF No. XI.

ART.		PAGE
I.	MILLER'S MEMOIRS, - - - - -	1
	Memoirs of General Miller, in the service of the Republic of Peru. By John Miller.	
II.	MEMORIALS OF SHAKSPEARE, - - - - -	22
	Memorials of Shakspeare; now first collected. By Nathan Drake.	
III.	SOUTHEY'S COLLOQUIES, - - - - -	55
	Sir Thomas More: or, Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society. By Robert Southey, LL. D. Poet Laureate, &c.	
IV.	GEOLOGY, - - - - -	73
	An Introduction to Geology: comprising the Elements of the Science, in its present advanced state, and all the recent Discoveries; with an Outline of the Geology of England and Wales. By Robert Bakewell:—Third Edition, entirely recomposed, and greatly enlarged. With new Plates. First American Edition, edited by Professor Silliman, of Yale College, with an Appendix, containing an Outline of his Course of Lectures on Geology.	
V.	CODIFICATION, - - - - -	104
	A contre-projet to the Humphreysian Code, and to the Projects of Redaction of Messrs. Hammond, Uniacke, and Twiss. By John James Park, Esq. Barrister at Law.	
VI.	SPAIN, - - - - -	116
	A Year in Spain. By a Young American.	
VII.	EDUCATION, - - - - -	145
	Chapter XV. of the first part of the proposed revision of the Statute Laws of the State of New-York.	
	A General View of the present System of public Education in France, and of the Laws, Regulations, and Courses of Studies in the different Faculties, Colleges, and inferior Schools which now compose the Royal University of that Kingdom; preceded by a short History of the University of Paris, before the Revolution. By David Johnson, M. D. Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh.	

CONTENTS.

ART.	PAGE
VIII. DIPLOMACY OF THE UNITED STATES, - - -	172
The Diplomacy of the United States. Being an Account of the Foreign Relations of the Country, from the First Treaty with France, in 1778, to the present time. Second Edition, with Additions. By Theodore Lyman, Jr.	
IX. DWIGHT'S GERMANY, - - - - -	189
Travels in the North of Germany, in the years 1825 and 1826. By Henry E. Dwight, A. M.	
X. SKETCHES OF NAVAL LIFE, - - - - -	216
Sketches of Naval Life, with notices of men, manners, and scenery, on the shores of the Mediterranean, in a series of letters from the Brandywine and Constitution Frigates. By a Civilian.	
XI. AMERICAN POETRY, - - - - -	240
Specimens of American Poetry, with Critical and Biographical Notices ; in three volumes. By Samuel Kettell.	

CONTENTS OF No. XII.

ART.		PAGE
I.	THE PUBLIC DOMAIN OF THE UNITED STATES,	263
	<p>Report of a Select Committee, of the House of Representatives, at the Second Session of the Twentieth Congress, on a Motion to distribute the Proceeds of the Sales of Public Lands among the several States, in proportion to their population.</p> <p>Reports of the several Land Officers, pursuant to a Resolution of the Senate of the United States, passed the 25th day of April, 1828.</p>	
II.	ARABIAN TALES,	283
	<p>The Arabian Nights Entertainments, carefully revised, and occasionally corrected from the Arabic. To which is added a Selection of New Tales, now first translated from the Arabic Originals. Also, an Introduction and Notes, illustrative of the Religion, Manners, and Customs of the Mohammedans. By Jonathan Scott, LL. D., late Oriental Professor of the Royal Military and East India Colleges, &c. &c.</p>	
III.	LATIN STUDIES,	303
	<p>A Grammar of the Latin Language, for the use of Colleges and Seminaries. From the German of C. G. Lumpt.</p>	
IV.	ENCYCLOPÆDIAS,	331
	<p>Encyclopædia Americana : a Popular Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature, History, Politics, and Biography, brought down to the present times, including a copious Collection of Original Articles in American Biography, on the basis of the Seventh Edition of the German Conversations-Lexicon. Edited by Francis Lieber, assisted by E. Wigglesworth.</p>	
V.	STEWART'S PHILOSOPHY,	360
	<p>The Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man : by Dugald Stewart, Esq. F. R. S. S.</p>	
VI.	PITKIN'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES,	378
	<p>A Political and Civil History of the United States of America, from the year 1763 to the close of the Administration of President Washington, in March, 1797 : including a Summary View of the Political and Civil State of the North American Colonies, prior to that period. By Timothy Pitkin.</p>	

CONTENTS.

ART.	PAGE
VII. THE STEAM-ENGINE, - - - - -	408
The Young Steam Engineer's Guide ; by Oliver Evans.	
An Account of some of the Steam-Boats navigating the Hudson River, in the state of New-York. In a letter from James Renwick, Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Chemistry, in Columbia College, to Captain Edward Sabine, R. A., Secretary of the Royal Society. From Brande's Journal for October 1828.	
Popular Lectures on the Steam-Engine ; by the Rev. Dionysius Lardner, LL. D., Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in the University of London, &c. &c., with additions by James Renwick, Professor, &c.	
History of the Steam-Engine, from the earliest invention to the present time ; by Elijah Galloway, Civil Engineer.	
A Descriptive History of the Steam-Engine ; by R. Stuart, Esq. Civil Engineer.	
Historical and Descriptive Anecdotes of Steam-Engines, and of their inventors and improvers ; by R. Stuart.	
The Steam-Engine : comprising an account of its invention, &c. ; by T. Fredgold, Civil Engineer.	
Notice Sur les Machines à Vapeur ; Par M. Arago—from the "Annuaire pour l'an 1829 : Présenté au Roi par le Bureau des Longitudes."	
On the Early History of the Steam-Engine ; by A. Ainger ; from Brande's Journal for October 1829.	
A Treatise on the Steam-Engine, Historical, Practical, and Descriptive : by John Farey, Engineer.	
VIII. THE LIFE OF ARTHUR LEE, - - - - -	438
Life of Arthur Lee, LL. D, Joint Commissioner of the United States to the Court of France, and Sole Commissioner to the Courts of Spain and Prussia, during the Revolutionary War. With his Political and Literary Correspondence, and his Papers on Diplomatic and Political Subjects, and the Affairs of the United States during the same Period.	
IX. THE REPUBLIC OF SAN MARINO, - - - - -	455
History of the Republic of San Marino. By Melchior Del Fico.	
X. LAFAYETTE IN AMERICA, - - - - -	467
Lafayette en Amérique en 1824 et 1825, ou Journal d'un Voyage aux Etats-Unis ; par A. Levasseur, Secrétaire du Général Lafayette pendant son Voyage. Orné de onze Gravures et d'une Carte.	
Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825 ; or Journal of a Tour in the United States. By A. Levasseur, Secretary of General Lafayette during his Tour. Ornamented with eleven Engravings and a Map.	
XI. JEFFERSON'S POSTHUMOUS WORKS, - - - - -	494
Memoir, Correspondence, and Miscellanies, from the papers of Thomas Jefferson. Edited by Thomas Jefferson Randolph.	

AMERICAN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. XI.

SEPTEMBER, 1839.

ART. I.—*Memoirs of GENERAL MILLER, in the service of the Republic of Peru.* By JOHN MILLER. London : 1828. 8 vo. 2 vols. pp. 389. 460.

THIS work is a very favourable specimen of the class of writings to which it belongs. With every mark of candour and truth, and all the simplicity of manner and frank straight forward style of narrative appropriate to military memoirs, it yet abounds with diversified and novel incidents, singular adventures, and extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune, that would grace the history of a hero of romance. South America seems to be the land of splendid achievements accomplished with inadequate means. Among the daring adventurers, who, at different periods, have flocked to the Spanish colonies, the vast majority undoubtedly make shipwreck of their hopes of wealth or fame; but still a few rise to an elevation proportionably more striking and exalted, buoyed along at times by the caprice of fortune, but occasionally lifted upwards by the native force of talent exerted in its proper and chosen sphere. Prominent in the ranks of the latter description of individuals stands General Miller, who in 1817 left England, the country of his birth, an untitled youth; and since then, to use the language of the book before us, “unsupported by connexion or interest, and steering a steady course through the storms of war and faction, has raised himself, by his own merit, to the highest rank in the army; obtained every honorary distinction; filled important civil situations; and, covered with honourable wounds, has now revisited his native country, with a character of perfect disinterestedness, and a conscience void of reproach.” High as this eulogium of his conduct and character would seem to be, it is yet justified by the facts related

VOL. VI.—NO. 11.

1

in the Memoirs, and by the concurring testimony of other authorities, which cannot be suspected of prejudice or undue partiality. The Memoirs enable us to form a correct idea of General Miller's progress to distinction; in addition to which they contain many curious anecdotes of the singular contest in which he signalized himself, and of the prominent statesmen or warriors of South America.

William Miller was born December 2d 1795, at Wingham, in the county of Kent, in England. From the beginning of January 1811, until the peace of 1815, he served in the British army. In what capacity does not explicitly appear in the Memoirs, but as nothing is said on the subject, we presume it must have been a very subordinate one. He landed at Lisbon in August 1811, and was present at the sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, and San Sebastian, at the battle of Vittoria, and at the investment of Bayonne. In June 1814 he sailed from Bordeaux for Bermudas, and from thence proceeded to the Chesapeake, where he joined the British expedition against Washington and Baltimore, and thus witnessed the death of General Ross. In November of the same year he sailed from Jamaica, with the forces destined to act in the abortive attack on New-Orleans. It is not expressly stated whether he was personally engaged in the battle which terminated so gloriously for the American arms, and for the gallant officer who defended the city against its unsuccessful assailants; but this may be inferred from the narrative. After quitting the Mississippi, he was shipwrecked off Mobile; but at length reached England by the way of Havana, in the summer of 1815. The two succeeding years were spent chiefly on the continent. Returning to England in 1817, he soon grew weary of inactivity, and having a strong passion for military distinction, he turned his attention to the war carried on in America between Spain and her revolted colonies; and after due inquiry determined to enter the service of the Provinces of La Plata. Having previously dedicated a few months to preparatory studies, he set sail from the Downs in August 1817, and landed at Buenos Ayres in the ensuing month of September. A few letters of introduction secured to him a friendly reception. He was immediately presented to the supreme director Puyrredon, and making known the object of his visit to Buenos Ayres, and his wish for employment in the army of the Andes, then in Chile under the command of San Martin, he received in due season a captain's commission.

Before proceeding across the continent to Chile, Miller made an excursion in company with four Buenos Ayrean gentlemen, whose object was to visit their *estancias*, lying two or three hundred miles from the city, towards Patagonia, and made many observations on the characteristic features of the country and its

inhabitants, the interest of which has been somewhat forestalled by Captain Head. In January 1818 Captain Miller set out from Buenos Ayres to join the army. On the ninth day, after a ride of three hundred leagues, he reached Mendoza, the capital of the province of Cuyo. In connexion with this city is mentioned a curious fact, honourable to patriot liberality. Mendoza is remarkable for a fine *alameda*, formed by four rows of poplars of extraordinary height and regularity. This tree has been found to flourish exceedingly by the side of the small canals used to irrigate the cultivated spots of land in the plains of the Rio de la Plata. Within ten years from their first introduction, half a million poplars were planted. When the revolution commenced, the Spaniard by whom the tree was originally introduced was yet living, and in gratitude for the act, a decree was passed, excepting him from the persecution which befel his countrymen, and exempting him from the payment of taxes, as a public benefactor. Captain Miller crossed the Andes by the pass of Uspallata, and reached Santiago, eighty leagues distant, in a space short of four days. He arrived there January 24th 1818, and immediately repaired to the division of the army bivouacked at Las Tablas, near Valparaiso, and was ordered to his regiment, the Buenos Ayrean artillery. They were encamped in full view of the lofty peaks of the Andes; and among the novel objects which here attracted his attention, Captain Miller was particularly struck with the glorious spectacle of the setting sun. Long after he has sunk below the horizon, he continues to gild the mighty summits of the Cordillera, while broken masses of clouds, brilliantly tinged by his beams, impart inconceivable magnificence to the scene. Shortly after Miller entered upon duty, San Martin marched towards San Fernando, to form a junction with the director O'Higgins, and Colonel Las Heras; and here his military career in South America may be said to commence.

The earliest occasion which called for the active display of his talents, was in the affair of Cancharayada. The vanguard of San Martin's troops and of the royalists under Osorio came in contact March 18th, and the two armies continued near together until April 5th, when the patriots gained the splendid victory of Maypu, and completely destroyed or dispersed the enemy. Previous to this event, however, the Spaniards and Chilenos skirmished repeatedly, and on the night of March 19th, the latter were thrown into disorder by an unexpected attack on the plain of Cancharayada, and retreated with considerable loss. Las Heras distinguished himself greatly at this time, by conducting a larger body of infantry out of danger, and preserving them from dispersion. Miller attached himself to Las Heras, and acted as his adjutant during the arduous retreat. But he did not participate in the glory of the battle of Maypu, having been detached

with a company to take possession of the frigate *Lautaro*, and secure the means of safety for the patriots if they should be defeated. After this, he remained attached to the fleet until the liberating army entered Peru, where a more brilliant career awaited him.

Being promoted to the rank of Major, he sailed at first under the command of admiral Don Manuel Blanco Ciceron, as senior officer of the troops distributed in the squadron, and afterwards under Lord Cochrane in the same capacity. The Memoirs abound with interesting details of the incidents of this period, but we pass over them, to arrive at a period when Miller ceased to act a secondary part. He evinces considerable esteem for Cochrane, and among other characteristic traits of that personage, relates the following:—

“He (Lord Cochrane) is remarkable for the quickness with which he can discern a shot coming, and the accuracy with which he can tell its direction. In a subsequent affair at the same place, he was sitting astride upon the hammocks according to his usual custom. Major Miller was standing on a carronade upon the quarter-deck, close to the admiral, who said, ‘there comes a shot straight for us, but don’t move, for it will strike below us’; and it entered just underneath, at the lower part of the port above which both had placed themselves. The shot struck off the head of a marine who had dodged to avoid it, and wounded four seamen. One, named José de San Martín, had been the chieftain of banditti in Chile, and had been sent on board from the condemned cell. His leg was carried away, and the bone shattered so much that he afterwards suffered amputation above the knee, which he bore with astonishing fortitude, exclaiming ‘viva la patria’ repeatedly during the operation. * * * In February 1824, General Miller met the same man begging alms on horseback in the streets of Santiago. Upon asking if he received a pension from government, he answered with gayety, that he obtained so much in charity that he never thought it worth while to apply for a pension.”

This was in February 1819. In March, Miller was shockingly scorched by an accidental explosion of a laboratory formed on the island of San Lorenzo, and was confined to his cabin for six weeks in consequence of his burns. He regained his health, however, and continued in active service until November 7th 1819, when he was dangerously and almost fatally wounded in an attack on Pisco, receiving a musket ball in his right arm, another in his left hand, while a third entered his chest, and fracturing a rib passed out at the back. Contrary to all expectations, he recovered from his wounds in the course of two or three months, and in February 1820 we find him once more in the heat of battle, on occasion of the capture of Valdivia, when a ball passed through his hat, and grazed the crown of his head. But a few days after this, he was again desperately wounded in an attack upon Chiloe, a grape-shot passing through his left thigh, and a four pound shot crushing his right foot. Nothing but the devoted attachment of his brave followers preserved his life in this emergency; and all the hospitality and kindness of the warm-hearted inhabitants of Santiago were necessary to the restoration

of his health and strength. In June 1820 he felt able to take the field again, and was promoted to a lieutenant colonelcy at the time when San Martin was organizing the expedition of the liberating army against the royalists of Peru. He embarked at Valparaiso August 19th 1820, and the following anecdote well illustrates the vicissitudes of military life, as also the singular good fortune of Miller.

"It is remarkable that Lieutenant Colonel Miller was the only field officer who sailed with the expeditionary army from Valparaiso, who was also present at the great final victory of Ayacucho. Thus it was his singular good fortune to have been the first patriot officer to land on the coast (1819), and to have heard the first and last shots fired during the Peruvian war of independence. Of nearly five thousand that sailed from Valparaiso in 1820, not more than ten officers and ninety privates continued in active service in Peru, to be present at the last victory. Besides the proportion which fell by the usual casualties of war, many of the higher ranks were displaced by faction; numbers were swept off by the prevailing diseases of the country; and not a few for want of medical attendance."

San Martin had landed all his troops at Pisco by September 12th, and such was the success of the patriot-arms, that in less than ten months he entered Lima in triumph and was proclaimed Protector of Peru. The great events of this period belong to general history, and we follow them only so far as they appertain to our present subject. The annexed incident, which occurred in the earlier part of the struggle, indicates the spirit of the republican soldiery.

"The 2d December was an interesting day at Supe. Twenty-two officers, and eighty-five non commissioned officers and privates, were landed from a lugger. These unfortunate men had been released, in pursuance of the agreement between the viceroy and General San Martin for an exchange of prisoners. They were the only survivors of upwards of a thousand patriots, who had been made prisoners in the early part of the revolution, on the plains of Buenos Ayres, or in Upper Peru. Shackled together, they had been forced to march from four to six hundred leagues, and were afterwards immured in the dismal casemates of the castles of Callao. In order to induce the prisoners to become apostates to the cause they had espoused, specious offers were made by the viceroy to all who would enter the royalist service. When allurements proved unavailing, he threatened them with the death due to rebels, whilst the priesthood refused them the consolations of religion at the dying hour. To a man, they adhered firmly to the principles for which they had fought, but not more than one out of ten outlived the horrors of nine years of imprisonment. It was an affecting sight to witness the arrival of those heroic survivors. Their wan, sullen countenances, their meagre forms and tottering gait, bespoke the fatal inroads which prolonged captivity, under such ferocious gaolers, had made in their constitutions. They were, of course, received with open arms by the officers and soldiers of San Martin, amongst whom they recognised many an old companion in arms. General San Martin gave these devoted soldiers the option of returning to their homes; but such was their enthusiasm, that all volunteered to serve in the liberating army, to promote the cause of their country, and avenge their own individual wrongs. Several of them died in a short time, in consequence of the sudden change from imprisonment to a life of liberty; others were afterwards killed in action. Of the whole number, perhaps there are not twenty alive at this day."

From this time to the close of the war, the military talents of Miller had ample scope, and his activity, decision, and intelligence, were speedily so well known and duly appreciated, that

he was continually appointed to the most arduous and responsible duties, and acquitted himself so well, that he earned a rapid promotion through the various degrees of command. In May 1821 he was detached to land at Arica, and take possession of that part of the country; which he successfully accomplished, after gaining a battle at Mirabe. In August, having left Arica, he re-occupied Pisco, took Ica, annihilated the royalists under Santalla, whose atrocities had been the scourge of the inhabitants, and was promoted to the rank of Colonel, with the civil and military government of an extensive district, of which Ica was the centre. Of the nature of the hardships to which he was continually subjected, in the course of these movements, an idea may be formed from a curious circumstance which he mentions.

"At midnight on the 6th (August,) the troops halted in the desert. For the purpose of protecting themselves against the heavy dews, each man excavated a sort of shallow grave, and lay down in it, and then scraped the sand over his person, leaving only his head above ground, which he wrapped up in his pouch. * * * Thus as it were buried alive, all slept as comfortably as if reposing on a bed of down, and so soundly, that at daybreak it was difficult to rouse them from their delicious slumbers. The morning was foggy, as is very usual in these regions. They had marched about two leagues, when the sun suddenly dispersing the mist, they discovered that instead of advancing, they had retraced their route of the preceding night. To prevent the recurrence of similar mistakes, from that time, whenever they halted at night, they took the precaution to pile their muskets in such a way as to point out their proper direction."

How much unhappy Peru suffered from the contending armies, her capital and provinces being alternately occupied by the friends and foes to freedom, is feelingly signified in the language of one of the sufferers.

"When the viceroy happened to be at Guamanga, a land-owner waited upon his excellency, and represented that one party—La Madre Patria,—having eased him of his cash and valuables, and the other party—El Padre Rey—having taken away his cattle and crop, he humbly besought the viceroy to inform him to what party he ought to deliver over his *skin*, that being all that was left which he could venture to call his own."

Colonel Miller was appointed in September to the command of seven hundred men, chosen from the light companies of the liberating army, to act as a column of observation, and to be in readiness at a moment's warning; and although suffering severely from ague, he succeeded in greatly annoying Canterac, the royalist general. On the formation of the Peruvian legion of the guard under Torre Tagle in November, Miller was selected to raise and command the regiment of infantry, which, together with a regiment of hussars and a troop of horse artillery, composed the legion. Early in the ensuing year, 1822, the patriots met with reverses, and San Martin resigned the protectorate, leaving the further prosecution of the war to Bolivar and the auxiliary Colombian army. Officers of more character and experience then had the control of the patriot forces, and the war assumed a character of greater determination, resulting in engagements of more digni-

ty and consequence. Meanwhile Miller was employed in a difficult service, the expedition to the Puertos Intermedios under Alvarado, in October 1822, which terminated so unfavourably for the patriots. Miller, however, did not fail to distinguish himself; and on his return to Lima in April 1823, he was promoted to the rank of general of brigade. Other services, and further promotion followed; the command of the staff of the Peruvian army having been bestowed upon him in November of the same year, with the temporary command of the army itself. Indeed, about this time, the arduous duties in which he had been assiduously engaged, upon an unhealthy coast, brought on a serious attack of fever, which compelled him to repair to Valparaiso, and seek the restoration of health in a more salubrious climate. Of the interesting details, interspersed in this portion of the work, we extract a few for the amusement of our readers.

The soldiers of the Peruvian legion consisted chiefly of Indians and mulattos, the latter forming a prominent class of the population. Of these it is said:—

"The mulattos of Lima are reckoned to possess a great aptitude for trades, being the best shoemakers, tailors, barbers, carpenters, &c. From the church and the bar they were excluded by the laws of the old regime, but many acquired a knowledge of medicine; and such is their extreme volubility, and the ease with which they express their opinion, that the nickname of *palangana*, or chatterer, is applied to all these classes. Sermons and preachers are favourite objects of their criticism, probably because it proves a never failing source in Lima, which abounds in altars dedicated to saints; and a sermon, or rather an eulogium, upon the life and miracles of the principal saints, is given on their respective feast days. It is on these occasions that the *palanganas* seldom fail to indulge in their critical propensity. They remember sermons that have been preached several years before, and when a friar repeats an old discourse, the *palangana* manifests his detection of it by violent gesticulation. One day a clergyman, wincing under the annoyance, exclaimed from the pulpit, 'Turn out that mulatto who disturbs me.' 'That,' said the *palangana*, with characteristic readiness, 'is the only thing that is new; all the rest of the sermon was preached two years ago, by father Francisco, in the church of S. Domingo.' Sometimes a *palangana* not only remembers an entire sermon, but will versify it on the repetition. Mulatto servants will sometimes repeat a sermon word for word as delivered, and often attract their master and his family to become auditors."

The following anecdote is curious on more than one account.

"A lad left Milan to seek his fortune, and resided two or three years in Paris. He passed three or four years in England, and then proceeded to Chile. He expresses himself imperfectly in French, English, and Spanish, but says he has altogether lost the knowledge of Italian. He is an honest, obliging, painstaking man, and at one time had accumulated several thousand dollars, which he lost at play. At the time he related his story he was owner and navigator of a coasting vessel of fifty tons burden. On being asked what he intended to do if he made a second fortune, he answered. 'If I make five hundred pounds a year, I will go to London and live like a gentleman. If I make only one hundred pounds a year, I must go to my own country, where I can live like an Italian prince.'"

As an example of the shifts which the royalists had recourse to for raising supplies from the purses of wealthy patriots, an anecdote of Canterac is related, which seems hardly to comport with the stately gravity of a Spanish general officer.

"General Canterac alighted at the house of Dr. Saena, the rector of Chumpi, and announced himself as a patriot officer. An excellent dinner was prepared for the new guest, and his five or six brother officers. In the course of conversation, Canterac managed to extract the priest's opinion of the different royalist generals. When the animated clergyman drew Canterac's own picture, he could hold out no longer, but making himself known, fined the incautious ecclesiastic five-thousand dollars, and marched him off a prisoner until the sum was paid. At Coracora the same general played a similar trick on the priest of that place, and punished with equal severity his unguarded loquacity. The aggrieved parties some time afterwards wrote to General Miller, giving an account of the snare into which they had fallen. After the capitulation of Ayacucho, General Bedoya, who had accompanied Canterac, related the same adventures to Miller, and spoke of them as exceedingly good jokes."

We do not remember that we have any where seen a more graphic picture of the face of Peru, than is presented in the Memoirs. In place of the golden regions of America, we seem to be reading of Arabian deserts, or the sandy wastes of Africa.

"The coast of Peru may be said to consist of a line of sandy desert, five hundred leagues in length, the breadth varying from seven to above fifty miles, as the several branches of the Andes approach to, or recede from, the shores of the Pacific ocean. It presents great inequalities of surface, and has the appearance of having once formed a part of the bed of the adjoining ocean. Were it not for the stupendous back ground, which gives to every other object a comparatively diminutive outline, the sand-hills might sometimes be called mountains. The long line of desert is intersected by rivers and streams, which are seldom less than twenty, or more than eighty or ninety miles apart. The narrow strips on each bank of every stream, are peopled in proportion to the supply of water. During the rainy season in the interior, or from the melting of the snows upon the Andes, the great rivers upon the coast swell prodigiously, and can be crossed only by means of a *balsa*, which is a raft or frame work, fastened upon four bull hides sewed up, made air-tight, and filled with wind. A few of the large rivers reach the sea, but most of those of the second order are consumed in irrigating the cultivated patches, or are absorbed by the encompassing desert,—where it never rains,—where neither birds, beasts, nor reptiles are ever seen,—and where a blade of vegetation never grew. Sometimes a rill of water bubbles up, and is lost within the space of a hundred yards. Very often the banks of rivers are too steep and rugged to admit of the water being applied to the purposes of irrigation; consequently the surrounding country cannot be cultivated. No stranger can travel from valley to valley, as the inhabited strips are inappropriately called, without a guide; for the only indication that the desert has been trodden before, is an occasional cluster of bones, the remains of beasts of burden that have perished. The sand is frequently raised into immense clouds by the wind, to the great annoyance of the traveller, who generally rides with his face muffled up. The obstacles to moving a body of troops from one point to another in this country, can only be appreciated by military men who have had to contend with them. But description, unaccompanied by a statement of facts, will fall short of conveying even a faint idea of the horrors of the desert."

"It is not an unusual circumstance for soldiers to drop down dead, or to see the blood gush out from their ears and nostrils as they march, sometimes ankle deep in sand. On one occasion, six hundred men marched from Arica to Lluta, only four leagues distant: six men died on the march, and forty more would have perished, had they not been immediately relieved by copious bleeding."

"Perhaps nothing will more clearly convey an idea of the distance between one habitable spot and another, or the stupendous inequalities of the intervening ground, than quotations from local traditions, which state that between Atico and Chaparra there is a valley, inhabited, as is supposed, by descendants of the ancient Peruvians, and which was unexpectedly fallen in with by one Navarro, of Chaparra, who, having lost his way, came upon it in the night. He saw lights,

and heard voices, but was afraid to descend into the valley. He reported the circumstance when he arrived at home, and several parties afterwards set out upon a journey of discovery, but not one succeeded. This was related by D. Juan de Neira y Caravajal, living at Chaparra in 1822, who remembered Navarro, and had often heard him mention the circumstance. It is also asserted, that there is another unknown valley between Chorunga and Majes, which was once seen by chance, like the first mentioned, and which has also baffled every attempt to discover it a second time with sufficient force to ensure egress, it being supposed that any person entering singly would be immediately slain or detained for life. These accounts are not generally believed by those dwelling in the neighbourhood, and best qualified to form a correct opinion; but the bare admission of the possibility of the existence of such valleys, by people accustomed to explore the most uninviting regions in search of mines, may give some notion of the extraordinary country, where the works of nature are upon a scale equally grand, terrific, and sublime."

Reverting to General Miller, we find that in April 1824 he returned to Peru, and immediately proceeded to join Bolivar, whose head-quarters at Huaras he reached May 19th, just in season to bear an active part in the glorious events which crowned the manœuvres of the liberating army. Here Miller for the first time enjoyed the satisfaction of personal intercourse with the liberator, and the day after his arrival at Huaras was named commandant general of the Peruvian cavalry. The army was beginning to concentrate on that point, with a view to march towards Pasco, and commence offensive operations. Meantime, General Miller was ordered to cross the Andes, and take command of fifteen hundred *montoneros* occupying the country around Pasco. The *montoneros* of Peru were principally composed of men of some respectability, whose dwellings had been razed by the unrelenting vindictiveness of the royal party, which had converted many a thriving village into a heap of ruins. Every *montonero* had to avenge relatives or friends, who had been cruelly butchered by the Spaniards. These men, like the guerillas of the Peninsula, were of incalculable service as an auxiliary force. Miller was personally known to many of them, who hailed his new appointment with great joy. Under his direction, they harassed beyond measure the royalist army, consisting of nine thousand men under Canterac, cantoned in the valley of Xauxa, and effectually covered the movements of the patriots. Chiefly in duties of this kind, appropriate to the troops he commanded, Miller was unremittingly employed until the final catastrophe of Ayacucho. Some of the difficulties encountered by the liberating army in crossing the Andes, may be judged of by the account given in the Memoirs of the march of their cavalry.

"The divisions of the liberating army crossed the Cordillera generally at the intervening distance of one day's march from each other. But the cavalry, and indeed many of the battalions, often diverged from the general line of march. The shelving ledges, which afforded the only foothold on the rugged sides of the Andes, are so narrow as to render the passage indescribably harassing. The troops could advance only one by one. The single file was sometimes lengthened out to an amazing extent by the *mal pasos* formed by deep gullies or breaks

in the tracks, by projecting rocks, or by numerous water-falls; all of which required great caution and much time to pass in safety. To the cavalry such obstructions were particularly formidable, as each man had, besides the mule on which he rode, a led horse, to be mounted only in sight of the enemy. The agility and dexterity with which they managed to drag their animals after them were astonishing. The *lasso* was used, as upon every other occasion, with great adroitness. Fastened around the neck of the led horse, it was lengthened or shortened as the tortuous windings of the ascent or descent required. The men were frequently obliged to dismount at the *mal pasos*, and on such occasions their sabres and their lances added greatly to their embarrassments.

"It often occurred during the campaign of 1824, that the cavalry being in the rear, were, by a succession of various obstructions, prevented from accomplishing the day's march before nightfall. It then became necessary for every man to dismount, and to lead the two animals in his charge, to avoid going astray, or tumbling headlong down the most frightful precipices. But the utmost precaution did not always prevent the corps from losing their way. Sometimes men at the head of a battalion would continue to follow the windings of a deafening torrent, instead of turning abruptly to the right or left up some rocky acclivity, over which lay the proper course; whilst others who chanced to be right, would pursue the proper track. The line was so drawn out, that there was unavoidably many intervals, and it was easy for such mistakes to occur, although trumpeters were placed at regular distances expressly to prevent separation. One party was frequently heard hallooing from an apparently fathomless ravine, to their comrades passing over some high projecting summit, to know if they were going right. These would answer with their trumpets, but it often occurred that both parties had lost their road. The frequent sound of trumpets along the broken line; the shouting of officers to their men at a distance; the neighing of horses, and the braying of mules, both men and animals being alike anxious to reach a place of rest, produced a strange and fearful concert, echoed in the darkness of the night from the horrid solitudes of the Andes."

The campaign which this march was intended to prepare for, commenced with the affair of Junin, August 5th 1824. This was in fact a mere skirmish of the van of each army coming unexpectedly to contact. The enthusiasm of the patriot cavalry led them too far in advance of the main body, until they came up to within a short distance of the whole royalist forces, who were retrograding to take up a convenient position. Canterac finding his retreat so closely pursued, put himself at the head of his cavalry, formed them in line, and charged with great gallantry the patriot cavalry, who, being unable to deploy at once, owing to the nature of the ground, suffered a momentary reverse, their front squadrons being totally routed by the tremendous shock of the entire Spanish line. But the latter incautiously suffered themselves to be scattered and divided in pursuit of the patriots, who took advantage of the circumstance to rally, and to use their lances and sabres to such effect, that the cavalry of the Spaniards were soon in a state of total flight. Not a shot was fired in the action, the lance and sabre alone being used. General Necochea, who as senior officer commanded the united Colombian, Peruvian, and Buenos Ayrean cavalry, having been wounded in the engagement, the command devolved upon General Miller, who displayed his accustomed bravery, promptitude, and decision. This brilliant affair raised the courage of the patriots as

much as it excited the apprehensions of their opponents. Indeed a most impressive scene, which preceded the battle of Junin but a few days, sufficiently testified the spirit which animated the liberating army.

"On the 2d of August, Bolívar reviewed his forces, nine thousand strong, on the plain between Rancas and Pasco. The troops were well appointed, and made a really brilliant appearance. An energetic address from the Liberator was read to each corps at the same moment, and produced indescribable enthusiasm. Nothing could exceed the excitement felt upon that occasion. Every circumstance tended to impart a romantic interest to the scene. Near the same spot, four years before, the royalists had been defeated by General Arenales. The view from the table land upon which the troops were reviewed, and which is at an elevation of more than twelve thousand feet above the level of the sea, is perhaps the most magnificent in the world. On the west arose the Andes, which had just been surmounted with so much toil. On the east were enormous ramifications of the Cordillera stretching towards the Brazils. North and south the view was bounded by mountains whose tops were hidden in the clouds. On that plain, surrounded by such sublime scenery, and on the margin of the magnificent lake of Reyes, the principal source of the Amazon, the mightiest of rivers, were now assembled men from Caracas, Panama, Quito, Lima, Chile, and Buenos Ayres; men who had fought at Maypu in Chile; at San Lorenzo on the banks of the Parana; at Carabobo in Venezuela; and at Pinchinca at the foot of the Chimborazo. Amidst those devoted Americans were a few foreigners, still firm and faithful to the cause in support of which so many of their countrymen had fallen. Amongst those few survivors were men who had fought on the banks of the Guadiana and of the Rhine; who had witnessed the conflagration of Moscow, and the capitulation of Paris. Such were the men assembled at what might be considered a fresh starting point in the career of glory. American or European, they were all animated by one sole spirit, that of assuring the political existence of a vast continent. The exhilarating *vivats* of the troops filled every breast with ardour and prophetic hope."

These Memoirs contain the only authentic and particular account hitherto published, of the campaign which decided the destinies of South America. It is known that both parties, but particularly the independent, suffered every conceivable hardship, during three months, which were occupied by a series of marches and counter-marches among the difficult passes of the Andes. After the battle of Junin, Bolivar quitted the army to go to Lima, leaving General Sucre in command, with instructions to retire into cantonments at Andaguailas and Abancay. It appears doubtful whether this would have been a judicious step, even if nothing had occurred to prevent its being taken; for La Mar, Lara, and Miller, the general officers associated with Sucre, all concurred in opinion, that it was a hazardous measure, as their own resources were limited, while the viceroy was capable of augmenting his forces, and had a large depot of supplies and a point d'appui near at hand in Cuzco. For this reason, Sucre was advised to attack the enemy without delay, it being considered, that in the existing state of things, the most *prudent* plan was to act *boldly* on the offensive. While the subject was still under consideration, the Spaniards put an end to deliberation, by uniting their forces, which were greatly superior

in numbers to the patriots, and manœuvring with a view to cut off Sucre's communication with Lima. In the evolutions which ensued, both parties displayed consummate skill and generalship, Sucre retreating, but seeking to decide the matter by a battle, while the viceroy seemed resolved to play a sure game, and, if possible, vanquish his opponents without risking a general action. Skirmishes beyond the advanced guard of each army, took place from day to day, owing to their continued proximity; the result of which was, on the whole, decidedly unfavourable to Sucre, who suffered a considerable reverse at Corpaguayco, and incidentally met with other serious losses. In a few weeks, his situation became extremely critical, and if the Spaniards had not, fortunately for him, concluded to hazard an engagement, nothing but some extraordinary chance could have extricated the patriots from their multiplied embarrassments. All was changed by the splendid victory of Ayacucho, gained by Sucre, December 9th 1824, over the well-appointed army of the Spaniards, nearly double that of the patriots in numerical force. The action terminated, as our readers know, in a disastrous defeat of the royalists, with a loss of upwards of two thousand men in killed and wounded, and the surrender of about four thousand more as prisoners of war, including the viceroy and fifteen general officers. The triumph is thus characterized in the Memoirs:—

“The battle of Ayacucho was the most brilliant ever fought in South America. The troops on both sides were in a state of discipline which would have been creditable to the best European armies. The ablest generals and chiefs of either party were present. And it is difficult to say, which army most panted for an appeal to the sword, and every man fought with undaunted bravery. What the patriots wanted in numbers was made up by enthusiasm, and by a perfect knowledge, that if beaten, retreat was utterly impracticable. It was not a victory of mere chance, but the result of the most determined bravery, and an irresistible onset conceived and executed at the proper moment.”

This victory, while it gave independence to Peru, and to all Spanish America, produced a rich harvest of glory for Sucre, the commander-in-chief; and for La Mar, Lara, Cordova, and Miller, his colleagues in command, by whom he was nobly supported. Of the anecdotes concerning this battle, recorded in the Memoirs, we select two only. The first illustrates the condition of the Spanish troops.—

“The men of one squadron, and all the officers of a royalist cavalry regiment, wore silver helmets. These became the objects of the particular attention of the patriot soldiers during the pursuit. Some had the presence of mind to save themselves, by throwing off their helmets, which, like the golden apples of Hippomenes, did not fail to arrest the progress of their pursuers. These silver baits proved as irresistible to the patriot soldiers as the apples to Atalanta. In a few hours, every silver helmet had changed, not exactly heads, but owners; for all were broken up and stowed away in the valises of the captors.”

The other exhibits a spectacle of sad reverse of fortune, in the person of the last of the long line of mimic kings who have ex-

exercised the delegated power of the Spanish monarchy in America.—

"General Miller continued to be occupied on various duties till a very late hour. About midnight he visited the captive viceroy, General La Serna, who had been placed in one of the best of the miserable habitations of Quinua. When Miller entered, he found the viceroy sitting on a bench, and leaning against the mud wall of the hut. A feeble glimmering from the wick of a small earthen lamp, threw just enough of light around to render visible his features, which were shaded by his white hair, still partially clotted with blood from the wound he had received. His person tall, and at all times dignified, now appeared most venerable and interesting. The attitude, the situation, and the scene altogether, was precisely that which an historical painter would have chosen to represent the dignity of fallen greatness. Reflecting on the vicissitudes of fortune, it may be imagined with what feelings Miller advanced towards the man, who, but a few hours previously, had exercised a kingly power."

After refreshing his troops at Cuzco, Sucre continued his march upon Puno, in pursuit of the relics of the royalists in Upper Peru, and proceeded to La Paz and Potosi. General Miller was appointed prefect and commandant-general of Puno. He remained here nearly two months, until March 29th 1825, when he was called into service again to act against Olañeta; but on reaching Potosi, April 25th, he learnt that Olañeta had been mortally wounded at Tamusla, and that his services were not needed in the field. Being afterwards appointed, on the close of the war, prefect of the department of Potosi, and invested with the whole civil and military command of the department, General Miller displayed those talents for the direction of civil affairs, which so frequently accompany distinguished military talents. But in October he was compelled by the state of his health to resign his command, and obtain leave of absence for the space of two years, in order to visit Europe. He left Potosi November 26th, and proceeded by the way of Jujuy, Salta, Tucuman, and Cordova, to Buenos Ayres, which he reached January 6th 1826. At the capital, and every where else on his way, he received the most flattering attentions, as he did also in his native country, where he arrived after an absence of nine years, during which he had acquired well-deserved celebrity in Europe as well as America. The Memoirs, which were compiled from his private letters, journals, and recollections, by his brother, will serve to augment and perpetuate the reputation which his military services have imparted to his name.

We feel compelled to omit various passages which we had marked to be extracted, in addition to those already given, and content ourselves with the following particulars of the climate of Upper Peru, related on the authority of personal observation.—

"In the mountainous regions of the interior, nature presents difficulties, which, though of a different description, are equally as appalling as those experienced on the coast. . . . The greater part of the troops were obliged to bivouac sometimes in places where the thermometer falls *every night* considerably below the

freezing point, and this *throughout the year*, whereas it often rises at noon, in the same place, to 90°. It may be readily imagined what must have been the sufferings of men, born in, or accustomed to, the sultry temperature of Truxillo, Guayaquil, Panama, or Cartajena.

"The difficulty of respiration, called in some places *la puna*, and in others *el siroche*, experienced in those parts of the Andes which most abound in metals, was so great at times, that whilst on the march, whole battalions would sink down, as if by magic, and it would have been inflicting death to have attempted to oblige them to proceed, until they had rested and recovered themselves. In many cases life was solely preserved by opening the temporal artery. This sudden difficulty of respiration is supposed to be caused by occasional exhalations of metalliferous vapour, which, being inhaled into the lungs, causes a strong feeling of suffocation.

"During certain months of the year, tremendous hail-storms occur. They have fallen with such violence that the army has been obliged to halt, and the men being compelled to hold up their knapsacks to protect their faces, have had their hands so severely bruised and cut by large hail-stones, as to bleed copiously.

"Thunder storms are also particularly severe in the elevated regions. The electric fluid is seen to fall around in a manner unknown in other parts of the world, and frequently causes loss of life. Such storms have often burst at some distance below their feet, as the army climbed the lofty ridges of the Andes."

"When General Cordova's division marched from Cuzco to Puno, it halted at Santa Rosa. During the night there was a heavy fall of snow. They continued their march the next morning. The effect of the rays of the sun reflected from the snow upon the eyes, produces a disease which the Peruvians call *surumpi*. It occasions blindness, accompanied by excruciating pains. A pimple forms in the eye-ball, and causes an itching, pricking pain, as though needles were continually piercing it. The temporary loss of sight is occasioned by the impossibility of opening the eyelids for a single moment, the smallest ray of light being absolutely insupportable. The only relief is a poultice of snow, but as that melts away the torture returns. With the exception of twenty men and the guides, who knew how to guard against the calamity, the whole division were struck blind three leagues distant from the nearest human habitation. The guides galloped on to a village in advance, and brought out a hundred Indians, who took charge of long files of the poor sightless soldiers, clinging to each other with agonized and desperate grasp. During their dreary march by a rugged mountain path, several fell down precipices, and were never heard of more."

"In the early part of 1824, two hundred patriot prisoners of war, who were on the march to the grand depot in the island of Chucuito, on the lake Titicaca, overpowered their escort at Santa Rosa, and then fled to the mountains of Cochabamba, with an intention of penetrating through the unknown back country, peopled by uncivilized Indians, and of making their way out at Huanuco, where an advanced post of the patriots was stationed. On the third day after their escape they were caught in a snow storm. On the fourth they were afflicted with the *surumpi*, and those who did not perish upon the spot, or were not overtaken by their royalist pursuers, were torn to pieces by the wild beasts with which that mountainous and unfrequented part of the country is infested."

We conclude our account of Miller himself, by copying a testimonial of his worth, presented to him, without solicitation, by General Bolivar. It is in these words:—

"A los que la Presente vieren, saludo. Certifico que el General de division D. Guillermo Miller ha estado a mis ordenes en toda la campaña del año veinticuatro, en la cual ha cumplido con su deber de un modo digno de admiracion. En el combate de Junin quedó mandando nuestra caballeria, con el valor que siempre le ha distinguido. En Ayacucho tubo el mismo mando, y lo desempeñó con aquella intrepidez y acierto que tanto contribuyeron a la victoria. El Gene-

ral Miller fue de los primeros que emprendieron la libertad del Peru, y es de los ultimos que la ha visto triunfar. Su actividad, su moderacion, y su conducta moral lo han hecho recomendable a los ojos de sus gefes; y los pueblos que ha mandado lo han respetado como a un buen magistrado. El General Miller no ha participado jamas de ninguna de las facciones que han tenido en el Peru: por el contrario, los gobiernos sucesivos, y los diferentes generales, que han mandado el egercito, han puesto entera confianza en su fidelidad. Por consecuencia de estos servicios, el gobierno del Peru ha recompensado dignamente al General D. Guillermo Miller. Dado en el cuartel general de Potosi, a 29 de Octubre de 1825.

Por O. de S. E.

(Firmado)

BOLIVAR.

Felipe Santiago Estenós, Secretario-general."

Incidentally, the Memoirs afford sketches of San Martin, Sucre, Bolivar, and others, drawn from familiar intercourse with them in private, and ample knowledge of their political character. As connected with Bolivar, we have an interesting account of Colonel Belford Wilson, son of Sir Robert Wilson, and several years aid-de-camp to the Liberator, which has been circulated extensively in the newspapers, and which, encomiastic as it is, the recent visit of Colonel Wilson to the United States, affords to us satisfactory grounds of believing to be entirely just and correct in every particular.

In reference to Bolivar's later proceedings in Peru, Miller evidently entertains an unfavourable opinion, although he speaks with caution, and manifests on every occasion sincere admiration of the general character of the Liberator. When Miller left Peru, the situation of Bolivar in his relations to Colombia and Peru, was totally different from what it now is, and perhaps from what he then had any cause to anticipate. At that time the condition and prospects of the south were such, that Miller, in common with the great body of his fellow labourers in the cause of independence, might well contemplate the fabric of liberty, which they had contributed to rear, with sentiments of complacency and pride. A brief retrospect of the changes which have occurred, especially in Colombia, may not be ill-timed or misplaced in the conclusion of the present article.

It was fondly hoped at that time, by the well-intentioned inhabitants of Colombia, that Venezuela, New-Granada, and Quito, had ceased to be afflicted with that spirit of faction, which, exasperated by conflicting interests, did more to desolate the country than the sword of the Spaniard, because without its aid the latter would have been powerless and inert. Separately or unitedly, the old provinces, which now composed the republic, had manfully sustained the trying ordeal of revolution, and independence was the inestimable boon which they had acquired. Under the guidance of one of the greatest captains of the age,—of Bolivar, disciplined like Bruce in the great school of adversity, and like him rising more terrible from every reverse,—Colombia had achieved at length a series of splendid victories, which relieved

her from all apprehension of the foreign enemy. Institutions apparently well-adapted to her wants, and at any rate established with all the exterior marks of stability and consistency, were substituted in place of the extemporaneous governments created for the time being in the various stages of the revolution. Of the distinguished patriots who had survived the chances of war, and the proscription of the royalists, a portion, with Santander and Paez at their head, were employed in the task of consolidating the republican institutions of their choice, either as participating in the administration of the affairs of their country at home, or as representing its interests in foreign lands. Another portion, led on by Bolivar and Sucre, were not less nobly employed in a mission of independence among the patriots of the sister republics in the south. All were distinctly pledged to the support of the constitution. Santander, it is true, stood charged individually with the responsibility of the new administration. But Bolivar, as titular President, while pursuing his career of glory in the name and as the organ of the republic, and Paez as commandant general of Venezuela under its authority,—were both identified with the constitutional cause of Colombia.

Such were the actual tranquillity and seeming prosperity of Colombia at the close of the year 1825. How changed is the picture of that now distracted country, in the short interval that has elapsed! Her pecuniary credit abroad lies prostrate; whilst at home, insurrection, civil war, political anarchy, and revolution, have passed in rapid succession across the stage, and ushered in the tremendous catastrophe of military despotism as a remedy for the calamities of the nation.

Foremost in the catalogue of these public misfortunes,—for such in every sense the events are to be considered,—stands the insurrection of Paez in Venezuela. This too celebrated chieftain came into notice originally as a daring, active, indefatigable leader of cavalry, at the period of Bolivar's second attempt on Caracas. Under his command the hardy horsemen of the Llanos proved the most efficient arm of war; and he their general, who concentrated in his own person all the virtues and not a few of the vices of his favourite followers, rose from one distinction to another, until the battle of Carabobo placed him in the front rank of Bolivar's lieutenants. The honourable task of expelling the Spaniards from their last strong hold in Puerto Cabello, the chief command in Caracas, and minor rewards of the most flattering description, were the testimonials of national gratitude bestowed on Paez. A hasty and ill-advised measure of his, in executing the law for the enlistment of the militia, drew upon him an equally hasty complaint to Congress from the municipality of Caracas, and an act of impeachment before the Senate, which, operating upon keen feelings of military honour, exasperated by factious individuals, placed

him in armed opposition to the government, and rendered him at once the instrument and the ostensible head of the anti-constitutional party in Venezuela. Of this fatal insurrection, the immediate consequence was to throw the financial affairs of the republic into confusion, and reduce the government to bankruptcy; but the secondary consequence of it was more deplorable still, either in creating a necessity, or in affording a pretext, for Bolivar to sequester the constitutional liberties of Colombia into his own hands.

Anarchy and civil war, then, constitute the next act in this great national drama,—and these disasters introduce Bolivar upon the stage once more, the potent magician, whose wand is the truncheon of military command, that has ruled the fields of victory from Caracas to Potosi, and called republics into being only to vanish again at his nod. During the early years of the liberator's absence from Colombia, he had ample employment in the prosecution of the war.—Pichincha, Junin, Ayacucho, add to the long line of victories which he or his lieutenants had gained; and the expulsion of the Spaniards from Quito, Lima, Chuquisaca, and Callao, gives the death-blow to their empire in the south. But political events, which, although not directly affecting Colombia, yet exercise eventually a decisive influence over her destiny, accompany or follow the triumphant march of the liberating army. The custom has been so generally followed in South America, that we must consider it the common law of the revolution; and therefore there is nothing strange in the fact, that Bolivar was instantly invested with dictatorial powers in Lower Peru, and should receive yet deeper homage in Bolivia.—Universal enthusiasm, as natural as it was extreme, greeted him wherever he vouchsafed his presence. Assisted by the public gratitude, relying still more upon the devoted attachment of the veteran companions of his glory, Bolivar now assumes the functions of a legislator, of a giver of constitutional charters, and a founder of confederate republics. Bolivia demands of her creator (for such is the language of the times and the occasion) a fundamental law, as the basis whereon the structure of her regenerated liberties shall be erected; and the famous Bolivian code is sent forth as a faultless model of a constitution for the new republics of America.—Meanwhile the stupendous plan of a general league of the American nations is conceived, and the Congress of Panamá appointed for its consummation.—Notwithstanding the uneasiness of the Peruvian patriots, one constituent congress after another is dissolved, and Bolivar remains the irresponsible controller of affairs. Measures are at length taken to procure the adoption of the Bolivian code in Peru; and at this crisis the insurrection of Paez in Venezuela commences, and, by calling for political reforms, for the abolishment of the central system, and

for the interposition of Bolívar to remodel the constitution, indicates the tendency of the political events in the two Perus to affect the condition of Colombia.

Indeed, long ere this, rumours were afloat, and received countenance from the movements of Bolívar himself, that his immediate aim was to unite Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia, into one confederate state, under the government of himself as perpetual dictator. While the insurrection of Páez was threatening to convulse Colombia to its very centre, Bolívar continued in Lima, or in the delightful retreat of La Magdalena, although the expulsion of the Spaniards had accomplished the whole object for which the liberating army entered Peru. But meanwhile Leocadio Guzmán, the author of a pamphlet recommending the Bolivian code, appears at Guayaquil, and other places in the departments of Colombia bordering on the Pacific as far as Panamá, and professing to act as the representative of Bolívar, urges meetings of the municipalities, with a view to the adoption, by them, of the constitution of Bolivia, or of a dictatorship express or implied. The disorganization of these four departments is the consequence. Accordingly, when Bolívar, at the close of the year, arrives at Bogotá, only four of the twelve departments which compose the republic wear the attitude of being faithful to the constitution. Intimations were not wanting, that Bolívar himself had instigated the insurrection of Páez, and of course that all the public disorders originated with him alone. However this may be, all signs of actual hostilities disappeared at his approach; and when he entered Caracas in the beginning of 1827, he received the same tokens of ready submission as if nothing had occurred to disturb the tranquil movement of the government. Bolívar having assumed the extraordinary powers which the constitution imparted in cases of rebellion or invasion, took the four northern departments under his own immediate direction, and out of the control of the regular constitutional authorities at Bogotá; issued a decree of general amnesty; and virtually sanctioned the insurrection, by continuing Páez in command as supreme chief of Venezuela.

Between the beginning and the close of the year 1827, a new series of events, and a new class of considerations, produced important changes in the face of public affairs. Bolívar, it is to be remembered, had been re-elected president of Colombia, and his second term of service would regularly have commenced with the year. But soon after he fixed his head-quarters at Caracas, he despatched a communication to the president of the senate, signifying his determination to decline the office of chief magistrate of the republic, and to withdraw from all public employments. Congress, however, refused to accept his renunciation, after a debate wherein his views were freely canvassed, and as vehemently denounced on the one side, as they were on the other

most zealously defended. But while acting thus much in favour of Bolivar, the majority of congress took measures for maintaining the integrity of the constitution. They passed successively, decrees for a general amnesty, for re-establishing constitutional order, and for assembling a national convention at Ocaña to consider the proposed reforms in the political institutions of the country. Meantime events occurred in Peru, which operated upon Colombia in a most unexpected manner. Influenced by the friends of Bolivar, or intimidated by the presence of the auxiliary Colombian army, the electoral colleges of Peru voted to adopt a constitution precisely similar to that of Bolivia, and elected Bolivar president for life. But in one short month afterwards, the soldiers of the auxiliary division stationed at Lima, conceiving an idea that Bolivar was aiming at the liberties of Colombia their native country, arrested their generals, revolutionized the government established in Peru under his name, and, under the command of Colonel Bustamante, returned to Colombia uncalled for, breathing distrust and defiance against Bolivar. This event was accompanied by a counter revolution at Guayaquil, also in opposition to him; and it would seem that these occurrences decided him to proceed to Bogotá, and take the constitutional oaths as President.

All eyes were now turned upon the approaching convention to be assembled at Ocaña in March of 1828. During the year that was drawing to a close, the discussions which agitated the country had undergone a radical change in their complexion. Previously, the question had been: shall the republic continue to be governed according to the existing constitution and the central system, or shall the constitution be changed and the federal system substituted in lieu of it. Santander and his friends might be considered as the champions of the former, and Paez, or his advisers, of the latter; and although it was a question which ought, in Colombia, to have been regarded as settled by the constitution, yet, independently of this consideration, it was a grave subject of nice and doubtful controversy. In Mexico, Central America, the United Provinces, and Chile, respectively, it was one of the great questions upon which public men were divided; and it is not strange that it should divide them in Colombia. But after Bolivar's return from Peru, the whole ground of dispute was changed. He made no secret of his determined hostility to the plans of the federal party, who soon discovered, that from him they had nothing to hope. On the contrary, a powerful party began to make itself felt, who proposed a still greater centralization of the government; in a word, its concentration in the hands of Bolivar. The Bolivian code, it seems, contained his profession of political faith. The application of its principles to Colombia was at first cautiously intimated as matter worthy of reflection;

and at length boldly insisted on, as necessary to tranquillize the nation and re-establish its credit. All the friends of republican institutions found it now behooved them to make common cause against opinions, fatal alike to the constitution and the federal system; and in congress, in the newspapers, and in the political circles, this was the question that absorbed all other subjects of difference.

Our own opinion is, that the convention of Ocaña ought never to have been called. The constitution expressly provided a period of ten years for the trial of that instrument; and when the malecontents of Venezuela pressed for a convention in anticipation of the year fixed by the constitution, it would have been better for the republican party to resist the measure, and meet the crisis then, instead of lending their countenance to it, and thus aiding to interrupt the regular march of the government. If they yielded, in the expectation that the assembly would prove capable of quieting the elements of public discord, and thus retarding the downfall of the constitutional government, they were sadly mistaken in the result. A succession of political movements, wherein the friends of Bolivar, the leading officers of the army, made themselves particularly prominent; votes of the military calling on the liberator to become the head of a more efficient government:—such were the signs which lowered in the political atmosphere. The ineffectual attempt of General Padilla in opposition to the declared wish of the army, served only to ruin himself, and to demonstrate the strength of the party favourable to the views of Bolivar. Had the convention manifested a disposition to invest him with dictatorial authority by their vote, unquestionably they would have been permitted to do it; and the dissolution of that body was naturally to be regarded as decisive of the fate of the republic.

It was easy to anticipate, from all this, what crisis in the public affairs was at hand; for, every thing tended to the point of elevating Bolivar to supreme and unlimited power. The machinery devised for accomplishing it was, in Colombia, analogous to that whereby a similar object was effected in France; namely, the resolutions of separate municipalities and detached corporations acting each for itself, and not by the intervention of a general representative body elected in behalf of the whole nation. The impulse began at Bogotá, where, by a municipal act, dated June 13th 1828, the supreme command of the republic was conferred on the liberator. The celebration of acts of the same import at Quito on the 10th, and at Caracas on the 15th of July, that is, at the two extremities of the republic nearly at the same time, indicates either previous concert among the leading individuals, or if not, then a general readiness to adopt the measure, and a conviction that it was necessary, or at least unavoidable.

At any rate, the example of the capital was universally followed in the various municipalities, all uniting to invest Bolivar with plenary power, as supreme chief of the republic. They declared expressly in many cases, impliedly in all, that as integral portions of the Colombian people, they resumed the sovereignty which they had previously placed in the hands of the constitutional authorities, for the purpose of delegating the same sovereignty to Bolivar, individually, in all its original fulness, and without limitation as to extent or duration. The constitution, therefore, was to be considered as virtually abolished, and Bolivar as perpetual dictator of Colombia, although governing, like Augustus, under the forms and denominations of a republic. In obeying the call of the municipalities, and assuming the authority of supreme chief, he devolved the duties of the administration upon a council of ministers, as he had done in Peru.

It is not to be supposed, that a revolution like this should occur without some of those characteristic incidents which usually accompany the exaltation of a successful general to supreme power. These incidents were precisely what we might have expected from the disposition of the sections of Colombia where-in they respectively happened, being in Venezuela an act of extreme servility towards Bolivar, and contemporaneously with it a conspiracy to re-enact the tragedy of Cæsar's death at Bogotá. The particulars of the abortive attempt to assassinate Bolivar, on the 25th of September, are so well known, in consequence of the attention which it has generally attracted, that we merely allude to it here. Suffice it to say, that in giving Bolivar occasion to subject Padilla to the punishment of death, and affording a pretext for the trial and condemnation of Santander, it removed from his path two among the most uncompromising friends of republican institutions, and effectually intimidated the rest; that by severe prosecution of Horment, Guerra, Zulaibar, and other active agents in the conspiracy, and the public indignation which always pursues an ineffectual attempt at assassination, even if a tyrant be the object aimed at, Bolivar secured himself against a repetition of the enterprise; and that therefore, as in other similar cases, it ended in fixing his power upon a firmer basis. On the 21st of September, only four days previous to the explosion of this conspiracy, Paez, who had been the first to evoke the spirit of discord and revolution, assembled the military, the civil authorities, the various corporations and prominent individuals of Venezuela, in the principal church of Caracas, and required of them to take a solemn oath of fidelity to Bolivar. This oath, so completely expressive of the present nature of the government of Colombia, is in the following words:—“You swear, before God and the Holy Evangelists, to recognise his Excellency the Liberator Simon Bolivar, as Supreme

Chief of the Republic of Colombia, charged exclusively with the regulation of all the branches of public administration, according to the unlimited powers which the people have conferred upon him; and to preserve and execute, faithful and inviolate, all the orders, decrees, and dispositions which he shall sanction." Paez harangued the people, and afterwards the soldiery, urging them, in the most impassioned language, to devote themselves to Bolivar; and his addresses received enthusiastic applause. The picture of Bolivar was carried in procession, and obtained the popular homage in place of its original. Amid the fire-works, discharges of cannon, and other festivities of the day, an original ode was sung, having the significant chorus—

"Juremos ser fieles
Al grande Simon,
Y el grito resuene
De constante union."

If, as Selden maintains in the *Table Talk*, *syllables* govern the world, and ballads bespeak the feelings of a people, we may safely infer, that Bolivar will, in process of time, assume a title better known, if not more definite than supreme chief, in which his baptismal name will occupy a prominent place. It may be, however, that the overthrow of his plans in Peru, the dissatisfaction of the republican party who so long rallied around Santander, and the armed opposition to his government headed by Obando in Popayan, may induce him to pause before he takes the final step in the march of usurpation. If the convention which he has lately summoned, shall be suffered to consist of members freely elected, and to pursue its deliberations unawed by military intimidation, Colombia may yet be preserved from the last ignominy of republics, and Bolivar regain the esteem and confidence of America.

ART. II.—*Memorials of Shakspeare; now first collected.* By NATHAN DRAKE. London: 1828. 1 vol. 4to.

THE superstition of antiquity crowded the shrines of its deities with its offerings. The garland and the wreath, the libation and the sacrifice, were presented by each successive generation; and if little variety was displayed in the character or costliness of the gifts, they showed that the deity continued to merit the same devotion and love, and that the votary was still grateful for the blessings he received. All enthusiasm is the same; and if the tribute of piety may be admired or excused, that of literature needs not novelty to defend it. We claim,

therefore, the privilege to add another offering to those already paid to the genius of Shakspeare. Had he lived in the days when divinities were the offspring of imagination, his temple would have been richer than that of Jupiter, and poetry and wisdom would have preferred him to Minerva and Apollo. But in these times, when such things "live no longer in the faith of reason," he can only receive the homage mankind are disposed to pay to the power that has created a spell of enchantment, not more potent in earliest youth than in latest age, as fresh and pervading now as it was two centuries ago. Does our recollection carry us back to the earliest moments of intense enjoyment, still deeply planted in our memory—it is to those when we first witnessed the exhibition of his dramas; though there was not intelligence to perceive the rich beauties of his poetry, yet the exquisite variety of his scenes, and the bold originality of his characters, stamped an impression not to be effaced; we recur again and again to the pleasing illusion which now flies from our grasp, and we almost believe the recollections are not of fiction, but of real occurrences. To our youth, his pages brought a still more delightful charm—we can recall minutely the time we passed in the first perusal of Shakspeare—how as we finished each drama, we ranked it as the best, till some new and more delightful impression arose from that which succeeded it; the very air and scenery around us seemed peopled with the beings of whom we had been reading; how often has the student, seated in his still and lonely chamber, closed the volume over which he has pored, to see rising before him the forms of wild, mistaken, disappointed ambition; of hapless beauty, of unearthly love, of gentle melancholy, of every passion and affection which disgraces or ennobles the heart of man—how often, as he wandered in a summer evening, has he seen moonlight fairies dancing on the meadows, and forms of exquisite loveliness wandering through the groves—reality yields to imagination—the beings whom he loves to think of, are not those he sees around him; but the objects of his admiration are the bold, ardent, perplexed Othello, the gentle Brutus, the melancholy Jacques, or the pensive Hamlet, and his heart seeks the idol of his affection in the gentle Viola, the pure and saintly Imogen, or the devoted and suffering Cordelia. He fixes on these as the models of his actions, the beings of his devotion, and forgets for them the coarser creatures that he finds around him—he lives in a world of his own and the poet's creation—he nourishes the ardent feelings and high enthusiasm which are the fruits of a mind revolving upon itself, unaffected by external things—and he thinks not that the cloud is already gathering in the west, which is to obscure all the brightness of his long, long summer day. Is the charm less when years have chilled our enthusiasm, and the world has

brought with it a load of cares? Our knowledge of life has taught us to find new and more sober beauties in the same visions which were lately tinged with romance; Hamlet is no longer a pensive and unhappy prince, wandering like an exile in his paternal home; Cordelia is no longer the suffering daughter of a persecuted old man; but the one has risen to the nobler rank of an indignant avenger of his father's murder, a man profound in thought, and imbued with learning, a being in whom are variously blended the most exquisite sensibilities; in the other, we behold the triumph of virtuous resolution, the sacrifice of wealth and power at the shrine of duty, and the noblest, because the most uncommon, of virtues, patient forbearance under unmerited disgrace.

In this age of memoirs and biography, it will appear a little strange, that notwithstanding his celebrity in his own day, nearly one hundred years were suffered to elapse after the first publication of his plays, before a single explanatory note, or one incident or anecdote relative to his life, his writings, or his lot, was given to the world. And how fortunate that it was so!—what a boundless mine has thus been opened for conjecture and research about mighty matters—what a field for the learning of commentators—what glorious hunting for the black letter dogs, what pleasant waggery, what ingenious discussions and profound investigations of antiquated words, misprinted sentences, and obsolete proverbs have thus been brought to light—how many able scholars, else unknown, will thus go down to future times, tacked to the great bard, and, above all, how much have our libraries increased in splendour and extent—our dispositions in munificence and literary patronage, when twenty volumes occupy the place of one, and a hundred dollars purchase what cost our ancestors ten.

The first edition of Shakspeare's Plays was published in 1623, seven years after his death, and his admirers seem to have desired that the period which Horace had assigned as the test of literary merit, should be fully exemplified in his case, careless as he was himself, and well might be, of all such rules and boundaries of fame. The seventeenth-century passed over, and his name is scarcely noticed by the wits and dramatists. Dryden speaks of him as obsolete; Shaftesbury complains of the rudeness of his style, and his antiquated phrases; Tate *amended*, and gave to the public, *King Lear*, from "an obscure piece recommended to his notice by a friend;" and even Steele seems to have been ignorant of the "*Taming of the Shrew*," and to have known the *Tempest* only in the awkward disguise under which Sir William D'Avenant has contrived to hide its exquisite beauties. One actor, the Garrick of those days, and not more admirable for his powers on the stage, than estimable for the benevo-

lence, virtue, and serenity of his life, his strong perception of poetic beauty, his deep feeling, and his lively wit, seems alone to have formed a just estimate of Shakspeare. *Betterton*, after a long life passed on the stage, and with a reputation far exceeding that of any former tragedian, devoted the first moments of his retirement to collect some memorials of the author whose best representative he had been: though upwards of seventy years of age, he made a visit to Stratford upon Avon, and with laudable and affectionate zeal collected all that could be obtained from tradition, family records, and public documents; to these, on his return to London, he added all the information which his long management of the Theatre opened to him; and he confided the whole to *Rowe*, the poet, his intimate friend, who embodied them in the life which he prefixed to an edition of the plays published in 1709.

With the reviving fame of the poet, however, he was destined to receive a still more illustrious commentator. *Pope* had scarcely inscribed his tribute of affection and regret over the tomb of his friend *Rowe*, when he was called on to tread in his footsteps. He had studied Shakspeare with more zeal than most of the wits of an age which was given rather to admiration of ancient and foreign works than the earlier productions of English literature. The innumerable errors and interpolations of the text had been to him a subject of much mortification, and he was accustomed, as we are told by *Ruffhead*, to apply to the mutilated text the words of *Æneas*,—

“Laniatum corpore toto—Deiphobum vidi,” &c.

At the request of *Tonson* he agreed to edit the works of Shakspeare. His genius was hardly fitted for this task; although he did much, he also left much undone; he was careless in collating the previous copies, and he relied too much on the text of his predecessor, *Rowe*; he seems to have in some degree despised or underrated the duty he assumed, and he is said to have valued himself so little upon its performance, as never to have alluded to it in any letter, poem, or work whatsoever. Yet his labours were far from useless; public attention was called to a work not then much read, which had thus claimed the notice of the greatest poet of the times; the paths of useful criticism, if not remotely explored, were carefully pointed out; and, above all, he gave a preface which may rank among the finest prose compositions of the language, and in which the character of the poet was, for the first time, discussed with great judgment and taste, and in a style of uncommon purity and elegance.

The edition of *Pope* was shortly followed by what was called “some attempts upon Shakspeare;” published by *Theobald*, a well known hero of the *Dunciad*; but though he undertook to say

that his edition was so perfect "that to expose any errors in it was impracticable;" it was in truth rather an attempt to detect errors in the preceding one, than a careful restoration of the older texts; and moreover betrayed a desire for innovation and a capricious love of change. Yet bad as it was, it was better than those of *Sir Thomas Hanmer* and *Bishop Warburton*; they not only adopted implicitly the errors of Pope, but they added innumerable blunders, the result of their own carelessness or rash conjecture. Warburton shows, in his comments on Shakspeare, all the inextinguishable fondness for speculation, all the rashness, arrogance, and conceit, which generally marked his actions and writings, and destroyed so much the effect of his great intellect and vast acquirements. If he was the literary lion of his day, and he seems as a critic fairly at least to hold that place, he was, like the king of beasts, only the more subject to the stings of innumerable insects, who delighted to hover round and annoy him. Many of his most learned tracts are less known by reason of their own merit, than from the witty productions which they called forth; few persons read the dissertation on the sixth book of Virgil, unless called to it by the admirable and sarcastic examination of Gibbon; and more perhaps remember his notices of Shakspeare from the lively though petulant witticisms of the author of the *Cannons of Criticism*, than any great admiration of the singular and original interpretations and conjectures by which they are marked.

After all, however, it is not to be denied, that with whatever disadvantages, the text of Shakspeare had greatly improved. The obscurities of time and neglect had been much obviated under the labours thus bestowed; and it is perhaps more from a knowledge of what has followed, and an ignorance of the difficulties to be surmounted, than from the real faults of these commentators, that we are apt thus to decry their labours. This too has been aggravated perhaps, not with too much justice, by the fame of the commentator into whose hands Shakspeare was next destined to fall. In the year 1745, Dr. *Johnson*, at that time lately arrived in London, unknown to fame, and seeking employment and subsistence in the lowest drudgery of literary labour, had met with the edition of Hanmer; and, shocked with the bold innovations and scanty improvements by which it was marked, projected a new one; the project however wanted popularity or patronage, and eleven years elapsed before it was seriously adopted. In 1756, either the reputation of the editor had increased, or the wants of the public demanded it, and the booksellers united in the scheme; proposals were a second time issued, and better success attended the effort. His ardour, however, seemed to have passed by, for ten more years were suffered to elapse in the performance of a task which he did not cordially undertake, and

1765
it was not until 1768 that he gave his well known preface to the world. If the fame of this tract be a test of its merit, its rank is undoubtedly high. Indeed, in erudition and critical acuteness, it is a masterly production. His appeal from the foreign critics, who have chosen to fix narrow rules for the dramatic art rather on principles resulting in their own imagination, than from reason or even the practice of antiquity, and to call on the reader or the listener to fix their judgment by these rules, is unanswered, and must be unanswerable. Nor is this all; no one has pointed out more strongly the power which Shakspeare has obtained and exerts over all the feelings and passions of his hearers. No one has examined with more care the secret causes of this power, or displayed more acuteness in analyzing his peculiarities, his beauties and his faults. No one has paid a higher tribute to his singular discrimination of character, his rapid and wonderful observation of human nature, and his fertile and various invention. The sketch Dr. Johnson has given of those who preceded him in his task is very able—the faults and excellencies of the several commentators are pointed out with his characteristic strength, and with less of ill-natured censure, in which he too often indulged. The statement of his own labours, with which he concludes, is made with that sort of haughty modesty he so frequently displays, disclaiming as it were any more exertion than was absolutely necessary, and disdaining to apologize for the want of it. Yet after all this, we venture to assert that few commentators on Shakspeare have done less, really useful; his sins both of omission and commission are neither few nor trivial. He had neither the particular nor general fitness for the task. He was needy, and the booksellers were content to attach his name to their undertaking. He had not the acquaintance with ancient manners and customs requisite for a commentator, nor the industry and research desirable in an editor; as he preferred composing a speech to repeating it, so he had rather suggest than restore a reading. He took unaltered the biography of Rowe, though no doubt much might have been obtained from tradition, from persons still living, and from documents yet saved, which are now irretrievably lost. It is evident, from the works of Pope, Warton and Gray, that the literary history of earlier times had begun to be cultivated; that of the drama would have been peculiarly proper and interesting, yet towards it he never seems to have made a single effort. If he was deficient in these minor though essential qualities for the task, the deficiency does not seem to have been supplied by the powers of his intellect, vast as they were, and predominating in the age which he almost stamped with his name. Beyond all critics that ever lived, he imposed the authority of his opinion upon his own times; beyond all critics, his name has retained a weight with those that

have succeeded; and yet it may be safely asserted, that there is no critic whatever, of any celebrity, from whose opinions his readers so often and so strongly dissent. Nor are these things by any means irreconcilable. The powers of his mind were great and imposing; his reflections were often very profound; and he had the art of giving to such as were not, the appearance of being so; he generalized admirably; he overthrew an opponent scarcely with less effect when he was wrong, than when right; his use of language was new and peculiar; he caught striking traits and sketched characters with great force; he could detect and urge with consummate skill the weak and strong points which he desired to make subservient to his argument; he could extenuate faults till vices almost became virtues, and he could dwell on if he did not exaggerate defects, until excellence was forgotten. We think every one of these points of his character may be established from his biography of the British poets alone. Of all critical works, perhaps no one is so celebrated, yet there is scarcely a life in which a reader does not find much from which he dissents, and in many he is almost compelled to attribute errors and prejudices so glaring to a natural obliquity of judgment and wanton harshness of disposition. The latter, it is true, could not operate with regard to Shakspeare; he was not, like Gray, a cotemporary and a rival; he was not, like Milton, a dissenter and republican; but he was a poet of a school entirely different from that of Johnson, a man of habits and feelings as opposite as possible. On Shakspeare's striking peculiarities and general characteristics he could dwell with his natural acumen; he could detect his sins against taste, rhetoric, and artificial rules; he could understand his tragic grandeur, and enjoy much of his humour; but he was unable to follow through all the mazes into which the imagination of the poet was forever diverging; he was lost in the quick, sudden, unpremeditated sallies which marked his genius; he dwelt on the inimitable variety of his characters without enthusiasm, and judged them by general traits, not by those slight discriminations which distinguish them from all others; he reasoned where he should have felt; he expatiated on the artificial structure of a plot, or drily detailed the diversity of the characters, when the heart of his reader looked for the display of interest corresponding with his own; the cold summary of the *Tempest* might have been drawn up from the table of the *dramatis personæ*; the notice of Richard III. points out almost nothing, where there is a succession of incident and development of character exciting perpetual interest; and if we except two or three of the more notorious tragedies, the reader will find little display of intellectual observation and criticism, answering to the studies of twenty years.

While Johnson had been thus slowly wading through his unwilling task, another editor arose who was destined to pass down

to posterity as the sharer of his fame in all that regarded Shakspeare. *George Steevens*, a gentleman of considerable classical erudition and much ingenuity, though neither in intellect, acquirements, or fame, worthy to rank with Dr. Johnson, had been for some years pursuing with more zeal than any of his predecessors the path which they had indicated, but soon ceased to follow. He had in the year 1766 published verbatim from the old copies, all the plays, twenty in number, which were printed in quarto in Shakspeare's lifetime or before the restoration of Charles II. From this he was led to cultivate with more assiduity the curious but neglected field of antiquarian investigation. He did so with ingenuity, labour, and success; and filled up in a considerable degree what was wanting in Johnson. Of this the great critic was soon aware, and Steevens, who well knew the value of his name, if we may believe the author of the *Pursuits of Literature*, was not deficient in those powers of flattery and persuasion to which he was peculiarly open. The first fruits of his research into the literature and costume of the age of Shakspeare, appeared united with the critical notes and commentaries which had been before published, and in the year 1773, an enlarged edition of the poet, in ten volumes, was given to the world under the joint names of Johnson and Steevens. It was revised and republished shortly after, in 1778, and certainly far surpassed in correctness of text, and variety and interest of illustration, all that had gone before.

The task, however, of laborious care and research, though first exhibited to the world by Steevens, had been pursued in silence, and with even more industry, by another. Mr. *Capell* published his edition of Shakspeare in 1783, having been engaged in its preparation six and thirty years. He is said to have transcribed, with his own hand, the works of the illustrious poet, ten times. It might have been expected from this singular industry, and the years thus devoted to it, that his text would be of great comparative purity; but his plodding patience could not extinguish the desire of original conjecture, and subsequent critics have discovered, or professed to discover, no less than nine hundred and seventy-two errors, arising from unauthorized innovations and arbitrary changes. Nor did he receive the just reward of all his industry; the plan he was pursuing through so many years, was no secret to many literary men; and catching the idea, they prosecuted it with more rapidity, if not more zeal, so that when the long promised commentaries of the laborious compiler saw the light, it was found that they brought little that was not already known. "While he was diving," says a lively writer, "into the classics of Caxton, and working his way under ground, like the river mole, in order to emerge with all his glories; while he was looking forward to his triumphs, certain other active spi-

rits went to work upon his plan, and digging out the promised treasures, laid them prematurely before the public, defeating the object of our critic's discoveries by anticipation. Farmer, Steevens, Malone, and a whole host of literary ferrets, burrowed into every hole and corner of the warren of modern antiquity, and overran all the country whose map had been delineated by Edward Capell."

Steevens, who was unwilling to relinquish the high ground he had obtained, scarcely suffered Capell's edition to issue from the press, before he proposed the publication of his own for the third time; and it appeared, under the superintendence of Mr. Reed, with some corrections and improvements, in 1785. He was not, however, destined to hunt alone in a field where so many were eager and ready for the chase. His next rival was Mr. *Malone*, who published an edition in ten volumes, in 1790. This gentleman did not possess the wit or sagacity of his predecessor, but he was his equal in general knowledge and in antiquarian research. He avoided, with scrupulous care, the fault into which all who went before him had fallen in a greater or less degree, neglecting or tampering with the original text; to the old copies he adhered with undeviating fidelity, and probably his edition is as perfect a transcript of the words of Shakspeare as can now be obtained. In his notes, he was often tedious and superabundant about trifles, but his history of the stage, and his critical investigations, are distinguished by very considerable acumen.

The restless soul of Steevens could not remain quiet while a rival was in the field. He returned at once to the charge. He determined in a fourth edition to destroy an opponent whose opinions he affected to regard with sovereign contempt. He devoted himself to the task with more than his usual industry and perseverance; for eighteen months he gave up all other occupations, and confined himself exclusively to this; he resided at Hampstead, but left his house every morning at three o'clock, and without consideration of weather or of season, walked to London to call up the printers and correct his proof sheets—

"Him late from Hampstead journeying to his book,
Aurora oft for Ceph'us mistook,
What time he brush'd her dew with hasty pace,
To meet the printer's dev'let face to face."

In 1793, the appearance of fifteen well filled volumes marked his zeal and was the result of his labours; but even this did not suffice, for he continued with scarcely less assiduity to collect more materials and add fresh notes until death closed his career in 1800. At this time, a fifth edition was already in preparation, and it was given to the world three years after by his friend Reed, in no less than twenty-one volumes; on these the reputation of Steevens as an editor and a commentator must entirely rest.

As regards the first, his character was that of uncommon industry and perseverance; he paid minute attention to typographical correctness and beauty; he omitted no opportunity to throw upon every passage all the light to be obtained by learning and research; but he committed one great fault, notwithstanding his careful collation, in attempting to restore what he thought wanting in the metrical harmony of the verse, or to use Kemble's expression, "to modulate the enchanting freedom of Shakspeare's numbers so as to please those who read verses by their fingers." As a commentator, Steevens had great excellencies, but he had also great faults. In the first place is to be noticed his intimate acquaintance with the language, literature, manners, customs and superstitions of the age of Shakspeare; in this he has had no rival; it was this, as we have said, which induced or obliged Johnson to call in his aid, and place his name in conjunction with his own; it was this which made him the most useful of illustrators, and has reduced the task of future editors to the exercise simply of taste, judgment, and literary criticism. He was also a man of great sagacity; he possessed no inconsiderable learning, being a good classical scholar, and deeply read in English history; his language was often eloquent, his power of argument was great; he had a strong, acute, logical mind; and he was especially remarkable for his pointed satirical wit. These endowments were counteracted by many defects. He was entirely destitute of poetic taste and feeling, his humour frequently descended to coarse and ungentelemanly ribaldry; a great part of his annotations are marked by unsparing ridicule, often indulged against those he has himself led into error, and displaying a malignant exultation over cotemporary candidates for critical fame; much of his illustration is revolting and disgusting; he dwells with evident pleasure on every allusion that is coarse and indelicate, and in so doing, as if conscious of the disgrace, he concealed his authorship by an act of dishonourable malignity perhaps never equalled—he attached to these abominable disquisitions the names of gentlemen whom he regarded with hostility, and one of whom was a man, not only of great purity and virtue, but of a temper peculiarly sensitive, which could not but be severely wounded by so infamous an act.

Mr. Malone long survived his celebrated rival, and like him, he continued to devote the closing years of his life to the illustration of Shakspeare; he revised and improved his former edition with great industry, and in 1821, nine years after his death, it re-appeared in twenty-one volumes octavo, under the care and arrangement of Mr. *Boswell*, to whom the materials thus industriously accumulated by the deceased critic, had been very happily consigned.

We have thus given our readers a cursory account of the chief

éditors of Shakspeare, and the character of their respective publications. We think they will coincide with us in opinion, that there is still room for an edition which may be rendered more valuable and useful, even to scholars, but certainly to general readers, than any which has yet been published. We know not why such a one should not make its appearance in this country; in proportion to the population, Shakspeare is greatly more read here than in Great Britain; no traveller can have failed to observe that his works are found in the public houses, and in the private dwellings of persons comparatively poor, in the most remote parts of the United States; there are at this time no less than four stereotype editions published, of course with little intermission, and each comprising many thousand copies; no dramas are so frequently presented at our play-houses, and none draw audiences of such numbers and intelligence. During the last four years, it may be mentioned, the plays of Shakspeare were performed much less frequently in London than in New-York and Philadelphia, though the united population of the two latter, scarcely equals one-fifth of the former. To this it should be added, that there are no longer any sources of information to be obtained in England, which are not equally accessible here; all that is requisite has been done to revise and correct the text, and to illustrate the incidents of the dramas; so that what remains is to be rather the work of judgment, taste, and genius, than of labour and research.

An edition of Shakspeare such as we desire to see produced in this country, should carefully follow the most approved text; it should contain the various readings, and the observations of skillful commentators wherever there is obscurity—the best notes, explanatory and illustrative, from previous editions—a selection from the numerous critical works and essays already published, on the genius, the character, and the poetic beauties of the great bard—and, above all, that load of trash should be excluded which has been stowed into the numerous preceding volumes, to shock the delicacy and weary the taste of the reader, and those ungentlemanly personalities which disgrace the dignity of literature, and pollute, with unmannerly abuse, the pages of the gentlest and most benevolent of men.

We have occupied so much more space than we anticipated, in our notice of the commentators on Shakspeare, that we must turn at once to that portion of Dr. Drake's volume, where he has professed to gather, as "*Memorials of Shakspeare*," the best criticisms dispersed through various miscellaneous departments of literature. From these, connected with a study of the great bard himself, neither recent in its commencement, nor lukewarm in its progress, we shall endeavour to point out to our readers some

of those peculiar characteristics which have exalted him as a monument of human intellect, single and unapproachable.

It has been very common with the English critics to class Homer and Shakspeare together, as the most original of all poets, and to find the source of this originality in the common circumstance of their existence in an age just emerging from darkness and ignorance. There is less truth in this view of the matter than we are at first inclined to suppose; for it will be found on a little reflection, that if both be original, their originality arises principally from different sources, and is developed or exhibited in different manners. In fact, in considering the merit of the great father of poetry, we should not forget a circumstance peculiar to him—that he unites at once the boldness of conception which marks a rude age, and the refinement of expression only found in one far advanced. In the poems of Homer, the delineations of character, the general formation of plot, the picturesque similes, the glowing descriptions, are the conceptions of his own great mind—but they were reduced to regular written language, and to critical beauty, by the combined genius, taste, and intelligence of Athens, in a day of refinement and learning. Keeping this circumstance in view, we may remark, that in invention Homer is superior to Shakspeare; that in the extent, variety, interest, and conduct of his fable, which could spring only from his own fertile imagination, he is without a rival; that in the glowing and continued description of battles and active scenes; in the sustained grandeur of his flight; in the noble structure of his supernatural machinery; in the beautiful succession of his incidents, which follow each other, exciting, now emotions of admiration, now of pity, and gradually leading us untired to a catastrophe which at once satisfies the mind; in these things he has never yet been equalled; in these things he had no model; in these things, therefore, he may be deemed truly original. But when we come to compare him with Shakspeare, the reflective powers of his mind, and the efforts of imagination, applied less to the incidents and actions of life, than to the individual character of man, the springs and development of passion, the wild, airy, unregulated flights of genius, all must acknowledge his inferiority to the modern. The truth is, that of the hundreds of persons introduced into the poems of Homer, very few are minutely distinguished, and they rather as beings of some general class, than as individuals—Ajax is best known by his seven-fold shield, Tydides by the clanging of his chariot as he rushes to the war, the courage and military prowess of Hector would individuate him alone, but for one or two short scenes, which display his gentleness and affection—even the wisdom of Nestor and the shrewdness of Ulysses are imperfectly developed in the long poem in which they are principal agents.—How different is

it when they appear in the short scenes of *Troilus and Cressida*.—How few of those minute touches of passion which we notice in the drama, are displayed in the rude and sullen anger of the poetic chieftains—how limited is the range of their ambition—how poor is their revenge—how coarse is their love. Let it not be supposed that we would for a moment disparage the greatest of poets. It is only where the English bard had superior advantages in the age in which he lived, that he rivals the great master of antiquity. Homer had no histories to which he could turn as objects for his reflections, and practical examples by which he might form and correct the creations of his imagination—he could not look back on various states of society, where the character of man had been laid open for his inspection. To him the world was rude—Greece had seen no state of cultivated art, Rome had not displayed the wide extent of empire, the days of chivalry and romance had not brought out new fables, with new and singular exploits—there had been no mighty conquerors, no matchless artists, no refined lovers—there were no books to cherish and warm the imagination—there was no Chaucer from whom to learn the delineation of homely character,—no Eastern and Italian novelists to supply the wild tales of imagination—all these Shakspeare had, from all these he derived undoubted advantages, and nothing can be more erroneous than to compare his originality with that of Homer, or to attribute their merits to a similar rudeness and ignorance.

The truth is, that while Shakspeare had a vast genius, so was he born at a time peculiarly fitted for its development. That period which has specially received the appellation of the dark ages, had passed away in the south of Europe, and England had sensibly felt the gleams of returning light. Her literature had begun to receive a higher stamp, the moral and intellectual character of the people had advanced in no inconsiderable degree, and the manners and customs had assumed a form which blended the past and the present together in a degree peculiarly fitted for the development and exercise of the imagination. The favourite literature of the English people previous to the fifteenth century, was those wild tales which abounded in the middle ages, and which in later times took the form of metrical romances; in these there was much extravagance and wildness of fancy, but they formed the ground-work of a species of literature new in itself; they pointed out new sources for invention, gave a new and lively turn to the imagination, imparted variety and richness to language, and were calculated to win the attention of the people generally. If we add to these fictions the chronicles of a few monks, which passed under the name of histories, but which were scarce less fabulous than romance itself, we have almost all of literature which England could boast till

the middle of the fourteenth century. But soon after that period, the reform which had gradually taken place on the continent, began to extend itself thither, and by the middle of the sixteenth century, when Shakspeare was born, literature had undergone a vast and interesting change. The commerce of England was already extensive, and her intercourse with all the nations of the continent had become so close and frequent as to open to her all the new sources of knowledge which had arisen with the increasing intelligence of the times. The rapid change of versification may be distinctly traced, and, as in the play of *Pericles*, we are sometimes able to distinguish in a single piece, the alterations of a century. The ancient writers of Greece and Rome became an object of general study; Greek and Latin were usually taught in schools in the time of Henry VIII.; the ladies of Queen Elizabeth's court were able to converse in the latter language; the queen herself translated the *Hercules Furens* of Seneca; the mythology of the ancients was introduced in games and dramatic representations, their deities often being the persons in the singular interludes represented before her. This circumstance not only afforded a new object of study for the poet, increasing his knowledge and giving variety to his images, but it engrafted taste, correctness, and regulated beauty on the wild and romantic stock which had descended to him from his ancestors. With these ancient models, the dramatic poet found scarcely less aid in the lively tales of the Italian and even French and Spanish novelists, which constituted a new era in works of fiction, and opened a delightful field of incident and narrative, which could not but be turned to account; these novels were all translated into English and universally read; they form for the most part the foundation of the early English drama, and perhaps we may own, that if they have less chaste grandeur than those which "presented Thebes and Pelops line," they have a variety which makes them more generally interesting. This sudden spread of learning in England, was the furrow of the plough-share through a rich unbroken soil, not the sudden deposit of alluvion on a barren shore. The seeds were pregnant with life, and they were now turned up, not to produce a common harvest, but like the sowing of Cadmus, a race of men in the full maturity of genius—a Spenser, a Shakspeare, and a Bacon. The mind broke forth in its full strength; there was no fixed standard to which criticism could tie down the flights of genius—all bore the stamp and vigour of thought; and whatever may be the improvements since, in refinement and in science, we shall look in vain for a period at which the strong powers of mind were as fully and strikingly displayed.

Nor did this increasing refinement destroy the brilliancy and variety which attended a ruder state of letters and society. A century later, religion and morality were gradually moulded into

the severe forms of fanaticism, and a century later Shakspeare's plays would not have been written. As yet, however, the vigour of thought had to work in the mine, among the heaps of precious ore which had been turned up, brilliant and various, but rough and unsorted. It caught from society and manners an interest which we seek in vain in more artificial days. These gave it a romantic and gorgeous turn, which Milton has applied with infinitely less propriety to the more chaste and regulated productions of Grecian feeling and genius. The days and deeds of chivalry were fresh in recollection. The grades of society were all strongly marked, which, if bad for the people, was good for the poet. The queen herself was high spirited and bold. The haughty nobles still retained the splendour and distinction which rank and power conferred; in their style of living they preserved much of the condescending benevolence of the old feudal princes; in their patronage of learning they paid their tribute to the improvement of the age. The middle ranks of society had made themselves of consequence by the wealth they had amassed in commerce, the reliance which the great were forced to place in them, their strict assertion of their privileges, and the pride they felt in maintaining in dress and manner their separate and acknowledged rank. The lower classes, the uninformed who resided in the interior country, with little intercourse among each other, still nourished the habits and superstitions of past ages; if the law had made them alter their religion, they only changed the same observance and belief from the breviary to the prayer-book—from the mass to the communion. The patron saint still appeared on Hallowmas eve, and unholy spirits still feared to violate the season "wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated"—witches were yet seen in the crones who dwelt in miserable and deserted cabins—fairies still carried on their nightly revels around the old oak trees; the traditions of antiquity were believed in preference to the volume of history; sports, now forgotten, enlivened the village meadows, and the morris-dancer, the mountebank, and the conjuror, were yet hailed and admired at every fair.

In the revolutions of states, the moment at which the hand of genius asserts its power, is when the past has been broken up, but not destroyed; when the future may be foreseen, but is yet unsettled. It then becomes, not so much the creature, as the controller, of events, and blending together that which would be reluctantly sacrificed, with that which is eagerly hoped for, it makes all subservient to itself, and stamps it as its own. The force of genius, to whatever end directed, acts in the same way. What the conqueror or the statesman effects in the revolutions of empires, the poet and the philosopher do in the peaceful, but not less changing regions of literature

and science. How often have great writers thus given to their age the stamp of their own peculiar character. How many seem born at the very moment when their genius could be best developed, and its effects produce the most lasting influence on mankind. Of these, who is so striking an instance as Shakspeare? He created a new school; introduced into his country a species of literature, which, when compared with previous models, may be justly called rather original than improved. He had the talent to make the peculiarities of the times subservient to his ends. He arose suddenly in the tumult, to sway and control every thing. Like a spirit, he performed his task and vanished. The evening of his days was passed in quiet, unambitious retirement, as the morning had been marked by an obscurity which his succeeding splendour never could dispel.

All the labours and industry of a century have not extended the history of his life beyond a few pages, yet what is known serves in some degree to illustrate his character. Though his first twenty years were passed in a village, and in the manual occupation to which poverty reduced him, his family was respectable and respected, and his youth was imbued with feelings more gentle and refined than his situation might have implied. The difficulty of subsistence, an accidental frolic, a weariness of retired life, a native vivacity of character, a love of adventure, or the presentiments of genius and ambition—one or all induced him to seek his fortune in London. His relation to a player probably first led him to the theatre—an exhibition then as now full of charms to the idle, and to those who love better the tricks of imagination, than the weary plodding of industry.

If he was not attached to the theatre as a menial, he certainly performed the humble office of call-boy and prompter, from which he rose to that of an actor of some merit, and ultimately became a proprietor. Fame, however, and wealth, seem to have had few charms for him. As soon as a decent subsistence was amassed, he left the scene of his labours, buried himself among the vales of Warwickshire, passed the short remainder of his life in the indulgence of that hospitality and unpretending repose which were congenial to his character, wrote one of the sweetest of his dramas, and died at an age when he might have looked forward to years of happiness, and his countrymen still expected a rich harvest of intellect. Can this careless, idle creature, be the Shakspeare that we have so loved and revered? Can this thoughtless wanderer among ignoble actors, be the matchless delineator of all that is great, noble, chaste, beautiful, and good? Can this poor runaway child of a glover, be the author of those exquisite verses we are never weary of listening to? Can this quiet, unconscious resident of Stratford, be the being to whom nations pay the homage, not merely of admiration,

but unaffected feeling? Yet so it is—and future times are left to investigate with uncertainty the secret peculiarities in his life, and in the application of his talents, which have thus broken through, or exceeded, the common laws that govern the development of mind. Of these causes, undoubtedly the first, most general, and powerful, is that innate force of genius, whose operations appear, at first sight, to be the effect of sheer accident, but in relation to which, we may content ourselves with applying the observation of Sir Joshua Reynolds, “that where such excellence is produced with certainty and constancy, it cannot be by chance; for that is not the nature of chance; but the rules by which men of extraordinary parts work, are either such as they discover by their own peculiar observation, or of such nice texture as not easily to admit handling, or expressing in words.” Leaving, therefore, the investigation of this great and primary cause, as a subject of metaphysical, rather than critical, research, we shall notice simply one or two of what may be considered as secondary, which are to be found in the history of his life and actions.

When Shakspeare went to London, he had arrived at the age of twenty-two, and had acquired no inconsiderable knowledge of men and things; for, the strong bent of his mind was the observation of all around, and it is evident that in all that knowledge which his previous life could offer, he was deeply skilled. There a new field for observation was opened, more extended and more various; he met with new objects to attract, he saw men under new aspects, he exchanged the simplicity of nature for the complexity of art, he found feelings, passions, pursuits, if not new, differently developed, and chance threw him into that sphere of life where he was best able to arrange and depict these observations. Such a man could not be long connected with the stage, before he would come to compare his own observations with the delineation of the same objects by the pens of the dramatists. He soon perceived their errors, or rather the infancy of their art. He saw at once the ignorance of the thing delineated, and the insufficient manner in which it was conveyed to the hearer. For four or five years we find him exclusively a performer; and in 1592, he is spoken of as an actor of merit and celebrity, patronised by the earls of Southampton and Essex, and envied by less successful aspirants in the same line. His physical powers, however, did not enable him to reach the highest rank of his profession, and he soon determined to devote his talents, the information he had acquired, and the experience he had gained, to the production, rather than the exhibition, of the drama; with the modesty, however, which is one of the most marked attributes of his character, he long hesitated to attempt original composition. Between the years 1589 and 1593, he was em-

played in the correction of several plays of older writers, which have since indeed been classed among his own productions, but which the critics have been enabled, with little doubt, to distinguish from them. In the year 1593, Shakspeare gave to the world his first original dramas, in the exquisitely beautiful productions of the *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, and *Romeo and Juliet*—non licuit parvum te Nile videre—he burst forth at once in tragedy as well as comedy, with the full effulgence of his genius, and whatever may have been its future glory, it left unsurpassed the unexpected brightness of the dawn—

“A day in April never came more sweet,
To show how costly summer was at hand.”

It was indeed like a morning in the spring, mingling its new-born buoyancy and warmth with a breathing softness;—brightness and gaiety were around, and yet there was something that betokened deeper feeling beneath; the gaiety was to assume livelier, if not lighter forms, and the misfortunes and sorrow were to appear in more fearful scenes; the hand of the master had struck the chords, and awakened sensations before unfelt; but while it showed its power, it left notes more various and impressive yet untouched. To develop these was the office of twenty succeeding years, not in the hasty prodigality of some poets, but like his great successor, “long choosing,” and “feeding on thoughts that voluntary move harmonious numbers.”—*Lear*, and *Macbeth*, and the *Tempest*, and *Othello*, and *Twelfth Night*, were each the labour of a year, till, with the last, he closed the long array as he had commenced it, blending the richest humour with that indescribable gentleness and pathos, which dimmed with a tear the eye that had scarce yet ceased to smile.

Let it not be supposed, however, that we join in the vulgar opinion, that all this was the result merely of natural genius, and opportunity for observation of real and dramatic life. We would add to these the fact, that Shakspeare was a well-read and industrious scholar. We do not contend with some of his zealous commentators, that he was a perfect master of Greek, or even of Latin; on the contrary, we believe he knew very little of either, and probably nothing of the first. It was very justly remarked by Pope, that “there is a vast difference between learning and languages; for if a man has knowledge, it is no great matter whether he has it from one language or another;” and this knowledge Shakspeare certainly had. We have already noticed the respectability of his family, which warrants the belief, that his mind was early instructed and cultivated, that he was taught to think and study, and that he perused many works.

His knowledge of ancient history and classical literature—of the British annals—of the national characters and events of the principal modern nations, is too evident to be denied; and it is

easy to account for a few occasional errors on these subjects, and in geography and astrology, without impeaching his general acquirements. It is certain, at least, that they are not sufficient to cast among the uneducated and unlettered, one who was the most successful writer of his age, in a species of literature requiring so much thought, study, and knowledge, as the drama; one who was an intimate of nobles, a favourite at court, and honoured with a letter in the handwriting of King James, no mean scholar himself for his age; one who was classed first among the wits and authors of the day; who was popular among his contemporaries; and who, seven years after his death, was compared with Sophocles and Virgil, in a public inscription that could be seen and corrected by those who knew him well. In a word, it may be said that Shakspeare zealously added to his natural genius, and the opportunities his life afforded him, study and reading as extensive as his times allowed; and that the imputation of ignorance has arisen rather from his poor and ignoble situation in early life, than from reflection on the facts themselves—a circumstance relative to which Dr. Johnson has spoken in a manner which the striking similarity of his own condition seems to have rendered doubly strong. “Many works of genius and learning,” he says, as if he was alluding as much to himself, as to the bard whose character he is depicting, “have been performed in states of life that appear very little favourable to thought or to inquiry; so many, that he who considers them, is inclined to think that he sees enterprise and perseverance predominating over all external agency, and bidding help and hindrance vanish before them.”

After all, however, when every deduction is made for information, circumstances of life, the age in which he lived, and all other secondary causes, we must return, in considering Shakspeare, as we do in considering other distinguished men, to that which in truth is the pervading and almost universal one, the innate powers of intellect. His superiority will be found to rest in the possession of superior qualities of the mind, more intense and varied than generally fall to the lot of man. “He may be compared,” says Addison, “to the stone in Pyrrhus’ ring, which, as Pliny tells us, had the figures of Apollo and all the Muses in the veins of it, produced by the spontaneous hand of nature, without any help from art;” and the comparison is not more brilliant than it is true, for he seems by nature to have possessed not a few traits, but every quality to form a great dramatic poet. That knowledge of human character, passion, feeling and intellect, which exists partially in others, in him was pervading and universal. He not only saw minutely all the general laws by which the human mind acts, but he was master of those nice and trifling points by which the peculiarities of individuals are indicated, and which

mark and delineate the evident but scarcely distinguishable varieties in the same general passion or feeling. He appears to transform himself into the character he is delineating, and to assume it with all its various shades and peculiarities; not to be the mere describer of a certain set of feelings which are necessary to bring about a certain catastrophe. He is speaking, not the words of a poet who is seeking for expressions and courting imagination, but he is pouring out unconsciously the solitary thought, or the lively dialogue, or the wild unregulated language of some real being. Nature is present to him in all her purity and fullness—he sees her through no secondary medium—his draught is at the very source of the fountain. How often, on taking up his volumes, do we find hopes and feelings that have floated dimly through our minds, here strongly marked and made evident to us:—like the Arabian Magician, he holds up a polished mirror, where we behold not the present only—but the thoughts and emotions that have risen distant, transient, and undefined, pass before our sight with the strong outline and colouring of truth—he recalls from the depth of memory forgotten sensations—he embodies vague lights which have flashed on the mind and passed away without being fully formed—he shows us in their full extent of beauty or depravity, feelings in which we have momentarily indulged—he opens to us freely the whole volume of our own hearts, often the most unstudied and unknown by ourselves. Indeed, so wonderful is his knowledge of human nature, that he has depicted and analyzed heart and character with a fulness which we seek in vain in the works of those who have made them the study of their lives; what is more singular, he has omitted scarcely one prominent emotion or sensation which is displayed in the world around us; he does not make love, ambition, jealousy, seen under one aspect, the agent of his drama, but he selects at random every passion, and presents it in every shape.

It is from this extensive and varied knowledge of human nature, and this power of impersonating himself with the fictitious being whom he describes, that arises another feature of wonderful effect, and in a great degree peculiar to himself—the power of developing his characters, not by long speeches, in which all the necessary qualities are duly set forth, but by slight and apparently accidental touches, which seem unintentional, and produce in him who perceives them an effect of which he is himself scarcely aware. In this he has closely studied human nature. Who ever learned the character of individuals in real life, but from the observance of accidents, of which they themselves were unconscious—who is aware at the time of the imperceptible gradations by which he arrives at his general estimate of the beings around him? This perhaps is the most striking of Shakspeare's dramatic powers. His persons are presented with a sort of gene-

ral indistinct character, as being ambitious, passionate, melancholy, or otherwise; we see them as we see a human being for the first time, forming a general notion, but waiting to learn more from observation and experience. Then, as the plot opens and the dialogue proceeds, more minute traits are developed—the various motives on which the human mind acts are not regularly set forth for the benefit of the audience, but are suffered to spring up from circumstances apparently unpremeditated; they are the result of chance; they arise from situation, from climate, from national peculiarities, from complexion, from a thousand undefinable, momentary, and transient events—As these accidents occur, the various traits of the mind appear—as they pass away, so do these peculiar traits pass away, leaving however a general effect on our minds, and enabling us to blend them with others in estimating the whole character; to correct and give uniformity to many things at first seeming to be inconsistent. The meeting of the persons and the turn of dialogue are often purely fortuitous, and without object, yet they all tend imperceptibly to the one great end, and satisfy the audience, and bring about the catastrophe with wonderful art; a hasty thoughtless exclamation, scarcely regarded by the speaker or the hearer, like the fine, scarcely perceptible touch of a painter in a miniature, discloses a latent quality, which lets us into the characters, unfolds what cannot be minutely delineated or seen, more clearly and much more naturally than a long speech, in which other dramatists would have clothed it. “He gives us,” to use the language of Schlegel, “the history of minds; he lays open to us, in a single word, a whole series of preceding conditions.”

Nor is this “contemplation of ideas” the only circumstance which gives such striking nature to his characters—it arises from the manner in which they are made to depend on each other for their development, so that one cannot but believe that if they had not been accidentally thrown together, traits striking and latent, but not necessary to the plot, would never have been exhibited. What would poor Sir Andrew be without Sir Toby, Shallow without his cousin Silence; or hostess Quickley without Sir John? Without them they would have been silent—the plot would not have suffered, the characters in the main would have been the same, yet how many evanescent and delightful traits would have been lost.—What new views in the noble character of Lear, does his meeting with Poor Tom and his faithful Kent call forth, yet the old monarch would have been scarce less majestic were they wanting. Again it arises from the wonderful art with which the very dialogues and soliloquies are made to spring up from themselves and objects around—fleeting thoughts arise and chase each other away, leaving a deep impression on the hearer, though seemingly unconscious to the speaker—a word

from those around calls up a new idea—an object in the scene gives a turn to the conversation, or designates some important circumstance or event—the star that's westward of the pole marks the hour the Ghost is to appear—the envious streaks lacing the severing clouds, recall the absorbed and thoughtless lovers to the sense of danger—while Cassius explains to Brutus, in his garden, the plan of the conspirators, how naturally do his associates fall into that beautiful little dialogue on the place where the sun rises—but their designs explained, and the main subject of their visit introduced, how quickly does the full zeal of patriotism or revenge occupy all their thoughts. The temple-haunting martlet, the breath of heaven that smells wooingly, the jutting frieze, and coigne of vantage, are the natural objects which occur to Banquo and his unsuspecting monarch, as they enter the fine old castle of their host, seated amidst woods and hills. Other poets would have been full of the events that were to follow, and of the great business of the plot; such an unexpected touch of truth and beauty could occur to Shakspeare alone.

Another cause of this appearance of extreme nature and truth, is to be found in the circumstance that he never searches for his characters, but carelessly takes up courtiers, peasants, warriors, thieves, &c., just as his scene happens to be laid; and when chosen, he never seems to control them, but allows them to control him—he never forgets that as the drama is a picture of real life, in the one as in the other the wheel of fortune is for ever revolving; all things are allowed to take their course, although they sometimes break in upon the comic or tragic effect of individual characters—although they interfere with the plan which the writer at first proposed. It is not difficult to believe, in more than one instance, that the plot and characters of Shakspeare have assumed in the course of composition, features entirely different from those he at first intended to delineate—that individuals who were to be subordinate, have become prominent; that events have arisen and become important to the action, which were not originally designed. Mercutio comes into the scene, plays his short hour, as a fine, witty, gay, gentleman of Verona, and is killed naturally enough, but without its being necessary in any way to the plot, since Romeo had abundant cause besides to kill Tybalt, who had grossly insulted him. Hamlet dies unrevenged, or if revenged, only by the sacrifice of his own life—it would not have been difficult to change the catastrophe—but the characters were created, and their actions and fate occur without the poet's caring to control them.—It may be remarked, that the same circumstance is not less striking in the novels of Sir Walter Scott, where, in more than one instance, the whole course of the story and the delineation of character have evidently been changed after the outset of the tale.—In both it produces the same effect—it

gives a striking air of probability, for the author pursues the train of ideas and course of conduct which the characters he has delineated would seem themselves naturally to fall into.

There remains a feature to be noticed, more striking perhaps than any of these—it is the individuality of his personages—they are not automaton, swayed by one great passion; but we see their feelings gradually roused as the play proceeds, we see new ones called out to act upon others that we have already noticed, and thus individuals, who are governed by the same ruling passion, display it in a manner totally different as they are differently excited and acted on—the very manner of speaking becomes tempered as it were by the character of the speaker—the same ideas are differently expressed by different persons—men of the same profession and habits have those minute touches which designate the individual, not the species—scenes and events, the same in themselves, vary strongly from the various characters of the beings who act in them—when Hotspur relates an occurrence, all is ardour and impetuosity; in the mouth of Shallow or Mrs. Quickley it dwindles to a detail of trifles inconceivably prolix. Ambition spurs on Richard and Macbeth to the same crimes, the same usurpations; yet what is there in common but that one passion and their undaunted courage?—Neither character could ever be mistaken for the other. The misanthropy of Timon is that of a man of strong sensibility stung by the ingratitude of the world; that of Apemantus springs from a bitter, cynical, and sarcastic hatred of his fellow-creatures. How alike, yet how strikingly different, is the comic consequential ignorance of Dogberry and of Bottom. Posthumus and Romeo are both banished at the moment of their marriage, yet how different is the sober tone of sadness in which the former leaves his bride, from the ardent impetuosity of passion, almost unconsciously dreading the future, the lingering, reluctant, oft returning steps which mark the fatal parting of the Italian lovers.

Thus it is that Shakspeare has contrived beyond all other writers, to impart to his plays that striking reality and truth, which, as the drama is a representation of real life, may be considered its highest attribute. It is thus, by giving to us the minute as well as the bold and general traits of character, that he has offered to us a succession of human beings, on whose actions and motives we may reflect almost as if they were in the world around us. He was compared by Pope to an ancient majestic piece of architecture, because less glaring and more solemn than the works of modern artists; but perhaps he may better be compared with it, because, in one of those noble edifices, we are not more struck with the perfection and unity of the whole, than by the exquisite and minute tracery winding into every shape that ima-

gination and genius can devise; the lightness and loftiness that blend with, but never destroy the magnificence of the whole; the rays of light darting into its aisles, now bright with the gayest colours of its storied windows, now softened by the lofty vaults into deep and melancholy shadows—the grandeur and variety, raising in our minds new feelings of admiration towards him who could construct such an edifice.

Great, however, as were the powers of mind displayed by Shakspeare in the composition of his dramas, they did not exceed the virtues of his heart; if our admiration is excited at his wonderful knowledge of human character, we are no less charmed by the tone of purity and virtue, which seems to be congenial with all his feelings. He is the noblest of teachers, for he has painted virtue in all her beauty, and has held up the picture so as to attract most surely the gaze of his fellow beings. From no writer do we receive such lessons of morality and truth, from no one do those lessons come with such force and effect. When fullest of wisdom he does not seem to be a teacher of morals, but one frail like ourselves, who, without any boast of superior virtue, shows us its excellence, and teaches us to moralize from our own hearts and from the examples of those around us. His truths come upon us from the mouth of those who have learnt them in the school of bitter experience, or those who have no interest in being sophists or deceivers—Timon pours them out from the rough earth, which is the only resting place ingratitude has left him—the fool sees them in the spectacle of the deserted old king bareheaded in the howling storm—the jests of the clown and the musings of the prince, point them out in the skulls that are thrown from the grave—the nobleness of Othello, and the gentle virtues of Desdemona, save them not from the consequences of a hasty, suspicious, ungovernable temper, and unfilial though almost innocent deceit, no more than the bold energy of Richard, or the haughty dignity of Wolsey, could ensure the power they had won by craftiness or murder. The careless villain who knows the wickedness of his own heart, laughs at the folly that accounts for unnatural depravity by the changes of the moon; the dethroned hermit, on his enchanted island, sees the vicissitudes of all human things in the fading of an unsubstantial vision. These are lessons which soften while they mend the heart—and render Shakspeare the most effective, because he is the most gentle of instructors; he can scarce bear to picture depravity without some alleviation; some human affection lingers in the worst of his characters; and like lady Macbeth at seeing the fancied likeness of her father, virtue and conscience are made to assert their power when they are least expected. Severity and gloom indeed are uncongenial to him; his heart was full of purity and sympathy with all mankind—when he is gayest, he is seldom boisterous; even his mirth

is tinged with a melancholy that soothes though it is never austere, and he loves to blend the shadows of tragedy with the brightness of his comic scenes.—He was well called the sweet and gentle Shakspeare, for he dwells with evident pleasure on what is generous in man's nature, and delights above all things to paint pictures of patriotism, of philanthropy, of softness and of love.

To say what characters and scenes he best delineated would be scarcely possible; and perhaps those in which we think him most perfect, would not be those selected by our readers; but to say what he appeared most fond of delineating, is, we think, less difficult. As his feelings led him to love most that which is unobtrusively good, so it has always appeared to us that he has indulged his own inclinations most in describing what is beautiful and gentle in human character, and in inanimate nature. We can scarcely doubt, in reading his plays, that among the men that appear there, such characters as Hamlet, Brutus, or Jacques, were those he depicted with greatest delight—how does he seem to pour out through the lips of the musing prince, all that he has thought of in his dreams of this and other worlds—how fond is he of bringing him before us scene after scene almost without object, but to display his kind and bland but unsteady character—how fondly though briefly does he dwell on the noblest Roman of them all; whose life was gentle, and the elements so mixed up in him as to make all that was desirable in man—how does he follow the wandering forester as he moralizes not unkindly on the brute denizens of the woods, and the human beings who have made it their home—how glad is he of displaying even his kings, his warriors, and his boldest personages, in moments when milder feelings find entrance in their hearts. It is this turn of mind which has made the females of Shakspeare, like those of Raphael, creatures that all previous and succeeding artists strive in vain to equal. He is never more filled with enthusiasm than when describing them—whether in the gaiety of the ball, their beauty hanging on the cheeks of night—or floating with silken sails and silver oar on the water that glowed beneath—or hanging fantastic garlands on the hoary willow—or in any scene where he can dwell upon their charms; he paints them in every variety—in maternal fondness, in filial affection, in ardent, unpractised, or in deep long cherished love, in ambition, in sorrow, in despair; but in every situation they are his alone; unimitated, at least unequalled, by any other pen. There is a delicacy in the females of Shakspeare, which displays the true gallantry of the heart, and women should love him as their noblest advocate; he can soften their faults till he makes their very imperfections charming, their weakness lovely; he introduces them to sooth and to throw gleams of brightness, like stars in the tempest, over the wildest scenes of tragedy; he gives to them character and heart,

which exalt them above beauty ; he shows them in all the purity of their affections and the tenderness of their nature ; if he exaggerates their excellence, it is only to increase their fidelity, affection and virtue ; in their joy they are the brightest of mortals ; in their sorrow there is always that which melts and sinks into the heart. The same turn of mind gave to Shakspeare his intense and striking fondness for natural beauty, a fondness displayed through all his dramas. Images of rural scenes are for ever floating on his mind, and there is scarce an object, from the lofty mountain to the sequestered valley, from the dark tempest to the gray dawn and placid moonlight, from dreary winter to warm and fragrant spring, that he has not depicted ; gentle airs, and murmuring rills, and sequestered groves, are features as prominent in his dramas, as the beings that haunt them ; the vows of love become indeed silver soft as they are whispered by night among pomegranate groves ; life is more sweet among trees, and stones, and running brooks, afar from public haunts ; the gentle boy sleeps more fitly among embowering woods, watched by fairy forms, and sung to rest by the dirge of affection. Like Milton, indeed, Shakspeare seems to have dwelt with sincere pleasure on the quiet and peaceful images of rural life, and those who have studied his works are scarce surprised that as soon as he could quit the bustle of the metropolis, he sought to bury himself among the quiet hills and vales where he had passed his careless youth, and to which his thoughts were so often wandering.

In tracing the characteristics of Shakspeare as a dramatic poet, there remains one prominent feature yet to be noticed ; it is the remarkable skill he has shown in so constructing his plays as to fix intently the interest of the spectator, and produce the strongest effect in the representation. Indeed, in this, Shakspeare is signally without a rival ; of his thirty-one undisputed plays, twenty retain regular possession of the stage, and are more frequently performed than any others ; and of the residue there are but two or three that are not occasionally exhibited. We have already alluded to the advantage he derived from his situation as an actor ; but in addition to this he had eminently the power of selecting and treating those topics which were calculated to excite attention and applause. From the variety and fertility of his powers, he had the less difficulty in doing so ; he was enabled to pour out his wealth so bounteously that all could partake in it ; his dramas became like extended landscapes, where mountain and plain and every variety of scene were laid open to every variety of choice ; he did not select one or two passions, but he gave zest to his exhibition of human character by the new light in which he displayed it ; and his fancy was so prolific, that he was never at a loss to illustrate it : he brought crowds together, to be moved by or enjoy every species of excitement ; to laugh, to cry, to

listen to the stories of national glory or favourite romance, to tremble at their own superstitions or to smile at their own local follies : his range of images is greater by far than that of any other poet ; he united the characteristics of all painters ; if he was at one time as gentle as bland, at another no scene of Salvator was more wild ; “nor could use wither or custom stale his infinite variety.” A character once sketched was forgotten ; even a passion once delineated is seldom again displayed. •Other dramatists and novelists give us a thousand reflected representations of favourite and well-drawn characters, but we have no second Falstaff, Hamlet, Lear, or Othello. All this contributed to give an originality and exuberance to his dramas, which a spectator felt irresistibly, and which he still continues to feel ; it gave activity to his plot ; richness and figurative boldness, as well as an occasional quaintness, to his style ; and intense interest to his personages ; whether their parts were simple or elaborate—heroes or fools. He was not less skilful in the arrangement of these various characters ; his plots are generally formed with consummate skill, and modern *improvements* show that nothing essential to them can be added or withdrawn with impunity. Akin to this is Shakspeare’s great art in preserving the character, “which is such,” says Pope, “throughout his plays, that had all the speeches been printed without the very names of the persons, I believe one might have applied them with certainty to every speaker.” And this is equally the case when they are acting under different impulses and even in different plays. One never sees any thing in Henry V., in the battle or on the throne, which is inconsistent with his revels in East-Cheap—he is gay and bold, with feelings not very warm, though displaying them when suddenly called out, as in his father’s chamber on the night before the battle, yet caring not very deeply for the loss of a wife, or the death of an old boon companion who is absent from his sight ; so Sly in the palace, and Bottom among the fairies, though they are not insensible to the change, are always Sly and Bottom—we may remark, that while these characters are in the main much alike, they are admirably distinguished by the superior vanity of Bottom, which leads him to believe in his actual metamorphosis, while honest Sly inflexibly adheres to his original identity.

Another mark of Shakspeare’s judgment, and cause of his popularity, is the selection of his subjects. He always endeavoured to catch the tone of popular feeling, and invest his subject with those extrinsic attractions which old prejudices or national enthusiasm could give it ; hence he chose very generally, well-known favourite romances, and embodied, enlarged upon, and diversified the incidents ; or what was still better, he took historical characters and events chiefly of his own country,

but if not, such as were very striking and familiar, and clothed them, as he had always power to do, with nature and life. So he was fond, from the same view, of delineating peculiar trades, professions, and national peculiarities, well knowing that they gave an air of truth and freshness to his exhibitions. He loved to picture common life, and did so with a remarkable knowledge of its manners and customs, and wonderful sagacity and common sense; for when his characters are most original, there is something about them that makes the spectator almost believe he has seen them; no one ever encountered Falstaff or Shallow, yet who would be surprised at doing so? When he brings the Roman mob, or Jack Cade and his illustrious companions, on the scene, their dull jokes and stupid wit, mixed with occasional shrewdness, are as natural as their greasy night-caps and ragged clothes; on the contrary, when Catherine, or Wolsey, or Lear, pour out the feelings of injured pride, of wrecked ambition, or of wild despair, the language they utter is in strong unison with their feelings. So, from the same attention to popular gratification, he spread throughout his dramas short songs, eminently calculated to administer to it—sometimes they were stanzas from old and favourite ballads, but oftener they were his own—much in the same style, but of unequalled beauty—they were such as his countrymen and countrywomen loved to sing—if, at least, his own account of them be true—

“ ————— they were old and plain.

The spinsters and the knitters in the sun,
And the free maids that weave their thread with bones
Did use to chant them.”

Shakspeare possessed, in an uncommon degree, the art of exciting those feelings of pity and fear which touch most sensibly a mixed audience. Nothing is more surprising, than the wonderful manner in which he has introduced on the stage supernatural beings, or depicted the ravings of insanity, or described the approach of death in all its forms. He, least of all men, was stopped by the flaming ramparts of this world; wherever imagination led, he boldly followed, and new beings sprung up as he passed along, to be subdued and rendered subservient to his power. Though he was skilful in availing himself of popular belief, yet he was not content with adopting its creations, or confining himself within its limits, but he formed beings such as had never been heard of either in history or tradition, giving them characteristics perfectly *natural*, if we may use the expression, and admirably adapting them to the plots and scenes they were destined to assist and adorn. His fairies are the most poetic creatures that imagination has ever conceived; their beauty, their sports, their labours, their cares, their affections, and their quarrels, are told with inimitable grace; the air in which they bo-

ver, the earth on which they tread, become enchanted—sometimes they are nightly controllers of the elements, bringing about the ends of moral justice—sometimes they are gay, thoughtless revellers, lurking in cowslip bells, or frightening maidens of the villages,—

“Or on the beached margent of the sea,
Dancing their ringlets to the whistling wind.”

Wherever they are introduced, their agency gives new animation and variety to the plot, and new beauty to the scene.

His ghosts form a more striking, and not less admirable feature in his machinery, and one perhaps still more original. How impressive are they when compared with the feeble creations of preceding poets—how strongly do they fall in with, and operate on, the popular belief in the appearance of departed beings, which, if it be now passed away, was firmly seated in the days of Shakspeare—how admirably are they framed to excite and display the latent, the concealed, or the less prominent points of those characters on which they are to act. What could convince and wind up the doubting and unstable mind of Hamlet like the spirit of his father rising from his grave and bidding him not to forget his purposed vengeance? what could display the weakness, the sense of shame and horror that secretly filled the soul of Macbeth, when he seemed the gayest and the boldest of monarchs, in the midst of royal festivities and obsequious vassals, but the silent witness that could not be doubted, who testified to his crime, his cowardice, and the feebleness of his power?—what could have waked remorse and desperation in the bold mind of Richard, on the eve of battle, proud and confident of success, his hopes, his energy, all aroused, his thoughts engaged only with the future, but the terrible forebodings of those who he felt could not err?—With what skill are these prodigies introduced—where they are to instruct and encourage the good, their approach is solemn and impressive, their figure gracious; how do we listen to the tales of the sentinels, as they await the apparition on the distant and silent platform of the castle, to the better instructed, yet misgiving thoughts of Horatio, to the ardent, longing, yet uncertain, unconscious fears of the deserted and affectionate son. Where they are to punish, they arise in the midst of banquets, or in the proud moments of warlike confidence, to strike sudden terror to the heart.

His witches are supernatural beings not less impressive, yet how different—they push by malignant instigation to the perpetration of the act—they foretell the future, they palter with their victim in a double sense, and the words that lure him to his crime announce his punishment—they come out, not in quiet, terrible solemnity, so much as in wildness and in mystery; they appear on the deserted heaths, borne on the chilling blast; they

are thinking, not of one victim or one object, but they are occupied with malicious plots against all mankind.

Scarcely less wonderful, though perhaps less original, than this, is the effect Shakspeare has produced by dreams. How in one short, but harrowing scene, does Lady Macbeth display the secret, never-dying remorse which preys upon her proud heart—that which shows, that though her undaunted mettle might dare all crimes, and conceal from the world around, and even her own husband, the stings of conscience, she was for ever secretly haunted with thick-coming fancies, and rooted sorrows weighing upon her heart.

Turning from supernatural to human agency, we are struck at once with the use Shakspeare has made of the uncontrollable misfortunes of which our race are the inheritors—in his hands, it is not merely the passions and affections of men that are his agents, but he has brought before us the human mind when disordered by the loss of reason, or overthrown by the approaches of death. No one, before or since, has delineated madness as he has done—the observations of professional experience are scarcely as perfect—it is confined to no particular degree—it acts upon various persons—it is contrasted with that which is assumed, and distinguished from it, by evident, though indescribable traits; it is weak, silly, scarcely perceptible in the mental imbecility of Aguecheek; it is plaintive and heart-rending in Ophelia; it is melancholy in Hamlet; it is impetuous, and suddenly aroused and depressed in Lear—in all, it is an agent that produces on the stage a wonderful effect. So, if the death-bed be in real life a scene full of impressiveness and awe, it becomes, as represented by the hand of the master, one not less so; one which never fails of its effect on the hearts of those who read of or behold it. It is exhibited with all the accompaniments of horror and crime, or it excites the warmest emotions of pity and affection. Its variety is as infinite as that of the characters portrayed; in the innocent childhood of Edward's infants, death steals on as they lay locked in each others' arms; in Juliet, it seeks poison on the dead lips of him she loves; in Othello, it displays the returning calmness of a noble mind, perplexed and led on to its own undoing, but looking back to its former virtues and happiness, not with regret, but honourable pride; in the gentle soul of Brutus, it assumes all the quiet resignation of philosophy, and becomes the reward, not unwished for, of disappointed aspirations for the success of liberty and virtue—with the wicked it is clad in terrors; it haunts the couch of John with shrieks of agony; it summons round the bed of Beaufort the phantoms of remorse; to Richard II., worldly and vain, rather than guilty, it recalls the recollection of pleasures reluctantly yielded up, and his ideas of death are blended with the loss of his sceptre, his palace, and his throne; to Henry VI., meek,

benevolent, and pious, the last images which arise are those of innocent and slaughtered flocks and imprisoned birds, and all his feelings are directed to the future sufferings of his subjects,—

“To many an old man’s sigh, and many a widow’s,
And many an orphan’s water standing eye.”

To Wolsey, noble and generous in soul, but misled by ambition and pride, death so brings back his virtues, and makes us forget his crimes, that it has left him greater glory than he would have ever gained, had he still possessed the power he long struggled for. Such is the manner in which Shakspeare drew moral and useful lessons, from the superstitions, the infirmities, and the fatal termination of human life—such was the power by which he introduced them into his dramas, to add, as they have done, their powerful effect upon his audience; an effect which could never have been produced by the force of his genius alone, independent of delineations so artfully calculated to excite and enlist the feelings.

These delineations, too, are scarcely more striking from their own nature, than from the art with which they are introduced. Shakspeare, above all men, understood the effect of situation and contrast. The heart is never so open to sorrow, as when it sees unconscious gaiety and revelry around—like the dream of poor Amie, in which the gay sounds of the Queen’s reveillé become the death notes wound by her miserable and deserted father. Innumerable scenes of Shakspeare might be cited, which are familiar to all who have studied his dramas. Few have ever witnessed the tragedy of Hamlet, without feeling, however used to it, a sudden surprise at the appearance of the ghost, lulled as we are into forgetfulness of what we are expecting, by the careless conversation of the prince and his companions. The drowsy tune and easy slumbers of the page, make but more striking the restless inquietude of Brutus, as he awaits the dawn that is to light him to Philippi. Music and gaiety, and all the lively bustle of the marriage ceremonies, fill the mansion where Juliet lies in wretchedness and seeming death. The song of the nightingale, the fragrance of the rose, and the gentle brilliancy of moonlit gardens, are blended with the sighs of sorrow, the loathsome dampness of the sepulchre, the dreary darkness of the church-yard, and the stillness of death. So in the persons as well as in the scenes; the ethereal lightness, good humour, and beauty of Prospero’s little sprite, become more dear from his contrast with the disgusting drudge, who is also the slave of the same powerful master. Orlando and Adam present in one picture the generosity of youth, with the faithful gratitude of age. Capulet is the gouty old beau, who no longer whispers his tale in a fair lady’s ear, while Mercutio flourishes at his side in all the exuberance of youthful vivacity and wit. Prince Henry is gallant

and brave, but he waits till fortune seeks him ; Hotspur is gallant and brave, but he pursues fortune as if he loved the chase rather than the prize. Shallow passes for a wag beside the imperturbable gravity of his cousin Silence ; and Silence becomes a wise man, because he does not talk as much nonsense as Shallow. Such, too, is the effect produced by the contrast of different feelings in the same individual, according to the incidents of the moment and the scene. The ill-divining soul of Juliet sees sorrow where every thing promises success and eventual happiness—Romeo feels an unaccustomed joy when misery and death are close at hand. Falstaff, in the presence of the prince, is with all his freedom a flatterer, and seems now and then a little of a fool ; but alone, he is shrewd, calculating, and observant. Polonius is the wiser in his own house, because he is silly at the palace.

It is not improbable that Shakspeare was induced as much from observing the effect this contrast produced, as from a desire of copying nature, to blend in the same drama scenes and characters highly comic and tragical ; and although some critics have censured him for doing so, if he has attained by it these two ends, his success is the best answer to their speculations. Whatever may be the case with persons who have acquired their theatrical taste from the exhibition of the *classical* drama ; it is not to be denied that to an American, English, and German audience, sensations of delight eminently arise from the intermixture. No one ever failed to enjoy more strongly the lively wit and noble spirit of Beatrice, from the one being chastened and the other excited by the suffering of her cousin. Is the inimitable humour of Twelfth Night injured by the affecting story of Viola ? or the melancholy of Hamlet rendered less touching by the careless jests of the clown, which spring so naturally from his character and situation ? It is easy enough to lay down rules and then to judge of and settle the effusions of genius by them ; but the critic who does so, is like the theorist in natural science, who is more ready to bend facts to his notions, than to change his views from observation of the truth. It is the same in tragedy and comedy—the same in all literature ;—and that author will be most successful in exciting emotions of sadness and of joy, who observes the manner in which they *are*, rather than that in which it has been settled they *ought* to be aroused.

It is this mode of judging, which, in our opinion, has led the celebrated reviewer of Moliere, the writer who of our own days is most usually correct as a critic, as he is far superior to his contemporaries in the variety and brilliancy of his genius, to err in his comparison of the two great comic writers of modern times, and to form an unjust estimate of the powers of his own countryman. In adopting the definition of Dr. Johnson, that “comedy

is a dramatic representation of the lighter faults of mankind, with a view to make folly and vice ridiculous," he has indeed chosen that which best illustrates the peculiar genius of Moliere, but one which is far too confined to be generally correct. If it were so, then would tragedy as opposed to it be nothing but a delineation of the crimes of men in order to make them detestable; when in truth, with a range far wider, it embraces scenes and characters where love, misfortune, madness, and various passions unconnected with crime, excite sensations allied to any thing rather than detestation. If it were so, then would that which has been transmitted to us as comedy, from the earliest times, be thrown aside as misnamed, and Menander, and Terence, be erased, with Shakspeare, and Beaumont, and Fletcher, from their place on the roll of comic writers. If it were so, then we acknowledge that the writer of a good farce, on any daily folly, is entitled to the rank of these great poets, since certainly one single end of making folly ridiculous is there more steadily pursued. Against this, however, we earnestly protest. Comedy, as distinguished from tragedy, is the representation of scenes calculated to excite less painful emotions, but not merely such as are ridiculous—those emotions which are aroused by the occurrences of the world around us, which as they are seldom tragical, so are they often far removed from what is ludicrous—and in our opinion, that comic writer is most successful who hits this medium—the medium of real life. This is "the higher and better end" of Comedy, much more true as a picture, much more useful as a lesson, much more delightful as an exhibition of genius and feeling, than the selection of a few particular foibles, and the exaggerated or even faithful delineation of them, in such manner as to excite ridicule and contempt. We are willing to admit, that, as Moliere is easily superior to all comic writers but Shakspeare, so, considering comedy in the latter sense only, he may be allowed also to surpass him—but if the wider range which we contend for be allowed, then must the French writer be acknowledged as his inferior, since his delineations, though done with inimitable skill and knowledge of his subject and of human character, are almost entirely confined to the follies of his own day—now certainly as obsolete as Malvolio or Don Armado—and hypocrisy, jealousy, the silly affectation of fashion and letters, the trickery of servants, and the knavery of physicians, constitute nearly every thing on which his pieces are founded. The comedies of Moliere may be said to hold the same relation to those of Shakspeare, that *Gil Blas* does to the novels of Sir Walter Scott;—it will perhaps be generally acknowledged, that in the delineation of the domestic manners of an age and nation, and in the exhibition of a few inimitable personages, the French novelist is far superior to his modern rival—but we look in vain for the variety of character,

incident, and humour—the fertility of invention—the pictures of youth, beauty, and affection—the scenes of deep interest, which, without ever touching upon tragedy, have yet nothing in them of the ludicrous or ridiculous—in fine, for that which we are disposed to consider not as “higher and better than comedy,” but as the highest and best species of it. Shakspeare’s comedy is that of nature—Congreve’s and Farquhar’s that of art, or rather of manners, and though Moliere’s does not reach quite the artificial character of the later English school, it may be classed with it rather than the earlier. To this characteristic is Shakspeare indebted for his enduring fame:—So wonderfully true to nature are his comedies, that they are still the most popular, even among those classes of society to whom the occasional and necessary delineation of local manners which they exhibit, must be entirely obsolete; indeed, in his comedy he seems to have yielded himself up with entire freedom to his genius and turn for observation, seldom fettering himself with the regular stories and delineations of individuals which he selected in his tragedies, but roaming at large over the wide field that was open before him—now jesting at stupidity, cowardice, and folly—now bringing on the stage the shrewd buffoonery of the clowns, which was common in his own times or those just preceding them—now indulging in the quick lively repartee, and sparkling dialogue of wit and fashion—now tinging his humour with scenes of constant affection, of gentle love, of rural pleasure, of wild enchantment, and of dazzling romance—now portraying with evident delight the whimsical scenes of vulgar ignorance and low life, heaping his characters together with a profusion as wonderful as their diversity—always dashing on as if the flow of imagination and invention could never be exhausted, and imparting to the whole that pervading character of sweetness, of good nature, of amusement free from spleen, of fancy and of ease, which, if his comedy be superior to his tragedy, as Dr. Johnson has thought, may be justly assigned as the cause of it.

ART. III.—*Sir Thomas More: or, Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society.* By ROBERT SOUTHEY, LL. D. Poet Laureate, &c. In 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1829.

WE have copied only two of Mr. Southey’s titles. The names of the various learned societies of which he is a member, are arranged in a picturesque way on the title page of the new book. Our readers will take it for granted that a writer so voluminous

and notorious, could not fail to gain admission into most of the Royal academies and philosophical institutes. Of the British productive literati, with the exception of Sir Walter Scott, he is perhaps the best known, or most familiar to the American people. The greater part of his poetry, and two at least of his prose-works, have been reprinted in the United States. There are, we believe, American editions of the *Curse of Kehama*, *Thalaba the Destroyer*, and *Roderick*, and of *Espriella's Letters*, and the *Life of Nelson*. His large *Histories*, and his *Book of the Church*, are in some of our public libraries—to be consulted, rather than perused, and, we hope, to be remembered longer than several of the poems. For our own parts, we deem more favourably of these, than do the majority of the critics, and could go through *Roderick* a second time with the interest arising from a romantic story well digested, rich descriptions, valuable sentiments, and happy versification.

We should hesitate, however, before we ventured to call Mr. Southey a poet in the higher and broader sense. Immortality is not his lot. He ranks only with the most respectable of the class, appertaining to almost every age, who supply the cravings of their contemporaries for novelty in verse; whose compositions are bound up in new collections, mentioned, or perhaps dipped into by the next generation, and then buried under the mass of what is provided in like manner for the second and each succeeding race of bibliomaniacs. Simultaneously with his *Colloquies*, the Laureate has issued a duodecimo filled with two poems and appended notes—*All for Love*, and *the Pilgrim of Compostella*, which also lie on our table. These pieces are, nearly throughout, symptomatic of a woful degeneracy in his muse. He has been unlucky in his choice of topics, and has fallen into the most puerile singsong. Trash of this description, if it did not appear with the sanction of name that commands some deference, or excites some curiosity, would be treated, in England, with silent contempt, or noticed only to be ridiculed with merciless asperity. The author has not announced it as designed for the Infant Schools, or for the silliest or most infatuated of the admirers of the Lake manufacture. There is nothing worse among those effusions of Sir Walter Scott, Byron and Wordsworth, by which a complete contrast is furnished from the same minds with unquestionable specimens of genius and taste.

It is understood or believed, that Mr. Southey from time to time condescended to wield his hackney pen against the institutions and character of the American people; and for this he was properly requited by one of our own authors conspicuous for energy of patriotism and pungency of wit. The Laureate has certainly turned his attention oftener and more directly to our republic, than is common with his literary brethren;—he has col-

lected American books and admitted the visits of American travellers; and according to report, erst designed to indite a regular narrative of the colonization of New-England. America is frequently remembered in the *Colloquies*; some little dew of praise is vouchsafed to individuals of the north, with whom he had become acquainted; but the strain in which our government and the condition of our interior country are described, argues extraordinary ignorance and prejudice. This, together with the hatred he evinces to the early puritans and all popular freedom, should cause his friends to deprecate the execution of the literary project just mentioned. As book-worms, we have eaten through the *Colloquies*, and as reviewers we shall skim over them, not merely because American concerns are harped upon in several, but in consequence of the peculiarities which we distinguish in the work, and in the situation of the author.

Mr. Southey is of a species not yet existing on this side of the Atlantic; a veteran man of letters who has acquired a diffusive reputation, a "genteel sufficiency," a snug and romantic retreat, a many-linguaged and many-shelved library, by a multitude of productions in prose and verse, good and bad, sent forth singly or in couples, through a long series of years. The great quantity of matter with which he has been able to replenish his mind and supply the press and the *trade*, is accounted for by his natural aptitude for literary pursuits, his necessary diligence in his profession, his knack with the pen—the effect of talent and exercise, copious indexes and common-places, and perhaps the use of stenography. Such a scribe is an *omnis homo* for the London booksellers;—they are sure of quartos, duodecimos, and critical articles from this source, whenever they may want them; and they can afford to pay for them—what with the repute of their ready operative, the intrinsic merit of much of his labours, and the constant and omnivorous demand for new volumes, as such, in Great Britain. Recluse among the lakes, seated at ease in his well-lined study, near enough to the metropolis to maintain himself *au courant* on all questions and publications, he forms all sorts of compounds, keeps various irons in the fire,—treats subjects so numerous and diverse that the world never knows what may not come next from his prolific laboratory. These two volumes of *Colloquies* are a sample of the farrago which he ventures to serve up to the public—a medley of sense and nonsense, crudities and refinements, whimsical theories and plausible disquisitions, sentimental lamentations and vehement invectives, acrimonious bigotry and philanthropic charity, legendary lore, borrowed aphorisms, frank confessions,—a leaven of egotism working in the whole. He enjoys not only the privilege of printing such effusions, but the advantage of having them invested by the bookseller with the most elegant dress, embellished with beautiful

engravings, and trumpeted with grand flourishes. We really envy the professor of the art scribblative,—to use his phrase,—who can appear in pages so brilliant, and be thus sure of gratifying the eye at least, whatever he may do for the understanding. French literature has been enriched with an elaborate treatise, *De la Charlatanerie des Savans*. The bibliopoliast,—a Murray or a Colburn, adds his *charlatanerie* to that of the learned dialogist, and together they give to the world volumes like these, tempting both dilettanti and virtuosi.

The *Colloquies* are between Mr. Southey, calling himself *Montesinos*, and the *ghost* of Sir Thomas More; a form for which he acknowledges himself to be indebted to *Boethius*; but his management of the plan is every where ridiculously awkward. No illusion is maintained; the endeavours at congruity fail utterly; the visitations of the illustrious shade, and the personal references, bear a forced and risible character. Montesinos and Sir Thomas are both as desultory as Montaigne, but far from displaying his merits. Mr. Southey was awakened from a somnrous nap in his library, in the month of November—when he and all Britain were overwhelmed in grief for the death of the Princess Charlotte,—by the sudden entrance of the impalpable though not invisible Sir Thomas, whom he supposes to come from *New-England*, but the defunct chancellor undeceives him, after he is assured of the serious belief of Mr. Southey, that “preternatural impressions are sometimes communicated to us for wise purposes, and that departed spirits are sometimes permitted to manifest themselves.” An attempt is made to sustain this doctrine, in the first colloquy. The accused, who passed through the old ordeals of boiling water, boiling oil, and red-hot iron, must have been assisted by etherial agents. Montesinos afterwards encounters his “spiritual visiter” in other situations, in his morning and evening rambles, and they renew their discussions until they have talked two volumes. At the second rencontre they dwell upon *the improvements of the world*, about which the ghost is not at all sanguine, but asks, “is there a considerate man who can look at the signs of the times without apprehension, or a *scoundrel* connected with what is called the public press, who does not speculate upon them, and join with the anarchists as the strongest party?” whereupon Montesinos insists that the millennium is certain, and that the Prophets and the Evangelists whom he implicitly trusts, have clearly announced the kingdom of God on earth. Sir Thomas intimates his dislike to “liberal opinions,” Sunday schools, Religious Tract Societies, and “the portentous bibliolatriy of the age.”

In another part of the work, he is made to inveigh bitterly against newspapers and other journals. “Athens, in the most turbulent times of its democracy, was not more effectually domi-

neered over by its demagogues, than you are by the press—a press which is not only without restraint, but without responsibility; and in the management of which those men will always have most power who have least probity, and have most completely divested themselves of all sense of honour and all regard for truth.” The ghost is not a believer in the perfectibility of man on earth; he contends that, undeniably, the worst principles in religion, in morals, in politics, are at this time more prevalent than they ever were known to be in any former age; that even in England, though there may be more knowledge, there is less wisdom than in former times, more wealth and less happiness, more display and less virtue. *Montesinos* combats these doctrines and others of the same purport, but with an evident design to allow them a victory. The next *Colloquy* is indexed *The Druidical Stones—Visitations of Pestilence*, a sample of the coherence which marks the greater part of them. The “ghostly friend” of Mr. Southey rises among the stones, and asks emphatically, “whether a large portion of the British community are in a happier or more hopeful condition at this time, than their forefathers were when Cæsar set foot upon this land?” He adds—“Look at the great mass of your population in town and country—a tremendous portion of your whole community. Are their bodily wants more easily supplied? Are they subject to fewer calamities? Are they happier in childhood, youth and manhood, and more comfortably or carefully provided for in old age, than when the land was unclosed and half-covered with wood? With regard to their moral and intellectual capacity, you well know how little of the light of revelation has reached them; what if your manufactures, according to the ominous opinion which your great physiologist has expressed, were to generate for you new physical plagues, as they have already produced a moral pestilence unknown to all preceding ages?” To all this Mr. Southey responds—“Your positions are undeniable. Were society to be stationary at its present point, the bulk of the people would, on the whole, have lost rather than gained by the alterations which have taken place during the last thousand years.” The reader who is familiar with the histories of Henry and Hume, must recollect their descriptions of the ancient condition of the English people. One of the traits which the ghost notices as not long since discovered by Sir Richard Hoare, is, that, at the time the Britons were invaded by the Romans, the path from one town to another, in the open country, was by a covered way. Feudal slavery appears to have found favour with our author. It is represented in the best lights, and we are reminded that in the age of the British Revolution one of the sturdiest of the Scotch republicans proposed the re-establishment of slavery, as the best or only means of correcting the vices, and removing the miseries of

the poor. With regard to pauperism and crime, the ghost thinks that those evils are more widely extended, now, in Great Britain, more intimately connected with the constitution of society, and therefore more difficult of cure, than they were in the feudal ages. This topic leads to a disquisition concerning *London*, wherein the miseries and disadvantages of that overgrown capital are strongly and instructively painted; it is called "the heart of the commercial system, but also the hot-bed of corruption; at once the centre of wealth and the sink of misery; the seat of intellect and empire, and yet a wilderness wherein they who live like wild beasts on their fellow creatures find prey and cover." We are struck with the justness of the following remark as to capital punishment, so frequent in London. "Every public execution, instead of deterring villains from guilt, serves only to afford them opportunity for it. Perhaps the very risk of the gallows operates upon many a man among the inducements to commit the crime whereto he is tempted; for, with your true gamester, the excitement seems to be in proportion to the value of the stake."

With these high matters, Mr. Southey has mixed some local delineations and family scenes, which exhibit him in a more amiable point of view than his political and religious theories, and we shall therefore select one of the first pictures in order to show him to most advantage.

"It is no wonder that foreigners, who form their notions of England from what they see in its metropolis, should give such dismal descriptions of an English November; a month when, according to the received opinion of continental writers, suicide comes as regularly in season with us as geese at Michaelmas, and green peas in June. Nothing, indeed, can be more cheerless and comfortless than a common November day, in that huge overgrown city; the streets covered with that sort of thick greasy dirt, on which you are in danger of slipping at every step, and the sky concealed from sight, by a dense, damp, oppressive, dusky atmosphere, composed of Essex fog and London smoke. But in the country, November presents a very different aspect; there, its soft, calm weather, has a charm of its own, a stillness and serenity unlike any other season, and scarcely less delightful than the most genial days of spring. The pleasure which it imparts, is rather different in kind, than inferior in degree; it accords as finely with the feelings of declining life, as the bursting foliage and opening flowers of May, with the elastic spirits of youth and hope.

"But a fine day affects children alike at all seasons, as it does the barometer. They live in the present, seldom saddened with any retrospective thoughts, and troubled with no foresight. Three or four days of dull sunless weather had been succeeded by a delicious morning; my young ones were clamorous for a morning's excursion. The glass had risen to a little above change, but their spirits had mounted to the point of settled fair. All things, indeed, animate and inanimate, seemed to partake of the exhilarating influence. The blackbirds, who lose so little of their shyness even when they are most secure, made their appearance on the green, where the worms had thrown up little circles of mould during the night. The smallest birds were twittering, hopping from spray to spray, and pluming themselves; and as the temperature had given them a vernal sense of joy, there was something of a vernal cheerfulness in their song. The very flies had come out from their winter quarters, where, to their own danger and my annoyance, they establish themselves behind the books, in the folds of the

curtains, and the crevices of these loose window-frames. They were crawling up the sunny panes, bearing in their altered appearance the marks of uncomfortable age; their bodies enlarged, and of a greyer brown; their wings no longer open, clean, and transparent, but closed upon the back, and, as it were, encrusted with neglect. Some few were beginning to brush themselves, but their motions were slow and feeble; the greater number had fallen upon their backs, and lay unable to recover themselves. Not a breath of air was stirring; the smoke ascended straight in the sky, till it diffused itself equally on all sides and was lost. The lake lay like a mirror, smooth and dark. The tops of the mountains, which had not been visible for many days, were clear and free from snow; a few light clouds, which hovered upon their sides, were slowly rising and melting in the sunshine.

"On such a day, a holiday having been voted by acclamation, an ordinary walk would not satisfy the children,—it must be a scramble among the mountains, and I must accompany them; it would do me good, they knew it would; they knew that I did not take sufficient exercise, for they had heard me sometimes say so. One was for Skiddan Dod, another for Causey Pike, a third proposed Watenlath; and I, who perhaps would more willingly have sate at home, was yet in a mood to suffer violence, and making a sort of compromise between their exuberant activity and my own inclination for the chair and fireside, fixed upon Walla Crag. Never was any determination of sovereign authority more willingly received; it united all suffrages; Oh yes! yes! Walla Crag! was the unanimous reply. Away they went to put on coats and clogs, and presently were ready, each with her little basket to carry out the luncheon, and bring home such treasures of mosses and lichens as they were sure to find. Off we set; and when I beheld their happiness, and thought how many enjoyments they would have been deprived of, if their lot had fallen in a great city; I blest God who had enabled me to fulfil my heart's desire, and live in a country such as Cumberland.

"Of all sights which can soften and humanize the heart of man, there is none that ought so surely to reach it, as that of innocent children enjoying the happiness which is their proper and natural portion.

"Of that portion, these shall never be deprived or curtailed by any act of mine. Whatever may be their allotment in after life, their childhood at least shall be as happy as all wholesome indulgence can render it."

The ghost accompanies Montesinos on this excursion, and they fall into deep discourse, as usual. They agree that no scruples should be entertained concerning the use of animal food, for, observes the latter, the law is plainly benevolent which multiplies life by rendering death subservient to it; and it is plainly merciful also, inasmuch as the creatures whose existence is suddenly and violently cut off, suffer less than those who die of disease or inanition—such being the alternative. There is a solemn corollary in defence of butchers and their trade. Dr. Beddoes, it seems, remarked that pulmonary consumption is rarely or never known in a butcher's family, and the reason he assigned for it was, that they had always plenty of *animal food*. From the slayers of lambs and calves, the transition is not the easiest or most regular to Owen of Lanark, but *à propos de rien*, and *à propos de bottes* are Mr. Southey's privileges. He praises the benevolent man, and regrets that no trial has been made of the good which his schemes might probably perform. An experiment has certainly been made in the United States, and not less certainly it is not hopeful. Mr. Southey dwells, through many pages, upon parts of Owen's plans, as practicable and desirable for tradesmen, even

in large towns. He deems it hard that the Bible Society has every year levied large contributions from the public, while Owen, "with all his efforts and all his eloquence, has not been able in ten years to raise funds for his enterprise;" and he supposes that if the philosopher of Lanark had connected his scheme with any system of religious belief, *however absurd or visionary*, the money would have been forthcoming. This is a hint, of which the worthy enthusiast—to judge from his recent public disputations in the west—is not likely to profit. Fortunately for the world he is not in the least a hypocrite—he rides his hobby without a mask, and tilts against all the denominations of Christianity.

The *manufacturing system* is one of those themes which our author has most frequently and ably handled. No book had disclosed so fully the effects which it has produced on the population of Great Britain as his *Letters of Espriella*, re-published more than twenty years ago in the United States. His seventh *Colloquy*, of fifty pages, is devoted to this topic, and he returns to it in the second volume, full of hideous images and dark presages. As he has long enjoyed and improved the best opportunities of personal observation, his testimony is entitled to some weight; or at least it is curious and sincere. We are much inclined to favour his maxim that they are miserable politicians who mistake *wealth* for *welfare* in their estimate of national prosperity; and that "none have committed this great error more egregiously than some of those who have been called statesmen by the courtesy of England." He entertains a particular antipathy to the employment of children in manufactories, of which (the English) he declares the moral atmosphere to be "as noxious to the soul as the foul and tainted air which they inhale is to their bodily constitution." He contends that the ordinary and natural consequences of *commerce* are every way beneficial, "humanizing, civilizing, liberalizing," compassing sea and land for the purpose of gain, but wafting with it industry, activity, and improvement, and bringing back wealth; whereas "the immediate and home effect of the manufacturing system, carried on as it now is upon the great scale, is to produce physical and moral evil, in proportion to the opulence which it creates." This is akin to Goldsmith's theory which is so beautifully and pathetically expressed in the *Deserted Village*—

"Ye friends to truth, ye statesmen who survey
The rich man's joys increase, the poor's decay,
'Tis your's to judge, how wide the limits stand,
Between a splendid and a happy land," &c.

Mr. Southey avers further, that the point of emulation between rival manufacturers, is not so much who shall send forth the *best* goods, but who the *cheapest*, and that flimsy articles are thus

manufactured for rapid sale, and for the foreign market. "Formerly, their aim was to produce substantial goods, which should wear well, and with which the purchaser should have reason to be satisfied; now it is how to make the largest quantity with the smallest expenditure of materials." Our author complains generally of the present spirit of trade, and the modern extension of the manufacturing system, as having reduced the mass of the British people to the most degrading servitude; vastly augmented the number of the indigent and vicious; destroyed the small farmers, small tradesmen, and inferior gentry; disturbed the home attachments of every family, and driven forth from every hamlet adventurers, not to the "all-devouring metropolis alone," but to Canada and the United States, to the East and West Indies, to South America, and to Australasia. The ghost asks—"may not the manufacturing system be tending to work out, by means of the very excess to which it is carried, a remedy for the evils which it has induced?" To this question, Montesinos replies thus:—

"There are two ways in which it may work. Other nations may compete with us, and our foreign trade in consequence may gradually decline. Something of this is already perceptible. The French are said to manufacture about as much cotton now, as was manufactured in this country fourteen years ago. We now send abroad the thread, where we used at that time to export the manufactured article. The Americans also are endeavouring to supply their own consumption; they have this at heart, and there are no people who pursue what they think their advantage with more sagacity, nor with more determined eagerness and perseverance. An American, when he speaks colloquially of *power*, means nothing but a steam-engine. We can neither keep our machinery nor our workmen to ourselves; to attempt it, is, indeed, in the one case impolitic; in the other oppressive; in both unavailing. And wherever they go, and opportunity invites, enough of British capital to set them in activity will follow. No sense of patriotism will check this; no laws can prevent it; the facility of transferring capital being such, that Mammon, in these days, like the Cupid of the poem,—

'Spreads his light wings, and in a moment flies.'

This would be the enthusing of the system, a gradual and easy decay without a shock; and, perhaps, were time allowed, we might then hope for a palingenesia, a restoration of national sanity and strength, a second birth;—perhaps I say,—and were time allowed;—for I say this doubtfully; and that ghostly shake of the head with which it is received, does not lessen the melancholy distrust wherewith it is expressed."

We were not aware that the American, when he speaks colloquially of *power*, means nothing but a steam-engine, but he certainly has reason to admire it as a mighty agent, when he looks and reflects upon what it is accomplishing in navigation on our rivers and coasts. Its great triumphs in America are in this particular—in its efficiency for internal trade and rapid and delightful personal communication. As we are of Mr. Southey's school with regard to national *happiness*, and do not forget that the aggregate is composed of the enjoyments of individuals, we honour steam navigation, not merely for the degree in which it ministers to the transaction of business and the increase of wealth, but for the

pleasures and comforts which it affords—the facilities for widely-extended personal intercourse, for the improvement of health, the correction of prejudices, the enlargement of knowledge, the recreation of the mind and body. Sir Thomas, the ghost, is fully sensible of the new influence of *steam*. He styles it the most powerful principle that has ever yet been wielded by man, and predicts that it will govern the world,—“*mitrum et nitrum*, the mitre and gunpowder having had their day.” There is a principle in the moral world, which must, in our opinion, divide the empire with steam, and which Americans, we should think, would be quite as apt to mean when they speak of power. We refer to *republicanism* in the representative and federal scheme, to which the other will be subservient in obvious modes. Mr. Southey disserts upon the topic of *war*, and after treating peace societies with abundant contempt, invests steam with the quality of peacemaker, in this way:—

“The novel powers which, beyond all doubt, will be directed to the purposes of destruction, are so tremendous, and likely to be so efficient, that in their consequences they may reasonably be expected to do more towards the prevention of war, than any or all other causes. If, on the one hand, neither walls nor ramparts can withstand a continuous shower, or rather stream, of bullets, impelled against them by *steam*; on the other, *such* modes of defence by the same agent are to be devised, that the open city may be rendered more secure from assailants, than the strongest fortresses are at this time. Minds like that of Archimedes, will now have means at their command equal to their capacity and their desires. And men will not be induced, by any motives, to face such engines as may be brought into the field. They will first be felt in maritime war, in which there is reason to apprehend that a change as great, and not so gradual, as that which the introduction of cannon occasioned, will soon be brought about. There is an end to naval war, if it be made apparent, that whenever two ships engage, one, if not both, must inevitably be destroyed. And this is within the reach of our present science. The chemist and mechanist will succeed, where moralists and divines have failed. If steam navigation had been brought to its present state only half a generation sooner, or even half that term, the conquest of England would have been attempted, as well as designed, and the battle must have been fought on our own shores.”

We have our doubts that the dread of mutual destruction will prove as operative as Mr. Southey imagines; yet it certainly will have, in that way, a degree of salutary influence. Touching the preservation of peace between the great Christian powers of Europe since 1815, we ascribe more efficacy to the perplexing condition of their finances, and the apprehension of grievous reciprocal blows, than to the sanctity of the Holy Alliance, the ascendancy of any kind of public opinion, or the propagation of any rational, religious, or philanthropic doctrines. How long the restraining motives will continue to have sway, we do not pretend to determine:—Mr. Southey is of opinion that France will not be satisfied with her present power and extent of territory; that in Germany, there are jealousies which only slumber; that there is danger of a fierce struggle “between governments which grant too little, and enthusiasts who demand too much;”

and that Italy is in a worse plight. His speculations were probably written before the rupture between Russia and Turkey, which threatens to involve the other primary states, or place them in new relations with each other still more precarious. If Great Britain, France, and Austria compel Russia to stop short of Constantinople on the present occasion, still they cannot ultimately save the Turkish empire in Europe. Russia gravitates upon it, irresistibly;—at the first opportunity when those powers may be estranged, embroiled, or otherwise entangled and disabled, so as to allow her time for repeated and determined assaults, she cannot fail to succeed;—the crescent must yield to the cross—the turban to the green cap; and the cause of civilization may thus be promoted in the end. These considerations render it doubtful, whether they ought, in policy, to interfere at present, for any other purpose than that of securing to themselves a larger share of the spoils, or more satisfactory gages and arrangements, than they might be competent to procure at a later period, under less favourable circumstances. Genuine statesmen do not merely put off an evil day, trusting to the chapter of accidents, when it is likely to aggravate the case, much to their disadvantage.

Montesinos and his *familiar* naturally fall into the topics *Catholic Emancipation* and *Ireland*, and here the former breathes a spirit, and lavishes sentiments, such as we would have expected from Sir Harcourt Lees or the Earl of Eldon, if they had been announced as interlocutors. Mr. Southey is extremely embarrassed by his strong antipathy to Papists, and his equal or deeper aversion to Dissenters. In one page he tells us that the standard of both devotion and morals is higher in the Romish than in the Protestant countries; in another, that the reformation has done the English peasantry and manufacturers *no good*; in a third, that, though not yet three hundred years old, it is perishing in the country, Germany, where it originated; in a fourth, that it is his admiration, his delight, his hope. According to our author, there is a satanic combination against the Establishment,—of Dissenters, Roman Catholics, and unbelievers; the former and the latter advocating Catholic Emancipation only to advance their respective interests and objects. The ghost asks his acquaintance if he believes that the spirit of the old Roman Catholic religion is changed; Montesinos answers—

"No, by St. Bartholomew and Dr. Lingard! No, by St. Dominic and Dr. Doyle! No, by the Holy Office! By the Irish massacre, and the Dragonades of Louis XIV. ! By their saints and our martyrs !"

The Presbyterians fare no better, and are convicted by a similar *logic*. Both, he thinks, would make a grand *Auto-da-fe*, of all the adherents of the establishment, if they had the power. Atheism, superstition, and fanaticism, divide the world. The

British ministers have been fools and traitors to tolerate Roman Catholic colleges and favour Catholic Emancipation. The Irish religion is "a cobra capella, erecting itself on its coils, in hostile attitude against the English, its head raised, its eyes fixed and fiery, its head dilated, the forked tongue in action, and the fangs lifted in readiness to strike." The Presbyterians have become Socinians. The Dissenters are disloyal subjects, and the dissenting interest is a curse to the nation. The Protestant cause sustained more serious injury from the English Puritans, than from all the efforts of Spain, Austria, and France combined. There is an active and influential party in literature and in the state, with whom blank unbelief is the esoteric doctrine, and who seek on all occasions to wound and weaken Christianity. We cite these opinions of the Laureate as samples, yet he writes with all seriousness—"men judge *wiseliest* when they judge most *charitably*." He is a sworn enemy to all abstract rights and democratical pretensions; upon these, he says, the *science* of politics, so called, has been erected by shallow sophists, without the slightest reference to habits and history. To maintain that the state ought not to concern itself with the religion of the subjects, he regards as the greatest and most perilous of all political errors. All the evils in society arise from the want of *religious obedience*; religion is the only true basis of governments; and to religion an established church is indispensable; this therefore is necessary for the security of the state and for the welfare of the people.

Few will deny that religious faith and worship are essential for social order and prosperity; but government is properly political and physical—and its best securities are universal attachment to its principles and forms, and general content and competence, arising out of equality of rights, lightness of burdens, scope for increase of numbers, and facilities for all kinds of salutary action and acquisition. Mr. Southey admits that the immense property of the Established Church in England, has been more secularly than religiously employed, that "a right faith has not led to right practice," and that "had it not been for the dissenting ministers, a considerable proportion of the people would have been left without any religious instruction." The annals of crime in Great Britain, equal in atrocity and volume those of any other nation;—instances of the grossest superstition and fanaticism are sufficiently numerous; and "the intense worldliness of all classes, the appalling misery and depravity of the lower orders in town and country, the disaffection and abjection," to which our author bears reiterated testimony, are cumulative proof of the inadequacy of the church establishment in a political or politico-economical sense. His theory is refuted by his own confessions and lamentations, unless it be understood as one of utter intolerance, which could be accomplished only by inquisitions and penalties,

such as he condemns in reference to Popish history. In fact, an establishment exclusive of sectarianism, or permanently comprehensive, was impracticable under the principles and with the tendencies of the Reformation. That of England has been maintained at all, only by vast endowments, superior education, political power, intimate connexion with the crown and privileged or aristocratic orders; and in spite of all appliances and state-auspices, it undergoes inevitably a relative diminution of pale and consequence, which may well excite dismay in the breasts of admirers like Mr. Southey. The dilemma is an all-extensive establishment, and *political and religious despotism*, or toleration, and final religious freedom. The United States are fortunate to be exempt from the struggle which has produced so much deadly rancour, barbarous legislation, and irritating disfranchisement, as in Great Britain and Ireland. Mr. Southey trembles, however, for America, arguing that, inasmuch as "the American government has not thought it necessary to provide religious instruction for the people in any of the new states, the prevalence of superstition, in some wild and terrible shape, may be looked for as one likely consequence of this great and portentous omission." We shall quote some more of his words on this head, to amuse the well-informed American reader.

"An old man of the mountain might find dupes and followers as readily as the all-friend Jemima; and the next Aaron Burr who seeks to carve a kingdom for himself out of the overgrown territories of the Union, may discover that fanaticism is the most effective weapon with which ambition can arm itself; that the way for both is prepared by that immorality which the want of religion naturally and more necessarily induces, and that camp-meetings may be very well directed to forward the designs of a military prophet. Were there another Mahommed to arise, there is no part of the world where he would find more scope, or fairer opportunity, than in that part of the Anglo-American Union into which the elder states continually discharge the restless part of their population, leaving laws and gospel to overtake it if they can; for in the march of modern colonization both are left behind."

Ignorance of facts and institutions is the excuse for this extravagance. The emigrants from the elder states carry with them the religious principles and rituals which they have received in their youth;—the law, and the gospel, as they have learnt it, go with them; and they are followed by clergy regular or irregular, for whose ministry they build churches. Moreover, they are not illiterate, nor doltish; occasionally, individuals may fall under fanatical illusions, but in general they are too acute, too deeply imbued with particular religious and political maxims, and too intent on the improvement of their earthly condition, to become dupes to any ambitious impostor. If Mahommed were to be commissioned from his paradise to our western region, he would soon learn to talk about river-bottoms, crops, steam-boats, rail-roads and canals, and might get a seat in congress, by dint of his wordy eloquence. In the capacity of a *military prophet*, he would not

find as many constant followers as Joanna Southcote retained in England. Mr. Southey acknowledges that it is not the interest of any party or sect in the United States to attempt the overthrow of the government; but the ghost argues that *passion* influences mankind more than *interest*; that, though it be true there is nothing to pull down in America, "the very levelness of the political platform may excite in some Pharaoh the ambition of constructing a pyramid upon it;" and that "even in the best established states, there is nothing which can supply the place of *loyalty*, while, throughout the whole Union, the principle of religious obedience, which is the cement of political society, is wanting." Here is a curious budget of blunders. Allowing superior force to *passion*, we may yet affirm that there is nothing to excite it against the republic, federal and national, but every thing to enlist passion on the right side. The sense of interest is aided by the pride of equality and independence, and by the antipathy, every where rooted, to the monarchical system. We may appeal to history for the fact of enthusiastic attachment in all the free nations to their republican liberty; this is *loyalty*, more effective and durable, than any blind or counterfeit devotion to sceptred individuals; and as for *religious* obedience, it can have no special agency except towards monarchs as the Lord's anointed, reigning *jure divino*—a superstition which it is impossible to preserve among any other than an illiterate and hoodwinked people. The lesson has been widely learnt in the monarchical countries, that kings are *men*, nay servants; that homage is really due to them only as the representatives and administrators of the state and laws. There is no other *loyalty* which is consistent with reason, the dignity of human nature, and the supremacy of national interests; and such alone will be desired by enlightened patriots. Most of the civil wars by which monarchies have been afflicted, derived, if not their origin, at least much of their fierceness, destructiveness, and obstinacy, from the perversion or abuse of that feeling. The dense cloud of prejudice over the mental vision of Mr. Southey, prevented him from seeing the advantage of the simplicity of our polity, and the *levelness* of the social platform. We are in the natural situation, conformable to the interests, aspirations, and apprehension of the mass;—the vast majority perceive and enjoy the level. Wherever social and political arrangements are unequal, complicate, distorted, inequitable to the multitude, we see them become embarrassed and invidious;—we see a constant and violent tendency to the simple and natural order, and a just dread of those convulsions and other calamities which Mr. Southey predicts to Great Britain, in the true Cassandra spirit. He correctly observes—"that cannot be a durable state of things, in which the increase of riches in a few, occasions an increase of poverty in the many—na-

tional wealth is wholesome only when it is equitably diffused." Another of his own maxims is apposite here—"Loyal obedience, wherein the safety of a state consists, can only rest in the principle of duty, or the contented sense of well-being." Whatever he may imagine respecting the political conscientiousness of Americans, it is unquestionable that "the contented sense of well-being," and "the equitable diffusion of wealth," are general traits in the United States, arising out of physical advantages, and a system of jurisprudence, which must long endure.

Answering the ghost's question, "by what inducements are four-fifths of the settlers intended for Canada drawn into the United States?" Montesinos gives this proper explanation—"The persuasion that the means of subsistence are more surely and easily to be obtained in the Republic operates extensively. Geneva was not more devoutly looked to as the pattern in the mount by our Puritans, in the days of Calvin and Beza, than the United States are now, as a sort of political holy land, by persons who are ill-affected, either to the civil or ecclesiastical regimen at home. This opinion has spread among the lower orders. The distinguished author of 'Views of Society in the North of Ireland,' relates of those who emigrate from the north of Ireland to America, that he has seen many hundreds of their letters to their friends and relations; and scarcely with any exception, the comfort most insisted on, the comfort of comforts, was, that they could there speak to man as man, and that they were not obliged to uncover the head or to bend the knee to any stern lord, arrogant squire, proud vicar, or, above all, assistant agent." We are surprised that Mr. Southey himself has not been struck with the likelihood of the indefinite propagation of that notion of the *comfort of comforts*, and of its solidity as a support for republicanism. The immense plurality of American citizens, read newspapers and books in which the odious distinctions of European society, aristocratic immunities, revolting cases of overgrown wealth, and extreme, squalid poverty, are related so as to affect them with lasting disgust at those evils, and a correspondent complacency with the exemption which they enjoy. Whatever may be thought in Europe of the tone of our periodical journals in party politics, and of their literary taste, it must be acknowledged that they universally breathe a republican spirit, and teach the republican theory; their currency, too, is boundless; and thus every American child,—for every one learns to read—is early and unchangeably attempered and endoctrinated as a Democrat, a principled votary of popular government, to which he refers most of the blessings of his separate existence, and the general power and prosperity of his country. The increase of American population is, therefore, a multiplication of republican enthusiasts—a fact which alone overthrows our author's

paradox, that "the change is easier from republicanism to monarchy in America, than from monarchy to republicanism in any of the European kingdoms, even those wherein there has been the most flagrant and pernicious government." We call this sentiment a paradox, by the side of his own statement—"the Americans delight in making representations of their improved polity and enlightened freedom." They actually delight in their institutions; they attribute more evil and iniquity to those of Europe, than, perhaps, prevail: these impressions descend from generation to generation, and spread with the extension of numbers and settlements.—Will millions sacrifice what they love, what they regard as the source and security of their personal welfare and importance, for what they invest with gorgonian terrors and pestiferous exhalations?

It is difficult to conceive how the change could be brought about or begun. "When Americans," says Mr. Southey, "become restless, their bent is towards the wilderness; they move into the back settlements, and there become the pioneers of civilization." But the wilderness is immeasurable; for centuries it cannot be filled up to the supposed point of anarchy from collision. The springs and apparatus of our government are such as to render military usurpation nearly impossible. In time of peace, no large standing armies can exist; in time of war with a foreign enemy, they will never be necessary; hosts of armed citizens must always be ready to protect the rights and constitutions which they understand and love. Any serious encroachment or treasonable attempt, in civil administration, would instantaneously be observed and fiercely denounced by state legislatures, federal and state functionaries, and innumerable presses. Authority in our system has no means, or very slender resources, for dangerous irregularities of any kind; but is subject to more checks and certainties of resistance, than would suffice to defeat inordinateness at once, if it possessed fivefold its present faculties of aggrandizement. Excellent lessons may be derived from the histories of the republics of antiquity and of the middle ages, and even of the new ones of South America, which have engaged Mr. Southey's attention; yet no real analogy, whence to reason and predict, can be indicated between their circumstances, at any time, and those of our Union. Our representative system, our government federal and national, our civil and political equality, are absolutely new and essential distinctions, added to the compass of territory, the diffusiveness of education, the nature and influences of the press, community of origin and language, religious tenets and condition, and exemption from external, distant or conterminous, prepotency and machinations.

The Laureate consoles himself for the number of British emigrants to the United States, by the reflection, that the re-

moval of so many hands for which employment cannot be found at home, is an immediate good, and that no eventual evil is to be apprehended from thus accelerating the growth of the United States, *since the faster they grow, the sooner they will separate*. This is a mere postulate, as doubtful as it is uncharitable. The simple increase of numbers, so long as space is open for their dispersion, affords no ground for any conclusion on that head. It must, then, be the multiplication of the states which is to produce separation. The tendency of that circumstance would seem, however, to be the reverse. It counteracts the ambition and superciliousness of the larger states; combinations are rendered more difficult; the smaller or the younger members will cling to the Union as their safeguard; internal communication becomes from year to year more easy, rapid, and extensive; scarcely any location within our limits, remote as they are in miles, will continue to be distant in point of time and convenience from the metropolis, or the central action and interests of the system. Next to predilection for republicanism itself, is the estimation in which the American people hold the Union; and this affection is disseminated and transmitted like the other. Governors, and state legislatures, and representatives in Congress, and writers in the newspapers, irritated by momentary griefs, or prompted by party-spirit, may vapour about secession and rupture, and the sufficiency of their independent sovereignties; and monarchical politicians abroad may exultingly infer from their threats and partial measures, that dissolution is at hand;—but no alarm is experienced by the domestic observers who have seen these ebullitions fume off, who understand the mutual relations of the several divisions of the confederacy, and the structure of the federal government, and who can appreciate the force of the ties, sympathies, and habits, by which even the remotest districts are knit with the whole. On the late occasion of the paroxysms in Georgia, the contrast was striking, almost ludicrous, between the annunciations of immediate dissolution and intestine war, which were published in the London journals, and the tranquil confidence in the Union, which continued every where out of that state, and, perhaps, even in the breasts of the greater part of its own citizens. We should suggest more from ourselves on this topic, if we did not prefer to quote the just and eloquent ideas which a distinguished member of the American Congress, Mr. Everett, offered not long since to an assemblage in Kentucky:—

“It is most fortunate for us, that the basis on which our Union rests, is natural, broad, and stable. The several parts of which it is composed, have not been bound to each other, by the measures of a preponderating political power, exerted by the stronger members to attach the weaker to their sovereignty. We do not owe our gathering together into this family of states, to the intermarriage of northern Ferdinands with southern Isabellas. Our Union was not cemented by

the sealing-wax of diplomatic congresses, (where foreign statesmen sit in judgment, to parcel out reluctant provinces among rival empires :) nor by the blood of disastrous battle fields. Had such been the origin of our association, we might have expected, that incurable antipathies would exist between the discordant members, and that a Union, commenced in power, violence or intrigue, would continue in disgust while it lasted, and end in civil war. On the contrary, among numerous instructive aspects, in which our political system presents itself to the contemplation of the friends of liberty, none is more important than that, in which it teaches the most auspicious mode of extending a popular government, over a vast region of country, filled by a rapidly increasing population, by means of a confederation of states. The superficial observer, not merely abroad but at home, may regard the multiplication of states, with their different local interests, as an alarming source of dissension, threatening eventual destruction to the republic. But had the sagacity of the most profound politician been exercised to contrive a mode in which the continent of North America should become one broad theatre for the exercise of the rights, and the enjoyment and perpetuation of the privileges of republican government and national liberty, it may well be doubted, whether any other so effectual, so prompt, and at the same time so simple, could have been devised by him, as the creation of a number of separate states, successively formed, as a population becoming dense in the older settlements had poured itself out into the newer fields of adventure and promise; united by a confederacy in the pursuit of all objects of common and general interest, and separate, independent, and sovereign, as to all of individual concern. It is thus, that our Union is extending itself, not as a mere matter of political arrangement, still less by compulsion and power, but by the choice and act of the individual citizens.

“What have we seen in all the newly settled portions of the Union? The hardy and enterprising youth finds society in the older settlements comparatively filled up. His portion of the old family farm is too narrow to satisfy his wants or his desires, and he goes forth, with the paternal blessing, and often with little else, to take up his share of the rich heritage, which the God of nature has spread before him in this western world. He quits the land of his fathers, the scenes of his early days, with tender regret glistening in his eye, though hope mantles on his cheek. He does not, as he departs, shake off the dust of the venerated soil from his feet; but he goes on the bank of some distant river, to perpetuate the remembrance of the home of his childhood. He piously bestows the name of the spot where he was born, on the spot to which he has wandered; and while he is labouring with the difficulties, struggling with the privations, languishing perhaps under the diseases, incident to the new settlement and the freshly opened soil, he remembers the neighbourhood whence he sprung; the roof that sheltered his infancy; the spring that gushed from the rock by his father's door, where he was wont to bathe his heated forehead, after the toil of his youthful sports; the village school-house; the rural church; the graves of his father and his mother. In a few years, a new community has been formed; the forest has disappeared beneath the sturdy arm of the emigrant; his children have grown up, the hardy offspring of the new clime; and the rising settlement is already linked in all its partialities and associations with that from which its fathers and founders had wandered. Such, for the most part, is the manner in which the new states have been built up; and in this way a foundation is laid, *by nature herself*, for peace, cordiality, and brotherly feeling, between the ancient and recent settlements of the country.”

ART. IV.—*An Introduction to Geology: comprising the Elements of the Science, in its present advanced state, and all the recent Discoveries; with an Outline of the Geology of England and Wales.* By ROBERT BAKEWELL. London:—*Third Edition, entirely recomposed, and greatly enlarged. With new Plates. First American Edition, edited by PROFESSOR SILLIMAN, of Yale College, with an Appendix, containing an Outline of his Course of Lectures on Geology.* New-Haven: Hezekiah Howe. 1829.

IT seems to be a very common opinion, that the study of geology is dull, dry and unattractive to all but the initiated inquirer, who has contrived to get enthusiastic in a kind of knowledge, which, to the generality of men, presents a lowering and repulsive aspect. We have too much respect for people's understandings, to consider this as the effect of any thing else, but erroneous impressions regarding the true nature and objects of geology. We can hardly pity the wiseacre more, who could travel from Dan to Beersheba, and cry "all is barren," than he who can catch but a single glimpse of the whole truths, the grand and interesting views, which this science unfolds to man, and declare that it is unworthy of employing the thoughts of any but the plodder in science, whose dull conceptions are only enlivened by the discovery of a rock, or the analysis of a mineral. If vigorous and extensive research, bold, deep, and original philosophy, enlarged and sublime views—all connected with the earth we inhabit, and in no small measure, with the nature and history of its living occupants, in times past as well as the present—have any thing in them to engage the active spirit of man, geology advances claims to our attention too numerous and strong to be easily set aside. And judging from the connexions which some branches of knowledge have with the popular feeling, we have no fear that these claims will not be admitted, when once thoroughly and clearly understood. We hear every day of the sublime and elevated discoveries made by astronomy; of the glorious mechanism which the anatomist, with palpable distinctness, places before our eyes; and of the charms of that pleasing science which unrobes to our sight the internal economy and rich garniture of the vegetable world. The former is concerned with other worlds, and the laws which bind them together; the latter, with the countless forms of being which enliven the surface of our own; while geology, without yielding to these in the high and noble character of its inquiries, shows us the worlds which have been, and traces the terrible revolutions of nature, which from time to time have "rolled them together as a scroll," leaving behind a few dumb but eloquent memorials, to convey to coming ages the story of their ex-

istence. Like the ghosts of the guilty dead which passed before the eyes of Dante in the infernal regions, the shadowy forms, not of men, but of ages, pass and repass in measured procession, before the steady gaze of the geologist, while he marks their characters and reads their history.

Geology carries us back to the very rudiments of our earthly habitation, while its scattered materials are yet destitute of form or consistence, and thence traces it upward through its successive approaches to order and beauty. The primeval ocean rolls its shoreless waters before us, loaded with the uncombined elements of the crust of our planet, which, by the union of combustibles, the evolution of gases, the precipitation of mineral compounds, and the play of innumerable affinities, are gradually moulded into shape, and become known unto men by various names. The thunder of the earthquake and volcano reverberates through subterranean caverns, upheaving the rocky framework of the earth into towering masses, destined to become the nucleus of future continents and islands. The different strata are deposited in successive series, the sea retires to its deepest basins, and dry land emerges from the bosom of the waters. The springs of life are now opened, and countless zoophytes, with other creatures of simple grade and marine origin, float in the sea, or adhere to the rocks, while luxuriant forms of vegetation cover the surface of the newly made soil. Fresh-water lakes, and marshes of large extent, diversify the land, furnishing an abode in their oozy beds, for zoophytes and numerous shell-fish, and supporting an abundant vegetation on their shores. In the lapse of time, these fill up, and give origin to vast formations of coal, with trunks of palms, and ferns, dispersed through their strata. Various limestones, slates, sandstones, and clay, are next deposited, coeval with a higher and more singular order of creation. Innumerable fishes people the lakes, and crocodiles, with lizard reptiles and enormous turtles, swim on their surface and sport on their banks. Here indeed we behold the Reptile class in its full development, displaying the most varied forms and gigantic proportions. Plesiosauri darting forth their long, swan-like necks to seize upon their prey, and Megalosauri rivaling the whale in length, paddle their huge forms with inconceivable rapidity through the waters. Gigantic Iguanodons, having their heads garnished with horns, and elephantine grinders in their jaws, repose in groves of palms and arborescent ferns; and winged lizards, realizing the fabulous creations of antiquity, are safely borne upon the breeze. But these extraordinary and gigantic beings, the beginning and the end of their order, are doomed to pass away, and with the deposition of the chalk formation, they have utterly disappeared. The wide-spread mantle of destruction is destined, in the fulfilment of time, to be once more raised, and new scenes of beauty and life are opened over

the face of nature. Marine mammals, dolphins, lamantins, and morses now range through the seas, and numerous pachydermes, of novel construction, and gigantic size, characterize the animal population of the dry land. The Tapir-like Palæotherium roams over the plains, browsing on the tender branches of trees, and the Anoplotherium, like the Rhinoceros of our own day, plunges his unwieldy form into the lakes and rivers, and feeds on the roots and succulent plants that grow upon their banks. Again the scene changes,—“the winding sheets of nature” are drawn over the face of the earth, and these singular beings are erased for ever from the book of life. On the deposits which enclose their relics, extensive plains, crowned with rich vegetation, are again formed, to be the abode of still another creation of beings. Pachyderms still predominate in this new population; but gigantic pachyderms, elephants, rhinoceroses, mastodons, megatheriums, and hippopotami, accompanied by innumerable horses and many great ruminants. Carnivora, of the size of the lion, tiger, and hyæna, desolated this new animal kingdom, which resembled, even in the extreme north, and on the borders of the frozen ocean of the present time, that presented to us only by the torrid zone. These too are overwhelmed in their turn, and give place to the condition of things which we now behold.

Such are the scenes continually presented to the view of the geological inquirer, and we can hardly conceive that they should lose any of their interest with those whose minds are open to the majesty and wonder of nature's works.

The name of this science is no doubt associated in the minds of many, with fanciful theories and idle speculation. There was indeed a time, when philosophers, forgetting the true limits of all human inquiry, had no other concern with the past condition of this terrestrial sphere, than to penetrate into the secret of its origin; and in the absence of any safe documents to guide them to their conclusions, they shaped their course by the loosest analogies, or what was still worse, assumed the existence of laws altogether different from those with which experience or calculation makes us acquainted. Imagination readily furnished the outlines of the picture, and no facts were too irrelevant or scanty, no views too partial, and no reasoning too shallow, to fill up the lights and shades, and give to the whole, form, distinctness, and the appearance of reality. Beginning, as they did, at the wrong end in their inquiries, it is no wonder that every subsequent step carried them still deeper into the maze of uncertainty and error into which they had entered. But we do not imagine that these speculations possessed a very pernicious tendency, as theories in the sciences generally have, for they were too remotely connected with practical inquiries to give them a wrong direction, and obtained too limited a belief to distort the observations of the

generality of minds. So plausible did each and all of them seem to men of warm fancies and superficial habits of thinking, and so nicely balanced were their respective merits, that they were continually supplanting one another, and thus counteracting the mischief which, individually and unfollowed by others, they would probably have occasioned. Few, we suspect, have entertained any other than a poetical belief in the analogy that has been sometimes found between the structure of our globe, and the organization of the animal body; and the parade of comets, suns, oceans, and all the other supernatural machinery that has been pompously made to account for the production of our planet, has oftener led men to smile at the dreams of philosophy, than acknowledge the power of sound and logical reasoning. These speculations might be true or false, but none could be proved, nor was it of the slightest importance that they should.

The mischievous effects of theories under certain circumstances is no good argument, however, in favour of their entire exclusion from the sciences; for apart from the use which they have in giving system, spirit, and object to our researches, there is a pride connected with a belief in them, which, when it is generally understood that the only proof of their truth is facts, stimulates the mind to higher exertions, and thus becomes the means of increasing indefinitely our stock of really valuable knowledge. We have yet to be convinced that geological theories have not, on the whole, had a beneficial, rather than an injurious tendency, by leading to rigorous and extensive investigations, and adding to the mass of facts, on which, as a common basis, they must all repose. Few, we believe, will deny that it is to the discussions and investigations that have arisen from the rival theories of Werner and Hutton, that we owe some of the most valuable truths in geology, and much of the certainty and precision which characterize its present results. What was it but a strong and impelling desire to strengthen the claims of the latter of these theories, which led to the production of one of the noblest contributions to geological knowledge, the *Illustrations of Playfair*? Thus, however remote from the truth a theory may be, it never is entirely without its use, for the facts on which it pretends to be based, lose none of their value by being applied to wrong purposes, and are always ready to the hand of subsequent inquirers, who may make them subservient to more substantial conclusions.

The rage for world making has now subsided; geologists have become not only ashamed of trying their hand at such empty follies, but lastingly convinced that their rightful province is to examine the various materials which constitute the crust of the earth, to ascertain the relations which they bear to one another, and discuss such other questions as these inquiries may naturally sug-

gest. If we can judge of the times aright, geologists of the present day are decidedly averse to mere speculation, and resolutely discountenance it wherever it appears; and if all others were as little addicted to unwarranted assumptions and hasty generalizations, we cannot help thinking that the sciences would be all the better for it. Not that they are utterly devoid of theoretical views, and make observations purely for the pleasure of recording them; for the understanding invariably shoots ahead of simple observations, and endeavours to deduce from them some general principles; and the certainty of this process, when not conducted by experiment or calculation, must always vary with its subject. What we mean is, that theoretical views are not ostentatiously thrust forward as objects of the first importance, but on the contrary, are considered rather in the light of humble and rational conjectures, pretending to nothing more than an approximation to the truth. We have been thus particular on this point, because so long as the impression is abroad, that geology is merely a bundle of fancies, the conceits of warm-headed men, it would be idle to insist on its importance, or its claims to more general attention.

Another objection to this science is often mentioned, which it may be well to consider for a moment, since with the higher order of minds it undoubtedly has no inconsiderable weight,—it is the jarring and dissension which pervade its discussions, and the general uncertainty of its conclusions. Why should we plunge into a labyrinth of conflicting theories, incompatible observations, and contradictory results, to come out at last as wise as we entered? This objection has been greatly magnified by reason of the erroneous conceptions which are too commonly entertained respecting the nature of geology, and of course will appear very differently when the science shall be more clearly and fairly estimated. If we were inclined to start a paradox on the occasion, we should say that this is a striking proof how thoroughly and decidedly geology is a science of facts. Considering the small number of these which have been collected, in comparison with the almost inexhaustible source whence they are drawn, it is not surprising at all, that it is sometimes difficult to reconcile them one with another, and that our general principles are open to the serious charge of being derived from partial views of the facts. We are willing to let every man generalize according to the materials at his command, confident that as knowledge advances, these generalizations are easily modified or even entirely dismissed. What is doubt and confusion now, may be clearness and certainty at no distant period. Geological discussions are gradually eliciting the truth; and considering the infancy of the science and the immense range of inquiry which it embraces, it seems strange indeed that it should present so little obscurity and lack of certain-

ty in its conclusions as it really does. At, any rate, since the truth cannot be found out at once, we are not to abandon the search for it entirely, more especially as every fresh attempt brings us nearer to the object of our wishes. Bearing these considerations in mind, geology will not be found, on examination, to possess so exclusively a theoretical character, as at first sight might be imagined.

But to waive the consideration of any farther objections, this science has positive merits, which, when properly known, cannot fail of commanding the admiration of philosophical minds, though of a kind not readily to be appreciated by the multitude. They consist in its long and patient researches, its bold and determined spirit of inquiry, its enlarged and interesting relations, and, above all, in its close adherence to the principles of the inductive philosophy. If these ever insured to a science a brilliant and uninterrupted career, none promises fairer than geology. Its faithful adherence to the Baconian philosophy, and the successful results which it has thereby obtained, form one of its noblest features, and is that on which we would strongly insist in enforcing its claims to the attention of cultivated minds. This may sound strange to many with whom geology has been synonymous with fanciful theories concerning the origin and past condition of the earth, but it is nevertheless true; and no one who is conversant with the books that appear on geology from time to time, with the papers in the scientific journals, and the memoirs read before various geological societies, will call for further proof of the assertion. An instance illustrative of this characteristic may serve to place the matter in a stronger and clearer light. In the coal formations, we find fragments of terrestrial and aquatic plants, and fresh-water shells—and here is our clue to certain facts concerning the origin of the coal. Its stratified character is sufficient evidence of its having been deposited under water, as all strata have been, and the nature of the remains shows that it was fresh. The aquatic characters of some of the plants indicate that they grew, and consequently that the coal must have been formed in fresh-water lakes; and this conclusion is strengthened, by the trunks of trees and other terrestrial vegetables, which suppose the existence of dry land, and that these lakes were formed in its vicinity. In the strata immediately above the coal, the organic remains are of a marine nature, from which we learn, that after the coal was formed, the land was covered by the sea to a great depth. Again, certain worms, furnished with conical or cylindrical shells, are known to bury themselves in the mud or sand which they inhabit, in a vertical position. Now, in some highly inclined, and even vertical strata, shells of this kind are found possessing the same relative situation; that is, at right angles with the plane of the strata. Hence

it is inferred, (not, however, that this is the only proof of the fact,) that these strata were originally deposited in the horizontal position, but at a subsequent period have been either raised or depressed by the action of some powerful causes.

Another claim which this science presents to a more general attention, is one which no doubt will be more readily admitted than any other, viz. its practical utility. The interests of architecture and of the arts of life, the discovery of valuable mineral substances, and the construction of great national works, are all connected, in a greater or less degree, with a knowledge of the materials which compose the crust of our earth. If almost every country possesses its mines, of some kind or other, and looks to them as an unfailing source of wealth, the science is not to be lightly prized which furnishes useful hints in regard to their management, and points out the conditions in which new discoveries are to be attempted. The geologist infers the absence or presence of certain minerals, from the absence or presence of those formations with which they are found to be connected. It will be readily seen, that without a knowledge of these associations, any attempts at fresh discoveries must, except by the merest chance, be entirely fruitless—an event which involves no little expense of time, labour, and money. In a country like ours, the mineral resources of which have been but little explored, and where, consequently, the people are anxiously on the look out, ready to commence their researches on the slightest indication, these considerations are entitled to a great deal more weight than they have ever yet received. Thousands of dollars have been absolutely thrown away in this country, in digging for mineral substances, in situations where a practical geologist would have said at first sight that they could not possibly exist. Coal and salt, for example, have never been found in granite, or any other primitive rocks; so that in searching for these substances, if we come to these rocks, and still persist, we may labour till doomsday without success. In selecting materials for the construction of buildings, roads, &c., some acquaintance with the qualities of rocks is absolutely requisite; otherwise we shall be as likely to make choice of those which after a short time will crumble away, as others which shall stand the vicissitudes of ages, and still retain their durability and beauty. The various instances where geology comes to the aid of the architect, the manufacturer, and the engineer, would fill volumes; but the above are sufficient to prove the fact. Being therefore a science of great practical utility, containing much knowledge which ought to be made common, instead of being confined to scientific men; and one, too, the study of which would furnish an excellent discipline to the young mind, by early impressing it with the importance of the inductive philosophy, and leading it to regard facts as the

eternal basis of truth, we wish that a more prominent part were allotted to it in our higher courses of education.

To become a great geologist, indeed, it is necessary to travel over countries, and examine continents; but to a certain degree, the study may be pursued with much satisfaction, without all this labour and devotedness. Books will convey all the requisite information in regard to the structure of rocks, their relative situation, their classification, and, in short, all the general principles of the science; and a practical acquaintance with many of the most common rocks, is within the reach of almost every one. Perhaps the chief cause why so little attention has been paid to geology in this country, is the want of suitable books for beginners. Very few good introductory treatises have ever been written in the English language, and these few are not to be obtained here without much trouble and expense. Hence, those who have been able to obtain any acquaintance with the science, are indebted chiefly to the oral instructions of practical geologists, or, as has been most generally the case, we imagine, have gathered a little in this manner, and picked up the rest at various times and places, just as opportunity has happened to throw it in their way. Thus pursued, we know of no path in all science more thickly enveloped in obscurity and confusion. The books which chance throws in the way of the learner were never meant to be elementary, and he is continually meeting with familiar allusions to opinions which he never heard of before, hints which serve all the purpose to the initiated, but are inexplicable to him as sybil-line leaves, and facts which he never knew, referred to as truisms. It is only those, who, with a desire for geological knowledge, have found themselves thus situated, that can adequately appreciate the value of a good introductory work, in which the scattered members of the science are brought together, and arranged in regular and harmonious order. We are thus enabled to take in, at a single view, the forms and relations of the whole body of the science, and spared the trouble of hunting through a pile of other volumes every ten minutes, in search of a synonym, and the regret at passing over discussions, which, for want of previous knowledge, we are incapable of understanding.

Mr. Bakewell's work is one of this kind; and by reason of its simplicity and orderly arrangement, its great freedom from technical details, and the interesting views with which it abounds, is highly recommended to the general reader, as well as the student in geology. It is the production of a practical geologist, who says in behalf of his present work, that there is scarce a rock formation described in it, which he has not visited and compared with the descriptions of other geologists. His authority as an original observer, has considerable weight among his fellow-labourers in the cause, and his writings show him to be a

profound and independent thinker. This work comprises a great body of facts and observations, judiciously selected from the great mass, lucidly arranged, and expressed in a neat and perspicuous style. In theoretical matters, Mr. Bakewell is a thorough-going Plutonian, though occasionally he withholds his faith from Hutton, as well as Werner; and in noticing the opinions of others, he is as fair and explicit as the nature of his work would permit.

The present is the third edition, which has been entirely re-composed, several new chapters being added, and the others considerably enlarged. As it seems to be peculiarly well fitted for circulation in this country, we shall occupy the remainder of this article in giving our readers some account of its contents, with the hope that it may prove an inducement to examine the work itself.

The first two chapters contain a very general view of the principal phenomena which the structure of the earth presents, with some particular observations on the distribution and condition of organic remains. His classification of rocks, though ostensibly his own, seems to be merely a little modification of Professor Jameson's, and exhibits the following classes:—

1. Primary.
2. Intermediate, or Transition.
3. Secondary; comprising
 The Lower Secondary Series, and
 The Upper Secondary Series.
4. Tertiary.
5. Basaltic and Volcanic.
6. Diluvial and Alluvial.

Though a great deal better than some others, this arrangement is not exactly to our mind; yet since it has been very commonly adopted, we should not object to its being used in an introductory work, the object of which is to present to the reader the views and opinions of geologists generally, not of particular individuals. But it was incumbent on the author to inform his readers that this classification is rejected by many distinguished geologists, and acquaint them with the attempts which are making to obtain an arrangement of a less theoretical character, and better suited to the present aspect of the science. The classifications of Conybeare and Phillips, Dr. Macculloch and others, in which theoretical considerations have been sedulously excluded, are too valuable, and are destined to have an influence on this part of the science too extensive, to be passed over without the slightest notice. Some account of them would prove highly convenient to the geological student, since, in perusing works of a less elementary character, he frequently sees them referred to, and oftentimes in terms of high approbation.

We are surprised to find it suggested, that the primary rocks

may have been formed prior to the existence of organic beings, because the rocks which cover them contain almost exclusively the remains of the lowest class of animals, which undoubtedly form the first link in the chain of animated beings. Coming from a Neptunian, there would be nothing strange in this, but we are really at a loss how to reconcile it with the whole tenor of the subsequent part of the volume, which evidently favours the igneous origin of granite. According to the Huttonian theory, this rock has been formed, or, at least, fused and upheaved, subsequently to the deposition of the superincumbent rocks, and for this very reason must be expected to be destitute of organic remains. The same cause which excludes them from the trap rocks, must from the primary.

The inferences necessarily drawn from the history of organic remains, may be reconciled with the Mosaic account of the creation, Mr. Bakewell thinks, by supposing that the word *day*, as there used, includes a period of several thousand years. This idea has been more fully developed by M. Frayssinous, Bishop of Hermopolis, and seems to be the only one compatible with geological facts. That the creation of man was posterior to that of other beings—an opinion which geologists have been inclined to adopt too hastily, from the circumstance that his remains have never yet been found in any formation of unquestionably antediluvian date—is a conclusion unwarranted, while the upper strata in Asia, which country is commonly considered to have been the cradle of the human race, remain unexplored. However probable the idea of the recent creation of our race may appear to some, it is certainly untenable, so long as we profess to be guided by the evidences of geology.

The chapter “on the mineral substances that compose the crust of the globe; and on the structure of rocks,” contains quite a comprehensive account of the elementary substances, and the simple minerals formed out of their various combinations. In the next, the principles of stratification are clearly explained and illustrated, the different appearances which the strata sometimes assume are fully described, and the most common sources of error to which the beginner is exposed, are carefully pointed out. The principles contained in this chapter should be well understood and appreciated by the young geologist, before he advances a single step in the higher kind of investigations. Ignorance, or false views on this subject, we are obliged to say it, have too often given rise to wrong conclusions even with the most careful observers. Our author has pointed out a source of error in the stratification of large calcareous mountains, which he is confident deceived even the practised eye of Saussure. The vast beds of limestone in the Swiss and Savoy Alps, are frequently intersected by regular seams, which cut through the beds in a

direction perpendicular to that of the true strata seams, and which, by being exposed to the action of the atmosphere, are much enlarged, and often become more conspicuous than the strata seams themselves. To add to the difficulty, the strata are sometimes covered by a calcareous deposition, like a coat of plaster, which completely conceals them from view. Ignorance of these circumstances has led observers to describe the strata in a mountain as being part horizontal and part vertical.

The fifth and sixth chapters are on the *primary* rocks, the three principal of which, granite, gneiss and mica slate, Mr. Bakewell considers as being modes of the same rock, rather than different species. This opinion is undoubtedly gaining ground; for the terms *slaty granite*, *gneissoid granite*, &c., have already become too common to excite particular notice. On this view of the subject, when granite is found overlying gneiss, we are spared the graceless task of distinguishing by a difference of mineral characters, primary from secondary granite, and can make use of the more proper expression, that massive and slaty granite sometimes alternate with each other. In regard to the respective ages of these two kinds of granite, we are not disposed to venture any opinion, but we must confess that we never had fertility of invention sufficient to ascertain with the slightest satisfaction, by what strange freak of chemical action between the materials suspended in the "universal ocean," an occasional mass of granite should be deposited after a coat of granite and gneiss has successively invested the nucleus of our globe. Still less could we ever conceive, how such different compounds as granite, slate, and limestone, should be deposited over one another in such regular order and rapid succession, that the former sometimes occurs, both in the form of veins and amorphous masses, completely imbedded in the latter. Such an intermixture as this has been described by Dr. Macculloch, in the *Geological Transactions*, Vol. I., as occurring at Glentilt, Scotland; and if our faith in the wonderful powers of this universal ocean, were sufficiently expansive to admit this into the number of its effects, it seems as if it might soon be possessed of that happy dilatability which the pious Father's did, with whom it was in direct proportion to the impossibility of the thing to be believed, and attribute the mineral veins, basaltic columns, conglomerates, yea the trap dykes and vertical strata, to the same prolific source of paradoxical marvels.

We know that many eminent geologists consider the calcareous strata to be the produce of organic secretion,—an opinion, which, so far as the magnitude of the result is concerned, is certainly countenanced by all that we know of the formation of coral reefs and islands. But whether the lime secreted by the coral zoophytes is first separated from other substances, or formed in

the animal itself, by combining its simple elements, we know not at present, though an answer to this question is indispensable before we can decide upon the origin of the calcareous strata. If these creatures have a power of this kind, it would not necessarily prove the exclusively animal origin of the limestones, and if not, it shows that lime has always existed as one of the constituents of our earth. Mr. Bakewell's assumption, that the quantity of lime contained in the waters to which the marine zoophytes belong, whose growth is rapid, and who have no locomotion, is too small to furnish the immense structures which these mites are constantly erecting, is entirely gratuitous, not to say absurd. It can hardly be doubted that the quantity of lime in sea-water, small as it is, is sufficient for the formations of these vast structures; and the only question is whether these animals can separate it with a rapidity which shall be proportional to its scarcity. We say nothing of their exhausting the material, and their inability to procure more, because they have not the power of locomotion, for we take it that the water will come to them, though they may be unable to get to that. No fair case, we believe, has yet been made out, of any earths being formed by organic action, and therefore while we are without any support from analogy, the principle is not to be admitted without the strongest possible evidence.

The next chapter treats of the Transition or intermediate rocks, that bone of contention among geologists—and as they always will be too, so long as men are for ever endeavouring to reconcile the results of practical inquiries with their own hypothetical views. Mr. Bakewell admits the great difficulty of determining the limits of this protean class, especially in its upper members, when the coal formation is not present, which he considers as “a simple and intelligible key to the geology of all countries where it occurs,” fixing a distinct line of separation between the Transition and Lower Secondary rocks. The perplexity which geologists have experienced in attempting to distinguish between its lower members and the primary rocks, has arisen, he thinks, from their arranging argillite with the latter. Since it is among the slates that organic remains first appear, he admits of no such rock as primitive argillite. Organic remains indeed, are not always found in these rocks; neither are they in strata which are undoubtedly secondary; and which, for that reason, are not arranged with the primary. The following table shows what rocks he considers as properly belonging to the Transition class.

(*Conformable.*)

1. Slate, including flinty slate and other varieties.
2. Greywacke and greywacke slate, passing into old red sandstone.
3. Transition limestone. Mountain limestone.

Rocks covering Transition Rocks, (Unconformably.)

4. Porphyry, passing into trap or greenstone.
5. Clinkstone, passing into basalt.
6. Basalt.

The next chapter, on the strata comprising the regular coal formation, contains many interesting facts, and some original views, though on a subject about as much investigated as any other in geology. The history of these strata leaves no doubt on the mind, that between their formation and that of the upper conformable transition rocks, a remarkable change took place on the surface of the earth. In the latter, the fossilized remains are all of marine origin, and we have not the slightest evidence that dry land had appeared above the surface of the waters; in the former, we find the remains of animals that undoubtedly dwelt in fresh-water, associated with plants, indicating the commencement of atmospheric vegetation, and the appearance of dry land. That coal is of vegetable origin, is now we believe generally admitted, since the experiments of Dr. Macculloch have proved to those who were incapable of perceiving any adequate cause for the necessary changes which vegetable matter must have undergone, that submersion in water, with subsequent exposure to heat, is sufficient to convert wood-coal and jet into true mineral coal. That the former of these causes was present in the natural formation of coal, there can be little doubt; but whether the latter was also, and assisted in completing the process, we have no means of determining to a certainty. "Pressure and time alone may be sufficient to produce the destruction of vegetable organization, and the perfect consolidation of beds of coal." Subterranean heat might—and we see nothing unreasonable in supposing so much—have had a share in producing the effect in question. That the earth radiated a remarkable quantity at that time, is quite clear from the remains of palms and ferns, and other plants of a tropical character, which indicate a temperature in those latitudes very different from what now exists; but whether this had any agency in the process, we cannot say. That the coal beds were formed in fresh-water lakes, is evident from considerations alluded to in the introduction to this article: the alternation of coal-beds with strata of sandstone, shale and indurated clay, Mr. Bakewell explains, by supposing that these lakes were laid dry periodically, and filled by successive inundations. That these changes took place rapidly and without much violence, appears from the fact, that vertical stems of plants are sometimes found penetrating through the sandstone. At Burntwood quarry in Yorkshire, Mr. Bakewell observed one, nine feet in length and ten inches in thickness, which had cut through three strata of sandstone, parted by regular seams. In our author's remarks "on the period when the coal mines in England will be exhaust-

ed," the croaking speculator, who looks forward to this event with gloomy forebodings, and shivers when he thinks of the time when the coal shall no longer blaze in the grate, and the smoke shall disappear from the London sky, will find that ages hence, the coming generations, in spite of his ill-starred predictions, may chant the praises of coal fires with as much zest as the loyal subjects of George IV. It appears that the coal-fields in South Wales, adjoining the Bristol channel, would supply England with fuel for two thousand years, after all the other coal-mines are exhausted.

Chapter ninth is on the "unconformable rocks of Porphyry, Trap and Basalt, and on Basaltic dykes." The rocks already noticed, are generally found to be arranged in a certain relative order of position, B following A, and C following B, and so on through all the different members of the series, and also conforming to one another in the direction of the strata. We do not always find, however, that wherever one rock occurs, a certain other will be found invariably to succeed it, because it frequently happens that some member or other in the natural series is wanting. Still the same order of position is observed with those which remain, and though B may be absent, C succeeds, instead of being succeeded by A. Rocks which follow such laws of association, are called *conformable*. There is another class, which is observed to follow no such order of position, being found alike in the primary, transition, and secondary classes, either in a massive unstratified state, or possessing a columnar structure, and arranged without any relation to the direction of the adjacent strata. These are called *unconformable, unstratified rocks*, and they comprise that celebrated class whose name cannot certainly sound strange to any one, who for once in his life has dipped into a geological book. They are the Trap rocks, embracing, in the most common acceptation of the term, those in which hornblende or augite is a predominating ingredient, and with some geologists, a few which observe similar geological relations to trap. They are called by the various names of basalt, clinkstone, porphyry, trachyte, amygdaloid, wacke, greenstone, &c., &c., all which pass into one another by very slight transitions. Neither does the gradation stop here, since from greenstone there is a transition to sienite, and from this to granite; and again, trap porphyry passes into felspar porphyry, and this into granitic porphyry and true granite. The trap rocks are chiefly distinguished in geology, as being the principal subject of contention between the Neptunians and Plutonians. Their igneous origin constitutes, in fact, the main pillar of the Huttonian theory; for, once established, it is the most direct conclusion in the world, that granite, into which they pass by gradual transitions, has been subjected to the same agent as the trap rocks. Hence, the Wernerians have al-

ways strenuously advocated the opinion of their aqueous origin, though apart from their relations to granite, it would not seem to militate against the conditions of their theory, to see in them the agency of fire. The whole phenomena of volcanoes furnish abundant grounds for believing, that many other rocks besides those of undoubted volcanic production, have been formed in a similar manner, and such a belief would certainly have been entertained, had it not been perceived that the igneous origin of granite must in consistence be admitted. In advocating a different opinion, therefore, that noble principle in all good philosophizing, to take the truth without regard to consequences, has been totally abandoned, and sound, logical conclusions, sacrificed to the rigid exactions of theory. The resemblance between basalt and compact lava is so close as to defy all attempts to distinguish them by proper characters, and their identity, so strongly supported by this similarity of appearance, is completely established by the observation, that beds and even columns of basalt are found, the lower parts of which are a vitreous lava or slag. A similar fact is likewise observed in the volcanic districts of Auvergne. We cannot here go through with the whole mass of proof on this point, the most abundant and conclusive that human belief could reasonably require, and which has been rigidly scrutinized too, by faithful observers; for this would be foreign to the design of this article. We regret to find in Mr. Bakewell's work, no regular and systematic array of the facts and arguments on this disputed question, as it holds such a conspicuous place in geological inquiries, that it is continually meeting the notice of the student, and perplexing his mind by the partial and insulated forms in which it occurs. Unconnected and partial views in matters of science, have never that weight and conclusiveness which they actually possess when presented in their relations to all the other parts of the subject. The observations which Mr. Bakewell makes on the trap rocks, indicate the acute and logical geologist, and are enough, we believe, though other evidence were wanting, to establish the fact of their igneous origin. The fact that the trap rocks sometimes occur between regularly stratified beds of marine limestone, sandstone, clay, and gravel, has been triumphantly cited in favour of their aqueous origin, for credulity almost blushed when asked to believe that the trap was interposed between these strata by means of a force acting from below, and at the same time so gently and carefully, as not to materially disturb their relations, or change their line of direction and dip. This alternation of trap with other formations, is satisfactorily explained, however, without doing violence to the strictest principles of reasoning. Mr. Bakewell supposes that these beds of limestone, sandstone, &c., once formed the bottom

of the ocean, though now hundreds of feet below its present level, and that over their surface currents of submarine lava successively flowed, and were as often covered up by new formations of calcareous strata.

Trap not only occurs in the form of beds and columns, but frequently in *dykes*, or vertical walls, intersecting the other rocks, being from a few inches to three hundred feet thick, and stretching across the country for several miles. They are generally harder than the intersected rocks, and when these are decomposed, the dyke often remains, forming a high, bold wall, rising above the surface of the soil. Walls of this sort occur in Northumberland and Durham, running through the country for a great many miles. The longest mineral dyke that has yet been traced in England, is the Cleaveland Basalt dyke, being several yards in width, and extending through two or three counties, to the distance of seventy miles in a direct line. We cannot forbear quoting an observation of our author, in his remarks on this dyke, which, we believe with him, completely invalidates the theory, that they were once open fissures or rents, produced by the shrinking in of the rocks:—

“ This dyke in its course intersects very different formations, viz. the transition or metalliferous limestone, the coal district, and the upper secondary strata of lias and oolite. The different organic remains in these formations, as well as their position, prove that they were consolidated at distant periods of time. Indeed the geologists who maintain that dykes were formed as before described, are ready to admit the distant eras of these formations. The transition, or metalliferous limestone, and the lower strata, must have been completely consolidated, long before the upper secondary strata were deposited, and the causes which might dispose the upper strata to sink in, cannot be supposed to act on the lower rocks. It is also to be remarked, that in the lower rocks, situated to the west, the breadth of this dyke is more than twenty yards; but at Sillow Cross, where I measured it, it is not more than ten yards: this dyke therefore must become wider as it descends. It must also have been filled with basalt at the time of its formation, otherwise it would have contained numerous fragments of the rocks which it intersects.”

Wherever this dyke comes in contact with transition limestone, it renders it more crystalline, a fact precisely analogous to that which Sir James Hall observed in one of his experiments, where powdered chalk, when subjected to the action of intense heat, under great pressure, was converted to true marble. In the basaltic dykes, at Antrim, Scotland, the chalk is found converted into crystalline limestone, for several feet on each side of the dyke. Fragments of chalk are also observed completely enveloped in the basalt, proving beyond a doubt that the latter was once in a state of igneous fusion, and in this condition was forced up through the chalk, breaking and upturning the strata. Where the Cleaveland dyke has come in contact with the coal, it has reduced it, for the distance of several feet, to complete soot; at a greater distance, it has been converted only to a coke or cin-

der; while at a distance of fifty feet, the coal preserves its natural appearance.

The occurrence of isolated beds of basalt on the summits of mountains, has been supposed to controvert the theory of their aqueous origin; but our author imagines that it may be explained satisfactorily enough, so as still to be in unison with this theory. These isolated masses might once have been connected together, and have formed a continuous bed, which has since been excavated by valleys, in the way that the strata of other rocks have been. The same bed of limestone is frequently observed forming the summits of hills on opposite sides of a valley. Besides, the same changes in the adjacent strata have been produced by these formations of basalt, as are observed in other circumstances. The chalk is converted into crystalline limestone, and the continuity of the strata is interrupted.

In chapter X. is discussed the subject of the synchronism of rock formations in different countries. That the older rocks were deposited at successive epochs over the whole globe, investing it entirely like the concentric coats of an onion, was a favourite doctrine of Werner, and, in fact, seems to be a necessary constituent in his system. Subsequent revolutions, it is true, have deranged this order of succession, and destroyed the continuity of many of the strata, so that now we behold only the fragments of those formations which in the beginning were of universal extent. In regard to the more recent strata, though we are not bound to believe them to have been universal formations, we can have no reluctance to identify them in different regions, when presenting a similarity of mineral, geological, and zoological characters. The chalk and oolite in one part of England, so closely resemble the chalk and oolite in another part, that no doubt can possibly exist of their identity. For the same reasons, we are obliged to admit their identity with these formations in different departments of France, and tracing the latter to the foot of the Jura chain, behold the same similarity which prevails throughout the whole course. But in the case of granite, and the older rocks, the mineralogical characters of which may be the same, the question of synchronism must be determined solely by their relations to the overlying strata, whose age is supposed to be ascertained. At Charnwood forest, in Leicestershire, England, granite and slate rocks are covered by *horizontal* secondary strata, while in Savoy, on the Alps, the same strata are arranged in a vertical position, conformably to the beds of granite and gneiss. Here then is a clue to the relative ages of these primary rocks. The secondary strata were deposited horizontally in both cases, but, in the Alps, were subsequently raised to a vertical position by the elevation of the primary rocks, unless it can for a moment be imagined, that strata so closely resembling one an-

other, as to be considered, all theory aside, as identical, might have been deposited at epochs very far remote, and one series in a vertical, and the other in a horizontal direction. The granite of the Alps, therefore, is more recent than that of Charnwood—more recent, peradventure, than even the tertiary strata, since there are found, at the height of 7000 feet, fossils similar to those contained in the tertiary strata of the Paris basin.

The next three chapters contain the history of the upper secondary strata, embracing all the different formations between the coal and the chalk, including the latter, and will be found to constitute one of the most valuable portions of the volume. Neither these nor the tertiary deposits were much known to geologists, till Cuvier and Brongniart, attracted by the remains of plants and animals, which they contain in great abundance, commenced the study of these interesting relics, aided by the strongest light that botany and comparative anatomy could bestow. By determining their relations to the strata in which they are entombed, they furnished to inquirers a key to the knowledge of both, and thus excited them at once to a diligent examination of these neglected formations. The results of these investigations have been the most satisfactory and brilliant, perhaps, that geology ever knew. Numerous formations in different parts of the world have been identified with one another; the remains of beings widely remote from the present orders of creation have been brought to light; and the facts of numerous irruptions of the sea, destroying the forms of life, and depositing fresh strata on the surface of the last, established, to the conviction of the most sceptical mind. But these investigations having been made at various times and places, and by different persons, agreement in nomenclature, and many other points, could not possibly be expected. The student feels very strongly, therefore, the necessity of a comparative and connected view of the whole field of inquiry, to relieve him from the confusion which must inevitably arise from calling by different names, the same, or varieties of the same thing, and likewise, from a diversity of views, allusions, and habits of observation, to be expected in geologists of different schools, characters, and countries. These chapters of Mr. Bakewell furnish an excellent summary of this sort, and having the merit of clear arrangement and perspicuous description, throw no ordinary light on a subject deeply obscured by a multiplicity of synonyms and local details. The different formations are clearly and comprehensively described, and the principal differences observed in remote districts, and distinguished by various names, are pointed out, so that the reader, at a single glance, takes in a distinct and connected view of the whole. These formations are, generally speaking, calcareous, with occasional beds of sandstone, clay, and

sand, and are arranged in six classes, each embracing a number of varieties.—

1. Magnesian Limestone.
2. Red Marle and Sandstone.
3. Lias Limestone and Lias Clay.
4. Oolite, with subordinate beds of Clay.
5. Sand, Sandstone, and Clay.
6. Chalk.

The Red Marle formation, which presents in its different beds so perplexing a variety of mineral characters, is arranged by Mr Bakewell into three divisions ;—

“The lower, which corresponds with the *roth-todle liegende*, consisting of fragments of different rocks, cemented by sand or marle, and of beds of imperfect porphyry ; the middle beds, consisting chiefly of sandstone, called by the French *gres rouge*, and *gres de Vosges* ; and the upper, consisting of marle and variegated sandstone, in which beds of rock-salt and gypsum occur ; this corresponds with the *gres bigarré*.”

Mr. Bakewell supposes that this formation, in England, has been produced by the disintegration of trap, greenstone, granite, sienite, porphyry, and granular quartz rocks, which were once spread over the districts now covered by red marle. In many instances, it contains fragments of trap, granite, slate, and other rocks which occur in its vicinity, and has probably received its red colour from iron in the decomposing trap. This theory of the formation of red marle, will account for its frequently containing porphyroidal beds.

It is in the red marle and sandstone, that are found those valuable substances, gypsum and rock-salt. The latter is always accompanied by the former, and what is a little remarkable, the gypsum in such cases is invariably anhydrous, though never so when occurring alone. This fact has some bearing on the formation of these minerals, indicating that anhydrous gypsum could not possibly have been deposited from water, though it might lose its water of crystallization by subsequent exposure to heat. We might therefore infer, that though rock-salt has been formed in salt-water lakes, yet it might afterwards have been consolidated, together with the gypsum, by the agency of heat.

The best characterized among the upper secondary strata below the chalk, in England, is the Lias Limestone, or *calcaire à griphites* of the Paris basin. It is a dark argillaceous limestone, occurring in regular flat *layers*, (from the provincial pronunciation of which word, it has received its name,) of several hundreds of feet in thickness. Some of its finer kinds receive a good polish, and have been used for lithographic drawings. This formation is chiefly interesting on account of the fossilized remains found in it, of diverse aquatic reptiles, of extraordinary

forms and singular proportions,—of numerous Ichthyosauri and Plesiosauri, which paddled through the waters that were cotemporary with the formation of the Lias Limestone. The former, or the *fish-lizard*, was provided with numerous conical teeth, and a pointed muzzle, surmounted by eyes of no stinted dimensions, the orbits measuring, in one instance, ten inches long, and seven broad. With a slim and flexible body, and feet like paddles, it propelled itself with great facility and speed through the water. The other approached the turtle form, with the additional appendage, however, of a neck longer than its body, arching over its back like the swan's, and darted forth with a sudden and rapid motion on its unwary prey.

The oolite formation in England, embraces numerous beds of yellowish limestone, alternating with beds of clay, marl, sand, and sandstone, averaging 1000 feet in thickness. It may be traced from the Cleaveland hills, in Yorkshire, into Dorsetshire, and composes the Cotteswood hills, on the south side of the Vale of Severn. This formation exceeds all others in the number, variety, and singularity of its organic remains. In the other strata below the oolite, the molluscos remain chiefly of a few species of univalve chambered shells; in the oolitic formations, on the contrary, the bivalve shells compose by far the greater number, though univalve unchambered shells begin to abound. As the latter belonged to animals which moved about on their bellies, like the land-snail, Mr. Bakewell conjectures that they did not live in deep seas, where their senses could have been of little avail, but in comparatively shallow water near the shore. Some of the reptile remains are the same as those in the Lias, but others more nearly approach the crocodile, and were amphibious; showing, that dry land and rivers existed in the vicinity. Some of the oolitic strata are entirely composed of madrepores, and hence have received the name of *coral ragg*. It is in the Stonesfield slate, a member of the oolitic series of formations, that we find, for the first time, the remains of a terrestrial mammiferous animal. They have been referred by Cuvier to an extinct genus of opossum, but the wonder is, that they should occur in strata generally supposed to have been deposited before the creation of terrestrial mammifers, and that the order of animals to which it belongs, should be confined at the present day to America and New-Holland. It has therefore been doubted, whether this formation has been correctly referred to the oolitic series, but the objections, though urged with no ordinary zeal, do not seem to invalidate the strong proofs drawn from its resemblance to this series, and its geological relations. We are inclined to doubt very much, whether the wonder occasioned by this fact, is not a little misplaced, for we are supported by every analogy, in supposing that terrestrial mammifers began to be cre-

ated few in species and numbers; and this being the case, it is not strange at all, that the remains of these animals, which first meet our attention as we rise through the strata, should be limited to a single species and a single locality.

Between the oolite and chalk, are found a series of more limited formations, containing the remains of fresh-water and terrestrial animals. They are the Purbeck beds, Iron sand, Weald clay, and Green sand. The vegetable fossils consist of the trunks of palms, arborescent ferns, and gigantic reeds, which at the present time are found only in tropical climates. Teeth and bones, of fish and reptiles, and the shells of fresh-water mollusca, are also abundant. The *Plesiosaurus* again occurs, accompanied by the remains of gigantic reptiles, the *Megalosaurus*, and *Iguanodon*. The former approached the monitors in its general forms, and if it possessed the proportions of these creatures, of which there can be but little doubt, it must have exceeded seventy feet in length, and equalled the elephant in height. The *Iguanodon* resembled the Iguana lizard of the West Indies in many respects, but differed from all existing species of the lizard family, in having teeth very similar to the grinders of herbivorous mammals—a condition which fitted it for subsisting on the hard, coarse plants that composed the vegetation of the soil. It was between sixty and seventy feet long, and possessed a horn very similar in size and form to that of the rhinoceros.

The chalk is the last and uppermost of the upper secondary strata, and extends through many of the eastern and southern counties of England, into the interior of France, through the Netherlands and part of Germany, into Poland and Sweden. In regard to its extent in Asia, we possess but very little precise information. It has not yet been found in South America or the United States. The organic remains found in the chalk are exclusively of marine origin, consisting chiefly of Zoophytes, of which the *Echinus* is the most abundant genus, and of Mollusca. Teeth and bones of fishes have been found in the chalk, but they are rare. Nodules of flint, in pretty regular layers, are frequently met with, some of them appearing to form casts of spongy zoophytes. Fossil shells of echini, filled with a siliceous deposit, are not unfrequent. To account for these nodules of flint, Mr. Bakewell supposes, that the siliceous matter, which always exists in some form or other in the calcareous strata, has been filtered through the chalk, and entered the cavities of these shells, in the same way that nodules of chalcedony have been filtered into cavities in lava or basalt. All the organic remains belong to species now extinct, and many of them to extinct genera. Mr. Parkinson says, that “hardly a single fossil has been found in the lower chalk, which has been met in the upper or any other stratum.” These facts very clearly indicate, that when the chalk strata were

forming, the ocean covered the land; and that it remained for no inconsiderable time, is also unquestionably shown by the great thickness of the beds, averaging, in England, between six and eight hundred feet.

The tertiary formations, treated of in the fourteenth chapter, were first scientifically examined by Cuvier and Brongniart, in the environs of Paris, where they are found more extensively developed than any where else. Their total thickness in England is about five hundred feet, and they have been arranged into four divisions, viz. 1. Lower marine beds. 2. Lower fresh-water beds. 3. Upper marine formation. 4. Upper fresh-water formation.

The lowest members of the first marine beds, are the Plastic clay, and London clay, reposing immediately on the chalk. The organic remains which they contain are stems and trunks of vegetables, bones of turtles and crocodiles, and shells belonging to genera, and perhaps species, which inhabit our present seas. The accounts of teeth and tusks of elephants being found in London clay, Mr. Bakewell considers as erroneous, this deposit having been confounded with a covering of diluvial clay. The celebrated *calcaire grossier*, a member of this formation, has been found only in France and Hungary, though Humboldt thinks he discovered something similar to it in South America. It particularly abounds in shells, no less than six hundred species having been found in the lower and middle beds, both of marine and fresh-water character.

The gypseous marl and gypsum, constituting the lower fresh-water beds, has not been found in the London basin, though it has been observed in the Isle of Wight. In France, it occurs in detached hills along the course of the Marne and the Seine, and is about two hundred feet in thickness. It is wonderfully fruitful in organic remains, many of which belonged to an order of creation, as remote from the present, as the gigantic reptiles of the oolite formations. The relics of birds, crocodiles, turtles, fishes, and petrifications of palms, are scattered through its different beds, in conjunction with land animals and fresh-water shells; but the most interesting remains are those of numerous species of mammiferous animals now entirely extinct, and but slightly allied to any existing species. These are the Palæotheriums, Lophiodons, Anthracotheriums, Cheroptami, Anaplotheriums, &c. composing about forty species of Pachydermatous animals, approximating more or less to the rhinoceros, tapir, and camel, of our own times. Besides these, are found the remains of a few carnivorous animals, belonging to the genera of the dog, bat, weasel, squirrel, &c. The Paris gypsum was probably deposited in extensive lakes, but whether of salt or fresh-water, it is difficult to determine, since in many of the beds the shells are both of

marine and fresh-water origin. The bones are light and porous, and not penetrated by the gypsum, though they must have been, Mr. Bakewell thinks, had the gypsum been held in solution in the water. He therefore supposes that they were rapidly enveloped in the gypsum before the animal matter was decomposed, and that it was speedily consolidated.

In regard to the condition of the earth, at the period when these numerous Pachydermes existed, Cuvier is confident that the globe afforded for their habitation only a small number of plains, sufficiently fruitful for their multiplication;* and perhaps these plains were insular regions separated by large mountain chains. Mr. Bakewell's hypothesis to account for the alternation of fresh-water and marine deposits in the Tertiary formations, is, that the region around Paris was covered by an extensive lake, surrounded by mountains, and communicating with the ocean; that the water of this lake would be either fresh or salt, according as its communication with the ocean was open or closed, (events that might be produced by earthquakes or inundations;) and thus that marine and fresh-water formations would be successively deposited. This is quite an ingenious explanation, and certainly more in accordance with known facts, than the hypothesis of those who would deny that we are sure, from the character of the fossil remains, that they did belong to salt-water, and who imagine that the strata were all deposited from fresh-water.

The chapter on earthquakes and volcanic phenomena, will prove quite satisfactory to those who are inclined to dismiss the narrow and partial notions of late geologists, for the more enlarged and philosophical views that have recently begun to prevail. Our theories respecting the history of the earth will be sound and durable, we may depend upon it, just in proportion as they disclaim the assistance of the imagination, and are founded on our knowledge of the existing operations of nature. When we gaze upon the craters of a multitude of extinct volcanoes, which have covered thousands of square miles with their products, and see mountains rising in a single night above the plains, and islands elevated from the bottom of the sea, by undoubted volcanic agency, we are irresistibly forced to the belief, that a power like this, confessedly more active and extensive in times remote than at the present, had no ordinary share in producing the condition of the earth which we now behold. It is hard to conceive, how, in the face of such a cloud of witnesses, men can talk of the local and limited influence of these tremendous causes, and boldly assume, as the basis of their own speculations, a system of laws, to which, in the present constitution of things, nature exhibits only

* Discours sur les Rev. &c.

the remotest analogies. When we find within the range of our own experience, the strata broken and dislocated, mountains raised up or overthrown by the force of the volcano, and may see them with our own eyes, if we choose, extending in a line 6000 miles in length, and ejecting rocks of every kind from their bellying craters, what further inducement can we have to connect them in our minds with those operations which in former periods piled the rocks in mountain-masses, and scattered continents and islands over the bosom of the sea. Humboldt, who cannot be suspected of a very decided leaning to Plutonian views, holds strong and unqualified language on this subject.

“Those ranges of volcanoes, those eruptions through vast chasms, those subterranean thunders, that roll under the transition rocks of porphyry and slate in the new world, remind us, by the present activity of subterranean fire, of the power which in remote ages has raised up chains of mountains, broken the surface of the globe, and poured torrents of liquid earth in the midst of the most ancient strata. Even in our own days, these torrents of melted earth do not always issue from the craters or sides of volcanic mountains. Sometimes the earth opens in plains, and spreads strata of lava or mud over a vast extent of country.”*

The same philosopher unhesitatingly expresses his belief in the igneous origin of the volcanic porphyries on the Cordilleras, though their formation may not have been like that of modern lavas, which have been erupted since the excavation of valleys. What then are we to think, when we find the summit of Chimborazo, 20,000 feet above the level of the sea, formed by an enormous dome of volcanic porphyry, and numerous dome-shaped hills without craters, in the district of Auvergne, almost entirely composed of the same rock? In the crater of the Puy de Chopine, is seen a mountain composed partly of unaltered granite and sienite, and partly of volcanic trachyte; the summit of the Puy de Dome also, is chiefly composed of whitish trachyte intermingled with unaltered granite. We cannot therefore consider it as one of the least logical conclusions in geology, that these mountains were upheaved before the fusion of the granite was effected, and that the volcanic porphyry is a modification of some other rock.

Mr. Bakewell is disposed to give to volcanic agency an extent of action, which we suspect will hardly be admitted, even by the stoutest adherents to the igneous faith. If Hutton anticipated the slow conclusions of ordinary minds, when he attributed the formation of granite and trap to the action of heat, Mr. Bakewell must not be surprised, though he gains few proselytes to *his* theory, that not only these, but the secondary and transition rocks, have been subjected to the action of the same cause,—yea, even those in which we now find in profusion the remains of shells and fishes, have been formed by aqueous eruptions. Aqueous and

* Sur le Gisement des Roches, &c.

muddy eruptions from the volcanoes of the Andes, we know, are quite common, and calcareous and cretaceous matter among volcanic products not unfrequently occurs. Here are the data on which Mr. Bakewell grounds his theory, that lime in a state of solution, or mechanical suspension, has been thrown out in this manner over the bed of the ocean, instantaneously enveloping the animals which it met in its way, and finally consolidated into solid limestone. Some sudden eruption of this nature, undoubtedly enveloped in a calcareous incrustation the celebrated fishes of Mount Bolca, one of which is seen in the act of swallowing the other. Ages of comparative tranquillity might interpose between these eruptions, during which, beds of gravel and breccia would be formed by the disintegration of the higher parts of the earth; these periods of repose would finally be interrupted, and fresh eruptions cover the surface with their products. In this manner, we may account for the alternation or intermixture of crystalline rocks with those of mechanical formation. The occurrence of obsidian and basalt with clay and sandstone, would also be explained by supposing an alternation of igneous and aqueous eruptions. A long succession of these eruptions would be sufficient to compose the crust of our earth, and render it a fit abode for numberless forms of organic being. Such is the result of Mr. Bakewell's inquiries respecting the office which "subterranean fires have performed in the economy of nature," and if we do not stop to point out the utter insufficiency of these causes to produce such effects, it is because we are unwilling to waste good ink on a matter of sheer hypothesis. If, after this, the reader is not completely mystified, when our author says that the defect of Hutton's theory "consists in extending the operation of this cause, (internal fires) farther than existing appearances will support," we cheerfully accord to him the praise of possessing a clearer head than we can boast of.

In the chapter on the repositories of metallic ores, the author adduces some strong facts, that are decidedly irreconcilable to any of the present theories respecting the origin and formation of veins—

"In Derbyshire, the beds of metalliferous limestone are separated by beds of basaltic rock, called toadstone. When a vein of lead is worked through the first limestone down to the toadstone, it ceases to contain any ore, and often entirely disappears: on sinking through the toadstone to the second limestone, the ore is found again, but is cut off by a lower bed of toadstone, under which it appears again in the third limestone. In strong veins, particles of lead occur in the toadstone, but in very small quantities."

It is impossible that this vein could have been filled either from above or below; for in either case it remains to be explained, why the vein contains no ore when it passes through the toadstone. Though Mr. Bakewell does not pretend to furnish a solution to the problem, yet he considers the fact as leading to some

important hints, which may be useful in the future elucidation of this interesting subject. It is a well-established fact, but which has never been accounted for, that the ore sometimes changes its quality, as the vein passes through different rocks, and he believes that the strata themselves were the efficient cause in producing these variations. Metallic matters might be diffused through the substance of the rock, and separated therefrom, by voltaic electricity, which is supposed to exist in different states in opposite sides of the vein. Mr. Trebra, director of the mines in Hanover, once noticed a leathern thong, suspended from the roof of a mine, coated with silver ore: he has also observed native silver, and vitreous silver ore, coating the wooden supports left in a mine which had been two hundred years under water. In a mine that had been closed for more than twenty years, and opened again, needles of white lead ore were observed projecting from the walls, more than two inches in length. In these cases, ores were formed in a way altogether different from any which the common theories suggest, and we are forced to ask whether we are to shape our opinions on the origin of these substances by processes which are going on before our own eyes, or call to our aid a system of means as insufficient as they are hypothetical. The observations of Mr. Bakewell on this subject, contain some valuable and original suggestions, that are worthy of the most deliberate consideration.

"These and other phenomena observable in mines, may convince us that there are processes going on at present in the great laboratory of the earth; and perhaps there are analogous processes taking place in the atmosphere, which may throw some light on these hidden operations of nature. The formation of saline matter on the surface of walls, is a fact which merits more attention than it has hitherto received. Dr. Kidd, of Oxford, has published some very ingenious observations and experiments on the spontaneous production of nitre on limestone, which may lead to more important results than the learned Professor appears to have anticipated. These experiments show, that neither the acid nor the alkali exists previously in the stone. Nor do they exist ready formed in the moisture of the atmosphere; dry frosty weather being particularly favourable to the rapid production of nitre; and moist weather, the contrary.

"When a portion of the wall was protected from access to the atmosphere by glass, which projected a little distance from the surface, the formation of nitre went on for a certain time, and then ceased. The saline crystals were better defined and longer than on the other parts of the wall. When the wall was coated with paint, crystals of nitre were even formed on the paint. The formation of carbonate of lead on the walls of the mine at Wolfclough, may be analogous to the formation of nitre; and, in both instances, the surface of the wall and of the atmosphere, may be considered as two galvanic plates in action, decomposing and recombining the elements of metallic or saline matter from the atmosphere, or the gaseous fluids with which it is intermixed."

"When the matrix, or the substance which principally fills veins, is a soft unctuous clay, masses and particles of ore are often disseminated through it, varying in size from a pea to that of a large gourd, and are sometimes even of many tons weight. Masses of veinstone are also imbedded in the same manner; and it is observed that the masses both of ore and veinstone are of no determinate shape, and have generally the appearance of being corroded. Are we to conclude, in such instances, that the hard minerals and metallic ores have been formed in the substance of the clay by some peculiar elective affinity, or that they once occupied the cavity of the vein, and have been all subsequently decom-

posed, except the remaining detached masses? I should be more inclined to adopt the former opinion; but, it must be allowed, that there are inexplicable instances of the disappearance of minerals which formerly existed in veins.

"The formation of one mineral upon the crystals of another, and the disappearance of the crystal which has served as the mould, is indeed a common phenomenon in many English mines. I have before me a mass of rock crystal from Durham, formed on cubic fluor spar; but the crystals of the latter have entirely disappeared, leaving nothing but the impression of their form. In the mines of Derbyshire, incrustations of calamine are formed on calcareous crystals, taking the shape of the dog-tooth spar; but in these false crystals, no trace of the interior crystal is left. Certain local causes also appear to influence the crystallization of minerals in different districts, and dispose them to take peculiar secondary forms, which may be considered as appropriate to the minerals of that district. The pyramidal crystallization of carbonate of lime, called the dog-tooth spar, (*Chaux carbonatée metastatique* of Haüy,) is abundant in some of the mines of Derbyshire; whilst the same mineral rarely assumes that form in the mines of Northumberland and Durham, but is crystallized in other forms which are equally rare in the Derbyshire mines. Fluor spar, and barytes spar, have appropriate forms in different places, from which any deviations may be considered as varieties. The causes which occasion this diversity of secondary forms in minerals, whose constituent parts appear by analysis to be precisely the same, are unknown, nor are we able to explain in what manner the crystals before mentioned have disappeared: but these facts prove, that the powers of nature extend beyond the present limits of science; and it is more consonant with the true spirit of philosophy, frankly to acknowledge our ignorance, than to form systems from imperfect data, which can serve only to perpetuate error."

In the next chapter, on the "destruction of mountains—alluvial and diluvial depositions—the formation of soils," &c., the author speaks of the bones of quadrupeds found in beds of gravel, peat bogs, and limestone caverns, though not so fully as we could have wished. The formations in which most of these bones are found, are now distinguished from the alluvial, and are supposed to have been produced by the action of the last violent and sudden inundation which desolated the surface of our earth. They have therefore been called *diluvial*, and it indicates no great accuracy of ideas, to confound them with the alluvial. Many of the animals to which these bones belonged, survived the terrible catastrophe, and have come down to our own times; some belonged to species, and even genera, which have no representatives among the living inhabitants of the globe. This animal population differed surprisingly from its congeners of the present day, in size, numbers, and geographical distribution. Here were bears of the size of the horse; sloths as large as an ox; and numerous Pachydermes and Carnivora, now found only in tropical climates, are scattered through the diluvial formations of northern Europe. This animal kingdom could have been hardly less abundant in species than that of our own times, since it contained the congeners of all our mammifers, except the apes and man—and it is not certain whether these may or may not be yet brought to light. Wherever the diluvium has been examined, whether in the Old or the New World, in Europe or in Asia, these bones have been found; and the restless inquirer, and the intre-

pid settler, cutting a path for the untiring march of civilization even through the morass and the prairie, are daily upturning them from their long repose. Their great numbers, and extent of distribution, in a few instances, find no parallel or analogy in the animal population of the present day. The two living species of elephant are each confined to a single continent, while the bones of the fossil elephant have been discovered in every country on the globe that has been in the least examined—and that, too, in almost incredible quantities. In Siberia, it must have existed in herds of hundreds and thousands. According to Pallas, there is hardly a river from the Don, or Tanais, to Tchuskoïness, on the banks of which, in low situations, the remains of this animal are not found. Near the mouth of the Indigerska are a couple of islands, several leagues in extent, which appeared to be formed of elephant's bones, undoubtedly washed down by the rivers, mixed up with ice and sand. The tusks found in these regions by the natives, are so perfect, and occur in such abundance, that they have long been an article of commerce, being little inferior to the best of ivory.

It is in the limestone caverns of Germany, Hungary, and England, that animal bones have been found in greatest abundance. In the Rirkdale cave, Professor Buckland found the bones of four pachydermes—the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and horse; six carnivora—the hyena, tiger, bear, wolf, fox, and weasel; five gnawers—the hare, rabbit, rat, water-rat, and mouse; four ruminants—the ox, and the fragments of three species of deer; and five birds—the raven, pigeon, lark, snipe, and a small species of duck. The association of the remains of so many, and such different animals, must have been determined by causes very different from those which regulate their association in other diluvial formations. Hence, Professor Buckland supposes—and his opinion is upheld by irresistible evidence, though we have not time here to detail it—that this cave was an hyena's den for many generations, and that the other bones belonged to its victims, which it dragged thither to devour at leisure and without interruption. The bones in the caves of Germany belong to much fewer species; three-fourths to extinct species of bears, and all the rest to a few carnivorous species. What is a little remarkable, the bones in these caves are nearly the same, though they extend over more than one hundred leagues. In the clay and animal earth also, which cover the floors of these caves, are enveloped a large quantity of bones and fragments.

Among the remains of extinct animals, none probably have excited more interest than the bones of the mastodon, which are scattered over the alluvial surface of North America, and dug up even in Siberia, Tartary, and the Oural mountains. From their resemblance to the bones of the fossil elephant previously found

in Siberia, and known for a long time only by the name of mammoth, they were considered as belonging to the same animal, and were called by the same name. More scientific examinations have shown, that the animal belonged to a different genus from this, and it is now generally known by the name of *mastodon*. All the parts of its skeleton, except the upper portion of the skull and tip of the tail, have been found; from which it appears, that in size, configuration, habits of living, &c., it undoubtedly resembled the elephant more closely than any other animal. In North America, the bones are generally found in the salt-licks, marle-pits, or morasses filled with mud, marle, and peat; and it is to the saline matter contained in such localities penetrating the bones, that we are to ascribe their high state of preservation—so high, that when cut or scraped, they exhale the odour of recent bone. They are even found in peat-bogs, and in the black, soft earth, called by the Germans, *geest*, where no marle nor other antiseptic agent is present. The manner in which the formations that enclose the mastodon's bones are produced, is now too well known to admit of a doubt as to their alluvial nature, and the postdiluvial existence of the animals. The Irish elk, whose horns and bones are found in peat-bogs, is admitted, by Dr. Buckland, the most strenuous advocate of diluvial deposits, to have existed since these bogs began to be formed, and been exterminated by the influence of man. If the character of the formation is any clue to the age of the animals whose remains they enclose, we are not at liberty to assign to the mastodon a remoter existence than the Irish elk;—that both of these animals may have existed before, as well as after the deluge, is very probable; indeed, it is quite certain that the latter did; for its bones also occur in diluvial deposits with those of animals which disappeared from the earth at the time of the deluge. The fossil elephant, it seems to us, is also one of those species which have survived the effects of the deluge, for its bones not only occur in diluvial deposits, but also in situations similar to those in which the mastodon's bones are found. Indeed, its existence in Europe seems to have been of no very recent date, for its figure is frequently sculptured on the Runic monuments which are scattered over Scotland and the North, (unless we imagine, that like many Sanscrit words in their language, this figure was derived by the Scandinavians from the East.)

From these considerations, the recent existence of the mastodon is inferred, beyond all reasonable doubt, and therefore we can readily dispense with those loose accounts, the only tendency of which is to weaken and cast ridicule on this inference. If the soft parts of the mastodon should be found in any other situation than in ice, it would refer the date of its existence to a period more nearly approaching our own times, than the most cre-

dulous mind, we suspect, would venture to acknowledge. Yet Mr. Bakewell declares unreservedly, that its *flesh* and *stomach* have been found in connexion with its bones. Part of this story he probably obtained from Cuvier,* who had it from Dr. Barton† of Philadelphia; Dr. B. received it from Bishop Madison of Virginia, who had it from "gentlemen who had seen them, and upon whose veracity, as well as accuracy," he could confidently rely. That these gentlemen may have seen, in conjunction with the mastodon's bones, at the depth of five or six feet under ground, a kind of sac containing grass, reeds, leaves, and triturated twigs, we are not disposed to doubt; but we should not any the sooner believe that this was a stomach, and that its possessor died in the act of digesting its food; still less, that it belonged to the mastodon itself whose bones lay around. The idea of the stomach enduring the destroying action of a long inhumation, which no other parts except the bones could withstand, not even integument, cartilage, nor tendon, seems really too ridiculous to have ever been seriously related. With hardly less difficulty can it be supposed to have belonged to any other animal which perished in that situation, as in that case, we might certainly have expected to find the bones. As if determined that a good story should lose nothing by circulation, Mr. Bakewell seems to have improved upon the original account, for in that we hear not a word of the *flesh*, which he in all seriousness has coupled with the *stomach*. If any one has charitably imagined that the story of the three black crows has an application only to the common intercourse of men, let him instantly acknowledge his error. We are sorry to see such things in a work of this kind, many of the readers of which may be incapable of investigating the subjects themselves, and the wrong impressions which they get may not soon be corrected. We know not how it is, but really, naturalists over sea have the luck of knowing a great deal about the mastodon that we never dreamt of here. In an article of the very highest character, we have seen it stated, that some hair of the mastodon was found, "which was long and coarse, and of a brown colour;" and in another instance, the remains of a trunk were found.‡ Where, when, or by whom, these articles were discovered, the writer has not seen fit to inform us—though such singular facts would seem to claim something more than a mere enunciation—and we are unable to supply the deficiency.§

Without noticing the two next and last chapters, *on the forma-*

* Ossements Fossiles, vol. ii.

† Med. and Phys. Journ., vol. iii, p. 23, 1st Supplement.

‡ Edinburgh Encyclopedia, Art. Organic Remains, p. 40.

§ Kalm speaks of a skeleton being dug up on Illinois river, which had the remains of a trunk attached to it, in a state of decomposition, but, he says, he took it for an elephant's. This might possibly be the foundation of this account.

tion of valleys, &c., and the *Geology of England and Wales*, we are obliged to take leave of Mr. Bakewell, acknowledging in conclusion the high gratification which his very able and interesting work has afforded us, and wishing it all the success in this country which it has met with in his own.

Professor Silliman's additions consist of quite an able and spirited sketch of the leading principles and general views of the science, intended, as he says, for an outline of the *philosophy of geology*. It bears traces of a mind of no ordinary calibre, full and glowing with its subject, and pouring out its conceptions in free, strong, and eloquent language. In theoretical matters, he declares himself to be "neither Wernerian, nor Huttonian; Neptunian, nor Plutonist;" and we readily give him the praise of acting up to his declaration, and concede to him the still higher merit of an acute, untrammelled, and original thinker. We must be allowed, however, to express our regret that so much of this valuable sketch is taken up in endeavouring to explain, upon physical principles, that great revolution on the surface of the globe, which is recorded in Scripture, and recognised at the present time by its geological effects. This is a subject, we know, on which geologists, in the absence of all clear and well-understood facts, seem to enjoy a prescriptive right to give up the reins to fancy, and indulge, *ad libitum*, in the wildest and vaguest speculation. But it is time for this idle child's-play to be done away with, and geologists to be reminded, that their field of inquiry is ever bounded by the clear horizon of true facts, and sound philosophy. Why, in the name of common sense, torture our brains in accounting by the known laws of nature, for an event which was confessedly the result of miraculous interposition, and of course, in direct opposition to the action of those laws? Natural causes might, indeed, have had some share in bringing about this event, but is it for us to say, with the slightest chance of being right in our conjectures, what the means were which the Deity, in his infinite wisdom, chose to adopt? The very fact of its miraculous nature is sufficient to destroy at once all probability which we might be disposed to attach to any system of means whatever. To acknowledge the deluge to have been the result of a miracle, and in the same breath endeavour to account for it by the action of natural causes, we humbly consider to be a palpable absurdity. Professor Silliman supposes that many immense cavities existed in the interior of the earth, filled with water and communicating with the ocean, and that, by the agency of aerial fluids, vapours, and gases, the water was expelled from these cavities, and carried over the surface of the earth, even to the summits of the highest mountains. Now, this might have been so—we see nothing in the physical constitution of the globe to render it impossible—but all the probability in the world does not

prove that such actually was the case. On a matter about which we are so ignorant as this, any theory, ingeniously and ably developed, may carry with it a certain degree of verisimilitude, and considering the event, as we do, the result of a miracle, one theory is just as probable as another. That the occurrence of a terrible deluge is equally supported by the testimony of the Bible, and the appearance of the earth's surface, all are agreed; and here, we believe, is the utmost limit of our knowledge. Any thing farther than this, constitutes that "male-sana admixtio" of philosophy and religion, which incurred the most thorough reprobation of Lord Bacon, and which the rational friends of each have too much cause to regret at the present day.

ART. V.—*A Contre-projet to the Humphreysian Code, and to the Projects of Redaction of Messrs. Hammond, Uniacke, and Twiss.* By JOHN JAMES PARK Esq. Barrister at Law. London: 1828. pp. 260.

It is an observation of Beccaria, not unfrequently quoted, that that country is truly happy in which the law is no science. Many of these grave apophthegms, which from their apparent simplicity are always received with emphatic approbation by the unthinking, sink into their native nothingness the moment they are exposed to a rational investigation. It is undoubtedly one of the first qualities of a good system of laws, to contain as few and as simple regulations as the subject-matter will permit. But this quality must always be comparative; and where is the nation, the laws of which have long remained within the reach of all its citizens? If we appeal to history, that truest of all teachers, we shall find that the progress of every country has necessarily extended the objects of jurisprudence, and of course, its operation. The law of Moses was sufficient for the wants of the Jews while they were wandering in the desert, or fixing the first foundations of their empire: but after civilization had begun to mark its progress, the weight of commentaries made it "a burden which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear." The laws of the Twelve Tables supplied all the requisitions of the military possessors of a small portion of Italy, but the successors of Augustus found their courts overwhelmed by a camel's load of cases, whenever the simplest question was offered for adjudication.

It can scarcely be supposed that Beccaria contemplated a state of national happiness existing without freedom: yet it is impossible to conceive how justice can be administered by the judi-

ary of a free people, (and every free people must have a judiciary,) without rendering the law a *science*. It is one of the essentials of liberty, according to Tacitus, that the law should be fixed and certain. The rules established either by former decisions, or the *Responsa Prudentum*, must therefore be regularly preserved; and in time, they become by gradual accumulation the great body of jurisprudence. These rules must necessarily be more or less perfect, according to the correctness of the reasoning by which they are deduced from first principles of justice and policy; and thus the beneficial power of philosophy must be sensibly felt in every act of judgment. From these operations of the human mind, is derived what is emphatically styled the *Science of the Law*.*

But it is beyond the power even of despotism, in any country in which the civilized relations of life are established, to exclude *Science* from the practical operations of the law. Natural rights require only a few simple regulations, easily deducible by natural reason: but no human laws can be made so complete as to embrace all those *adventitious* rights, which derive their sanction solely from the social compact, and are as numerous as the communications of mankind. A finite rule can never suffice for a subject-matter in its nature infinite. Supposing, therefore, a code formed without the least regard to principles, and dependant only in its enactments upon the mere will of a tyrant, yet when an unprovided case presents itself, it becomes the duty of the judiciary to combine analogous dispositions, to extract the object of the will by which they were established, and to apply that object to the new subject-matter. What is this, let me ask, but the application of the *Science of the Law*?

The work of Mr. Park is an example of a far more enlarged operation of this important philosophy. In despotic countries, the investigations of jurists are chiefly confined to the existing law; but where the mind expands itself in freedom, science may assume a wider range, and impart its aid to the important subject of improvement.

The great body of jurists, in all free countries, have regularly divided themselves into two parties. The first and more numerous division includes those who consider the established law, with all its imperfections, as near to excellence as human means can make it, and who dread the least change, as opening the gate to revolutionary innovation. Among this class are usually the ex-

* Lord Kames, who was not much addicted to unreasonable enthusiasm, has allowed himself to be carried away by this plausible error. "Law and religion were originally simple, because man was so. They will again be simple, because simplicity contributes to their perfection." *Law Tracts*, VIII. p. 300. This is beautiful in theory, but it will never be practically true, until law and religion are one.

perienced practitioners of the legal profession, who have grown grey amid ancient forms, and from long habit, identify them with that justice of which they are only the usual administrators. The second party comprehends all those who are more addicted to active but superficial thinking, than to studious investigation of practical consequences. To such as these, every deviation from first principles appears to be an abuse, that has communicated its corruption even to the more healthful parts of the system: and they propose to remedy it, not by a judicious pruning, but by laying the axe to the root of the whole tree, and substituting in its place a new and vigorous scion.

Within no very remote period, a third class has been gradually arising, preserving what we shall term the safe middle between the two great extremes. Those who compose this division are neither idolaters nor iconoclasts. They admit the existence of serious inconveniences in the established systems, but they consider every sudden innovation as entailing greater evils than any it can be expected to remove. According to them, the improvement of the law should be slow, gradual, almost imperceptible. When time has pointed out the evil, a remedy should be sought for in those eternal principles which lie at the foundation of universal jurisprudence; and it should be only applied by the hands of those who know how easy it is to destroy, and how difficult to rebuild.*

The discussion of these various opinions could only be tolerated in a country enjoying civil liberty; and indeed it is not likely to arise, except where the law, as the unalienable property of every individual, is an engrossing subject of attention. The reader, therefore, will not be surprised to hear, that in this field our jurists have taken a distinguished lead; and that all the prominent arguments had been already exhausted, before the subject began to attract the attention of Europe. The rapid advance lately made on that continent in the great knowledge of natural and civil rights, has introduced a free and rational investigation of abuses, which is sometimes momentarily checked by power, but, marching with the irresistible spirit of the age, becomes in the end too strong for its oppressors. The subject of improvement in the administration of justice, has of course attracted that attention to which it is entitled by its paramount importance. In some countries, new codes have been the result of the spirit of investigation thus excited: in others the changes have been more limited. With the French writers, our readers are probably already familiar. Among the Germans, we are informed that Professors Savigny, Thibaut, Eichhorn, and Hugo, have treat-

* "Les Codes des Peuples se font avec le temps; mais, à proprement parler, on ne les fait pas." *Discours préliminaire sur le Code Civil.*

ed the subject with that close and profound reasoning, for which the literature of their country is so conspicuous.*

It may be considered as somewhat in opposition to the principles advanced in this article, that the jurists of a nation like England—where every thing may be made the theme of the freest discussion—should have been among the last to investigate the necessity and modes of improvement. Mr. Park says of them, “I state boldly that the English writers, who have advocated the subject, do not appear to me as yet to understand it,” and he refers them for information to the jurists of other countries. The cause of this exception is to be found in the very peculiar distribution of the various branches of the science, which there prevails in the legal profession. The business daily transacted by an American lawyer, is divided in England among attorneys, barristers, solicitors in chancery, doctors of the common law, conveyancers, special pleaders, and a host of others that might be enumerated: and every man of ability in any one of these branches, is soon overwhelmed by a quantity of employment which engrosses his whole attention. We have Mr. Park’s authority for saying, that “a jurisconsult in active practice, feels every other pursuit a snare, from the seduction of which his conscience must be his guard.” Even a liberal view of the whole science is considered incompatible with a profound knowledge of its parts; and accordingly every English judge, from Bacon to Mansfield, whose judgments have been guided by enlarged views of jurisprudence, has been regularly accused of ignorance by the deep-read professors of the common law. The natural consequence is, that English lawyers, however able in their particular departments, (and none can be more so,) have generally failed as philosophers and statesmen. To use a familiar comparison, the “operative” who employs his time in the manufacture of the heads of pins, can scarcely be expected to furnish any important hints for improving the *whole* of those useful articles.†

It may be said that this peculiarity of character is only chargeable upon the old practitioners, who are constantly engaged in active duties; and that there are at the English Bar, a number of young men, whose minds have never been exposed to any dan-

* The public will shortly be gratified by the appearance of one of these publications in an English dress. Among the annunciations of new works in press, there is the following. “On the aptitude of the present age for legislation and jurisprudence. Translated from the German of F. C. Von Savigny. By a Barrister of Lincoln’s Inn.”

† The lethargy of the English lawyers has been remarked by the writers on the continent. “En Angleterre, la plupart des juris-consultes renfermés dans leur greffes, et ne connaissant que leurs archives, paraissent à peine s’apercevoir du bruit de nos sectes; la loi n’est pour eux qu’une profession.” *Annales de législation*.

ger of professional contraction. The characters of the great majority of these, are thus delineated by Mr. Park.

"As for the bar, a considerable portion of the junior members are, as every body knows, political economists, editors of journals and reviews,—French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese scholars,—theatrical critics,—politicians,—hangers on of the upper circles,—roués,—any thing,—every thing, in short, but profound or even well-read lawyers." p. 54.

It is not therefore a matter of surprise, that when the English government began lately to manifest a disposition to amend the existing law; "new and unwonted channels of thought" were immediately opened, "to all persons whose lives had been devoted to the attainment and practical application of that law."

"The law had been naturally contemplated as a severe task-master, the business of whose servants was to do its work, not to inquire into its perfectibility. It was enough for them if they *knew* it; for to attain so far was an adequate occupation for a life subtracted from all pleasures and all pursuits beside." p. 1.

"As it was once sarcastically said of the people, that they had nothing to do with the laws but to obey them, so it might have been said with still greater significance of the body of professors, that they had nothing to do with the laws but to learn them. To a great extent, therefore, professors (to whom, after all, the business of reform in their own craft *must* be trusted, because all other men are mere babblers,) have had to approach this new era in jurisprudence, with minds little prepared by habit, for the channels of thought into which they must now fall; and they have to exercise a mental discipline, which, like novel exercises of the muscles, is unwontedly laborious, in throwing themselves back from the critical discussion of the law as it stands, to the philosophical consideration of its capacity for improvement, and its adaptation or non-adaptation to the greatest amount which can be *practicably* obtained of the convenience of the community." pp. 2, 3.

As soon as these investigations were commenced, the English lawyers (in imitation of our jurists,) divided themselves into the various parties we have before enumerated. Codification, which is in law the nostrum for every evil, became at once a prominent subject of discussion, and the rallying word of all innovators upon the present system. To show how the project of a code was first relished by English practitioners, we shall quote a remarkable observation of Mr. Humphreys, in a work that shall be again noticed.

"The public prejudice is at present averse to the title, 'Code,' as importing something revolutionary; at all events *foreign and unconstitutional*."

The writers on this "*foreign and unconstitutional*" subject, after agreeing that some methodized system is a *desideratum*, differ *toto cælo* as to the materials for its formation. The project of some is merely to reduce the bulk of the law, by substituting the articles of a code for the arguments and conclusions as set forth at length by the reporters. According to them the only alteration is to be in the *form* of the law, while all its provisions are to remain substantially the same. The second and more startling project is to abolish the existing law, and to establish in its place a new system, founded on principles of abstract and me-

taphysical right. Some plans are also proposed, that lie between these two extremes, and differ in being more or less removed from either.

We have said that these discussions are of very modern date in England; for the aphorisms of Bacon, and considerations of Hale, (though pressed into the service,) can scarcely be considered exceptions. Mr. Jeremy Bentham, with the usual adventurousness of those who have no practical knowledge of their subject, was the first to broach the subject of reform.* It is difficult to discover exactly from his writings, how far his project extends; but we believe it to consist in a complete revision of the Common Law, and a comparison of its provisions with the laws of other countries, so as ultimately to produce a code including the excellencies of all. The speculations of Mr. Bentham on this subject, are such as might be expected from a closet philosopher; and, though certainly beautiful in theory, are about as fit to be applied to the practical operations of the law, as some of his political schemes are to the actual government of mankind.

The English lawyers have undoubtedly done much in a short time, to retrieve the character of their profession. Messrs. Hammond and Twiss—both gentlemen of known ability—have laid before the public the results of their deliberations. Their projects of reform are very similar in the general outline. They seek merely to digest the present law, in order to facilitate reference, and to produce a reduction of the immense bulk into which it is daily expanding itself. Every lawyer knows that the first object is already in a great measure attained by means of the abridgments: and as to the second, we doubt whether any but the most superficial practitioners would ever content themselves with their own constructions of the code, when they could obtain security and certainty by a particular reference to its foundation. The project of these writers is, at all events, harmless: for if in its execution, they should not exceed the proposed limit, it is amply demonstrated by experience that the *inane munus* of their labours will be the mere addition of some forty volumes to our already groaning shelves.

The scheme of Mr. Uniacke† is still less dangerous; and indeed we are not prepared to say whether it might not, in some cases, be attended with beneficial results. He proposes to reduce the *Statute Law* of England, into the form of a code; and to

* Bentham to the citizens of the American United States. Bentham's papers relative to Codification. Bentham's Rationale of Evidence. Our readers must not suppose, from the above observations, that we intend to cast an indiscriminating censure on *all* the results of Mr. Bentham's labours. His field has undoubtedly produced much chaff, but we have not forgotten on that account the value of the *grain*.

† A letter to the Lord Chancellor, on the practicability of forming a code of the laws of England—by Crofton Uniacke Esq. reprinted, Boston, 1827.

demonstrate its practicability, he has arranged the late Bankrupt Act by way of example. We should fear any such innovation upon past laws, because their constructions are fixed, and the change of a word might produce the most alarming uncertainty : but, with this exception, the methodical arrangement of a code might be simpler and more desirable than any of the models now used by our legislatures. It will be perhaps new to Mr. Uniacke, to hear, that before the publication of his book, the same project had been more or less acted upon in many of the states of this country.*

Mr. Humphreys,† another labourer in the vineyard of improvement, is a lawyer of high and distinguished reputation. "His name" says Mr. Park, "is a synonym for long experience and profound knowledge." A project for improvement, coming from a writer so eminently qualified, and supported with all his known ability, immediately arrested public attention. His work commences with a learned exposure of the defects of the present system of laws relating to real property, which he declares to be "utterly incapable of correction;" and he therefore proposes to substitute in its place "an entire scheme of the laws in question, so methodized, so flowing from general to particular, so defined in meaning and precise in terms, as almost to defy the possibility of a doubt upon its construction." Specimens of this project, prepared with great ingenuity, form a considerable portion of the volume.

As the object of this article is merely to present to our readers a sketch of the progress of "the great work" among the writers of England, we shall not enter into particulars. In referring to Mr. Humphreys, as the ablest and most learned of the English innovators, we shall only add, that many of the evils exhibited in the Law of Real Property, have been long known in this country; and in most of the states they have been successfully made the subjects of remedial statutes, without the assistance of a general codification.

The work of Mr. Humphreys produced an able defence of the system of gradual improvement, by Mr. Sugden,‡ an oppo-

* In the state of New-York, the duties of the Commissioners of Revision were limited by a clause worthy of general imitation. It was there provided, that "no change should be made in the phraseology or distribution of the sections of any statute, that had been the subject of judicial decision, by which the construction of the statute, as established by such decision, should be affected or impaired." Act of 21 April, 1825. Report of Commissioners appointed to revise, &c. Albany. 1826.

† Observations on the actual state of the English Law of Real Property : with Outlines for a systematic Reform. By James Humphreys Esq. 2d edition. London. 1827.

‡ A letter to James Humphreys, Esq., on his proposal to repeal the laws of real property, and substitute a new code. Third edition, London, 1827, 8vo.

nent not his inferior either in learning or experience. Tracts on the same subject have been published by Messrs. Hayes, Beaumont, Long, Dixon, Christie, Barnes of Exeter, Swinburne, Boileau, and Jacob Phillips. The writings of these gentlemen have never fallen under our notice. Their barks were probably too fragile to bear a Trans-Atlantic voyage.

In these days of projected reform, it was not to be expected that chancery would escape without its due share of animadversion. A series of attacks in the *Edinburgh Review*, exposed the manifold abuses prevalent in that Court, and by raising against it a host of enemies, gradually paved the way for those parliamentary investigations, which must be still fresh in the recollections of our readers.* The opponents to equitable jurisdiction, and the tribe of reformers generally, have found a vehement and uncompromising opponent in Dr. Reddie.† In his letter to the Lord Chancellor, this writer has been at some pains to collect examples from the histories of Codes, to prove their total insufficiency for all the objects proposed; but if we are to judge of his knowledge of the regulations of other countries, by the correctness of his statements as to our own, his premises and conclusions are entitled to little confidence. The approbation expressed by Mr. Humphreys of the Code of Louisiana, appears to have excited Dr. Reddie to all that petulant intolerance which is sometimes exhibited by the defenders of existing institutions. We give the reader a single quotation, by way of example. It will, no doubt, recall to his recollection the discreet valour of the Knight of La Mancha, when he avenged Melisendra's wrongs on the pasteboard representatives of the Moors of Sansueña:—

"I cannot avoid remarking, that it is a little farcical, to hold out this state as an example to Great Britain. What! is it gravely maintained, that because a province of half-civilized inhabitants, just emancipated from being 'the slaves of a prince who is himself a slave,'—without public establishments or commerce—without incitements to crime—without every attribute which in Europe constitutes a state, save the barren name—with every thing to gain, and nothing to lose—whose entire intrinsic value, in the mart of nations, is about three millions sterling—have subjected themselves, in reliance on his good sense and honour, to the guidance of a well-meaning individual, it is incumbent upon this country, without a single point of resemblance in her situation, to do so likewise, and to adopt a code? Such arguments and conclusions are unworthy of a serious refutation." p. 43.

* It is no part of our subject to enter into the details of all the visible operations of that spirit, which is now agitating the British public, including both houses of parliament. The late investigations certainly produced some palliative measures; but we doubt whether they have in any manner affected the substance of the evil. Since we have mentioned the parliamentary debates, it may be well to add, that most of the improvements enumerated in Mr. Brougham's celebrated speech, and which were so loudly cheered as new discoveries in legal science, had been already known, and practically acted upon in this country.

† A letter to the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, on the expediency of a new civil code for England, by John Reddie, Esq., LL. D. Advocate, F. R. S. E. &c. London. 1828.

We are quite certain, that Dr. Reddie never saw the Code of Louisiana, because, whenever he descends into particulars, he regularly falls into such mistakes as could only be made by one who wrote at second hand. His total ignorance of the former history and present condition of that flourishing state, is not worthy of serious demonstration. With these exceptions arising from inconsiderate zeal, Dr. Reddie is an useful writer at the present juncture, when hasty innovations are the subjects of the greater apprehension.

Mr. Cooper, a distinguished practitioner at the Chancery Bar, has published two works, which, though they treat particularly of the abuses of his own court, are full of profound observations on other subjects of jurisprudence. These works are highly honourable to the talents of the author, and to the profession of which he is an ornament. His principles are those of his great master, Bacon; "the work which I propound, tendeth to pruning and grafting the law, and not to plowing up and planting it again; for such a remove I should hold indeed for a perilous innovation."* Such of our readers as are disposed to investigate thoroughly the science of Legislative Philosophy, should carefully digest these valuable volumes. They contain the results of a well-spent life of reflection; and every sentence offers evidence of the writer's wisdom, while it furnishes materials of intense thought in others. One of these works is written in the French language, with great purity and correctness.† It is eminently calculated to attain its object, which is to give the jurists of the continent a knowledge of the abuses in the English Court of Chancery, and through them to point out the means of amendment to his countrymen.

Mr. Park's *Contre-Projet*—a book advocating the same principles as those of Mr. Cooper—is the last that has been called forth by this important controversy. This work is full of strong and logical arguments against the prevalent notions of codification, expressed in an agreeable style, and supported by the learning both of books and experience. From minds like his, much is to be expected, to stay what has been strongly termed the *rabies* of reform; and as he is now an enlisted soldier in the good cause, most sincerely do we trust that he will never abandon the field, while a pernicious enemy remains to be vanquished.

The English writers on the subject of improvement, are now turning their eyes towards this country, for those instructive lessons of experience, so abundant in our legal history; and for

* Bacon's proposal for amending the law.

† *Lettres sur la Cour de la Chancellerie, et quelques points de la Jurisprudence Angloise*, par M. C. P. Cooper, Avocat Anglois. A Londres. 1828. The English work is entitled "A brief account of some of the most important proceedings in Parliament, &c., by C. P. Cooper, Esq." London, 1828.

which we have been long indebted to the enlarged philosophy of our jurists, and our national freedom from that false pride styled "the dignity of permanent institutions."* Dr. Reddie's work contains quotations from the discourses of Mr. Duponceau and Mr. Ingersoll.† It will be seen by the following examples, that Mr. Park, with the usual candour of the truly learned, can fully appreciate the merit of others, without distinction of nations.

In page 32, after praising the progress of mercantile law, he says:—

"In *ex parte* Wackerbath, 5 Ves. 574, the judgment of Lord Loughborough was delivered in the following words, which one might imagine to have proceeded from a *Trans-Atlantic Judge*."

We perfectly understand Mr. Park's allusion. Mr. Ingersoll had said, that "British Commercial Law was, in many respects, inferior to that of the continent of Europe;" and this opinion had been reiterated and exemplified by Mr. Duponceau. The sentiments of our English author are strikingly exhibited by this remarkable mode of expressing a high encomium.

"The English disciples of codes, hitherto represent the pictures as finished and ready. 'The *entire corpus* of the laws of property, both real and personal, is comprised in five hundred and eighteen moderate octavo pages,' &c. What says the American jurist, Doctor Du Ponceau? 'Abolish the Common Law, and not all the codes of all the Benthamites will suffice to fill up the chasm.'" p. 131, in *notâ*.

"It is partly owing to the perception of the quality of *malleability*, above considered, that the preference has been awarded by North America to the Common Law, as opposed to a written code. 'The flexibility of the Common Law,' (says the North American Review for October 1825,) 'is a quality of vast importance to us, as a young and improving nation.' Similar is the testimony of the very able writer, Dr. Du Ponceau, the Provost of the Law Academy of Philadelphia." p. 161.

In the long quotation from Mr. Duponceau's work that immediately follows, the application of the term "*malleability*," is for the first time made to the most important quality of the Common Law. This very forcible and descriptive expression is now generally used by the English writers, and it may be henceforward considered as inseparably connected with the character of our system.—

"It will be seen, from the above passage, that this able jurist contemplates the *ultimate* reduction of the Common Law, when it shall have 'attained its highest degree of perfection,' to a written text." p. 163.

"The known liberality of Dr. Du Ponceau, will, I hope, induce him to possess us more fully with his views upon this interesting subject." p. 164.

* See the singular expressions of the present Lord Tenterden, in Abbot on Shipping, p. 263, well commented upon in Mr. Duponceau's Dissertation, p. 125.

† A Dissertation on the nature and extent of the jurisdiction of the Courts of the United States, &c., by Peter S. Duponceau, Esq. LL. D., Provost of the Law Academy of Philadelphia.

‡ A Discourse concerning the influence of America on the Mind, being the Annual Oration delivered before the American Philosophical Society, by C. J. Ingersoll, Esq. Reprinted, London, 1824. Dr. Reddie styles this gentleman, with great justice, "one of the most intelligent American lawyers."

"The public are aware, that since Doctor Du Ponceau's discourse was published, the state of South Carolina has determined upon the experiment of '*redaction*,' and is now engaged in carrying it into execution. This is an experiment which cannot be looked to without much interest, from the nearer relation which it holds to the question in this country, than any thing that has taken place on the continent." p. 165.

Mr. Park strongly disapproves of the opinions contained in Mr. Wilson's speech on this subject, to the legislature of South Carolina. A long passage is extracted, to show that the plan recommended by him is the same as those of some of the English reformers.

Mr. Park is also somewhat severe upon the correspondence between Mr. Sampson and Mr. Dupin, contained in the *Jurist*, No. IV. He advises American lawyers "not to content themselves with writing letters to Mr. Dupin, or any other individual advocate, to know the opinion of such advocate as to the merits of codification. They will never become masters of the subject by such means." pp. 169, 170.

He assures "Mr. Sampson, that there are plenty of advocates in London, who would give quite as flattering an answer to any inquiries as to the happy and flourishing state of the law of this country; and those, too, lawyers of as much eminence here, as Mr. Dupin very justly is at Paris." pp. 169, 170, in *notâ*.

"They should, to do justice to that active and enlightened spirit which now characterizes the American Bar, and its Schools of Law, go to the fountain heads, and draw their views from an extensive and sound acquaintance with the legal literature of the continent, and, above all, with that of Germany.

"They will then abundantly learn, that, notwithstanding the absolute necessity which has existed in the continental states, of purchasing uniformity of national jurisprudence at the price of codification, that price has been sorely oppressive, and that its results form an awakening lesson to all countries which are not under the same compulsion. They should learn also, how far even the code-tutored jurists of France are from thinking that the world has yet arrived at the true understanding of the science of code-making." p. 170.

The next paragraph is a striking example of candour and good feeling:—

"But while I regret the very imperfect light which appears to exist in America on *this* question, I am equally impressed with the conviction how much the *jurists of this country have to learn from America*, with regard to her existing law. *I fully agree with Dr. Du Ponceau, that the honour of carrying the common law to its highest degree of perfection, is probably reserved to the United States*; and I arrive at this conclusion, because in that country, the common law, sitting lighter and easier upon the material of jurisprudence, is more capable of emancipating itself from the thralldom of obsolete redundancy, and because I see the American jurists, unlike the Confuciusian professors of this country, constantly seeking to inform and enlighten the common law, by comparative examination of the laws of other countries, and by keeping up an intercourse with the jurists of those countries and their legal literature." pp. 171, 172, 173.

Another long quotation from the "learned Philadelphian Provost's work" immediately follows. It contains an account of the progress of legal literature in this country, enumerating our va-

rious works, both translated and original. Mr. Park then continues in the same strain of liberality:—

"It augurs well for the prospects of this country, that our jurisconsults have already begun to follow the steps of their Trans-Atlantic brethren. Translations have already appeared, or been announced, of several juridical works of the continent; and the periodical entitled *The Jurist*, recently established, bids fair to compete with the journals of any other country, in talent, information, and spirit." pp. 174, 175.

After protesting against the sweeping abuse heaped by the Jurist on all existing institutions, he adds:—

"But, however this may be, I sincerely hail the appearance of such a journal as *The Jurist*, in this country, as an auspice of better times, and as an event which, though it will for a while increase the public influence of delusive principles, will, by the amount of juridical information which it will disseminate, arouse the attention of lawyers to the proceedings of other countries, and dissipate the torpor which has hitherto peculiarly characterized the profession of the law in England." pp. 175, 176.

Much space is allotted in Mr. Park's book to the consideration of the writings of our jurists. It contains upwards of seven pages of extracts from Mr. Duponceau's dissertation, besides long quotations from the publications of Mr. Justice Wilson, formerly of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Mr. Wilson of South Carolina. Frequent allusions are also made to Mr. Sampson and other writers.

It is evident to all those who have diligently watched the signs and motions of the times, that a great era is now approaching in jurisprudence. There is a spirit abroad, which never can be appeased until the sacrifice is consummated of every thing that is pernicious. Its progress in England may be marked, not only in the writings of jurists and speeches of legislators, but in the deep agitation pervading all classes from the meanest suitor to the chancellor on his woolsack. Their eyes are now turned to the legal profession of this country, as those who were the first to advance into the great field of philosophic jurisprudence; and it becomes us to render ourselves still worthier of affording that assistance which will be soon eagerly invoked.

Maternal pride has long prevented England from receiving lessons from her offspring. With the usual error of a parent, she could not conceive that the weakness of infancy had gradually ripened into the vigorous strength of manhood. On our part, we shall never forget that it is to England we owe the true life of a nation, its instinctive freedom; and in the day of her calamity, it is to be hoped that she will derive her best and most legitimate support from our pious gratitude.

The reader must not suppose that we intend to claim perfection for the legal institutions of our own country. Though our progress has been undoubtedly great, when compared with the advances of other nations, there is still room for important improvements. But where shall we seek them? Not in the schemes

of the Bentham's, for they are full of doubts and contradictions. Not in the specious power of a code, for a change so vital would shake our institutions to the centre, and create an amount of litigation almost as intolerable as intestine war. We must seek it in that accommodating principle, which has hitherto rendered the Common Law the best practical system of jurisprudence invented by man. And we must finally seek it in a gradual series of cautious reforms, which shall not merely provide a remedy for present difficulties, but shall prevent their recurrence by eradicating the cause.

ART. VI.—*A Year in Spain.* By A YOUNG AMERICAN. Boston: 1829. 8 vo. pp. 395.

HOWEVER man constantly pants and struggles after happiness, scenes of undisturbed peace and of growing prosperity interest and please him less, and generally far less excite his curiosity, than those where ruins of departed grandeur, are but dimly lit up by the last sparks of existence, hope, or enthusiasm, piercing through their decay. A completely happy mortal would be, we apprehend, as unprepossessing a being as a real sir Charles Grandison. It is a great pity, we admit, that these speculations of ours can never be put to the test of experiment in this poor world. At any rate, such as this world is, the unfortunate complain of a want of sympathy from their fellow-men, whilst those who are better treated by fate, imagine they need the excitement of pity, to escape probably one of their worst evils—ennui. Doubtless with the fairest portion of our species, misfortune is a great auxiliary to win its affection, and Desdemona, like most of the delineations of the great painter of human nature, is not only an individual character ever true to itself, but also a combination of the leading features of its class—the swarthy Moor subdues her heart by a long tale of “most disastrous chances and moving incidents.” Next comes the speculative moralist, who is scarcely less prone to ponder with a secret complacency, rather on the mournful than on the cheering aspect of all earthly things. In this latter division of mankind, we include the greater number of tourists, who, like the “philosophe sans le savoir,” *unconsciously* observe with that sentimental disposition, which Sterne merely assumed in his celebrated “Journey.” For this reason, Greece, Italy, and Spain, are more visited than the United States, and were Brazil to-morrow the happiest empire of the New World, still, wasted and bleeding Colombia, with its earthquakes, its poverty, its many-colour-

ed armies, and a chief, who after a long exercise of supreme authority, seems yet uncertain in his choice between the pure immortality of Washington, and the equivocal renown of a mere conqueror and a military leader—Colombia would be more tempting to the taste of the curious, who venture to cross the ocean. Such, too, is, if not the principal, yet one of the most powerful attractions of a journey through Spain, in particular. Its clear sky, its orange and pomegranate groves, the broken and varied nature of its soil, its lofty mountains and romantic valleys, its fertility and its fields, here and there enclosed with the large and thick-leaved aloe, or covered with flocks and herds, nay, the dark and soul-subduing eyes, and the fairy forms of its fascinating daughters, would be insufficient to outweigh the difficulties of travelling in that country, did it not promise an almost uninterrupted exhibition of fallen grandeur, together with that of universally known, wide-spread, and unequivocal suffering. One likes to enter upon such a theatre to censure: another to sadden, or to wipe away a tear at the sight of ruins which testify the existence of the Phœnicians—the gigantic enterprises and power of Rome, now no more—the elegance of taste and the splendour of the Saracens, who no longer live but in history—or the powerful efforts in war of the sturdy Goths. Others, lastly, are fain to contemplate the splendour and also the decay arising from abuses of all kinds; of religion, as well as of political power; of the spirit of discovery, as well as of an exemplary regret for the past; of means of advancement in every career of prosperity, as well as of the qualities and graces most fit to captivate the heart and to delight the fancy. In one word, errors and their fatal consequences, are what man is the most curious after, especially when he can extend his survey beyond his ordinary boundaries, and such will perhaps be found to be the cause of the preference, which is given to visiting rather a decayed than a growing people, to witnessing a tragical rather than a comic representation, and generally to the pathetic, over the gay, and the laughable. Not malice, but a gentle melancholy, is, in our humble opinion, the secret origin of that disposition; and there would be less harm, notwithstanding the pains it inflicts, if the power of deep observation, with which that infirmity of the mind is usually accompanied, always led to fortunate practical results; to the melioration, not only of individuals, but of communities.

The disposition to which we refer, is more common to the Teutonic race than to any other. Hence British and German travellers surpass the French. The latter are too fond of the present, and look too much to what is brilliant, and turn away too quickly, perhaps too instinctively, from the ungainly. Although the most sociable beings, and highly capable of kindling feeling, even when they themselves are but scantily endowed with it; gay, quick,

and of a keen curiosity; they are yet sententious philosophers, generalizing moralists, censors rather than painters, in their sketches of foreign manners. They wanted, moreover, until lately, that laudable cosmopolitanism, which institutions, founded upon publicity in all public concerns, naturally engender. The literature of newspapers—that superficial but healthful instructor, which makes of every individual a real citizen, not only of his own republic, but of the universe—had not, before the revolution, taught French tourists to select tribunals, prisons, hospitals, and tap-rooms, for the observation and study of mankind. From saloons, from court and diplomatic circles, from intercourse with some renowned individuals, they were wont to carry home their knowledge of foreign manners and circumstances. Excelling in polite conversation, the refined alone seemed worthy of their attention, and little skilful in the description of scenery, and embarrassed by a language, poor in synonyms, nay, poor in nouns, in comparison with the others of Latin origin, and still more defective in those familiar terms and phrases, which conduce so much to graphic effect, and to the variety, opulence, liveliness, and completeness of English literature, they were restricted to a conventional diction more pompous than natural, to avoid a verbose and languid one, which might have spoiled, in the opinion of their countrymen, the merits of the richest collection of interesting facts; and elegant facts alone were, therefore, chosen for exhibition, to be clothed in a refined language. Laborde's Itinerary, and Burgoine's valuable work on Spain, although they are far from resembling the English models, are thus less read than Dupaty's inflated Letters. Had madame de Staël belonged to the masculine sex, not by her mind alone, she might have been the first to enrich French literature with works, comparable to those which have made the Germans and the English conversant with every little public and private concern of most foreign nations. In her *Corinna*, as well as in her work on Germany, she philosophizes, instead of delineating. Even Lesage would have disdained, or, perhaps, been incapable of stooping to the more modest task of sketching manners and incidents, as they actually presented themselves to his eye, in their homespun dress, in their undramatic appearance, in their *dishabille*, if we may so express it. This leads us to another remark. Patience, self-forgetfulness, minute application, and above all, love of truth, are every where rarer than invention and fancy; and they are qualities which the French possess in a less degree than other nations, at least in such researches. To relate what strikes their eye, without any colouring of their own imagination, without something peculiar to themselves, is to them too tedious and humble a task. Chateaubriand ascribes the superiority of the French in historical memoirs, and their inferiority in real histories, to egotism, to the

irresistible desire of the author to be something in the narrative even of the remotest times; and so it is with their travels and exhibitions of foreign customs. They want, finally, that sensitiveness, on which we have, perhaps, too much dwelt, at the beginning of this paper. Whilst the Germans exceed the due measure of a tender sympathy, the French are too sanguine and gay. A happy medium between a morbid sensibility and a fashionable and heartless disgust at the sight of mean things, is to be particularly recommended to a traveller in foreign parts. Now, the Teutonic nations derive that merit not only from education, but from their physical temperament; and the English, by a sounder literature, a more active participation in social and political affairs, and a more healthful bodily constitution than the Germans, excel these, perhaps, as much, as both surpass the too sanguine and light-hearted Frenchman.

Americans, who for this task come the nearest to the British in their physical and moral qualifications, have, in addition, the aid of an apprehension excited to a higher degree by a warmer sun, by more extensive intercourse, at home with specimens of all nations, and abroad wherever the striped and starred flag displays itself—and where is it unknown or unseen?—a still greater publicity than in Great Britain, a keener appetite for general knowledge, a curiosity, often even sickly, with regard to private as well as public matters, wandering habits, manners independent but not stiff and sturdy, a republican carriage that relaxes itself easily on a foreign ground into good humour and patrician courtesy. Such are the natural qualifications of the Americans to shine with great advantage in the rank of travellers and observers of mankind.

As an individual specimen, the young traveller, whose “Year in Spain” we are about reviewing, will, at all events, corroborate our opinion. Led by a laudable curiosity into a country that might frighten ordinary tourists, from the combination it presents of various political and moral woes, of dangers of all sorts, and of inconveniences of no small import, the robbers who attack him almost at his first steps, do not deter him from continuing his travels, on foot, and in all kinds of company and conveyances; he observes and inquires into every thing; he associates, when occasion leads him, even with the meanest companions; no religious opinion converts him into a foe to a foreign worship; he dwells on all that he sees, with an eye to the past and to the future; and at the execution of a criminal, as well as on the merry Prado, he notes things which may contribute to more knowledge of the human heart, without any fear that he will disgust his countrymen by pictures of an unpleasing and coarse nature, or seduce them into a discontent of their own social situation, by those of a vicious luxury, which need the veil of charity.

The author set out in October 1826, from Perpignan, satisfied to the whole extent of his expectation with the scenery and the inhabitants of the west, north, and east of France; surprised to find Dauphiné superior even to Italy; but somewhat disappointed in regard to Roussillon, which his fancy, misled by a guidebook, had pictured to him as an Arcadian region. Yet here also, glowing eyes and fair faces, with an arch expression, were not wanting to reconcile him to that less favoured portion of France.

Among his companions in the public coach was an officer, recommended to the goodwill of a fair fellow-traveller by his large mustachios, and by attentions which, along the road, might indeed have been acceptable from a gentleman more advanced in age. They journeyed through a country rich in vine, olive, and mulberry trees, but less pleasing than many where a more humble agriculture prevails, and plants of less value are watered by a greater number of streams. The Pyrenees, and Mont Perdu their highest peak, might have given loftiness to the scenery, had the travellers followed the road remoter from the shore: but they had chosen the pass of Junquera, and there the Pyrenees rise only to a very moderate height. On reaching Junquera, they found themselves fairly, for the first time, under the jurisdiction of the Spanish government, and they soon had occasion to perceive how much more its fears are excited against such ghosts as Voltaire and Marmontel, than living republicans like our tourist, or old soldiers of the French Revolution. The young American saved, however, his *Henriade* and a few French plays, by dazzling the custom-house officer with a piece of silver. He found Junquera a poor frontier village, ill calculated to impress him favourably with Spain, or to inspire him with envy of the condition of the functionaries in that country. Tattered cloaks and old cocked hats of oil-cloth for their dress, a cigarre, perhaps, as a supply for a dinner, and hovels for lodging, will in this sinful world go a great way to excuse the small portion of stoic virtue that is met with among the officers of the customs at Junquera and elsewhere.

On leaving that village, the travellers entered a country somewhat more cultivated, and the cork tree, which is abundant in most parts of Spain, began to show itself thickly along the hills. Like the olive tree, its foliage is of a gloomy hue, and like many other things it is better than its external appearance promises, though even that is precisely its most valuable part.—Figueras was the first fortified town which lay upon the road to Barcelona. Here the travelling lady was helped to alight from the Diligence by her impatient husband, a stout and fine-looking sous-lieutenant of a regiment of French Chasseurs, to the great mortification of the gallant captain who had been her fellow-traveller. The rest of the company spent the night at Gerona, a once impregnable fortress, and the next morning found themselves amidst a suc-

cession of hills, until they reached a stream, that the diligence had much ado to cross, but which a large detachment of young French soldiers passed with their native lightness, on a foot-bridge, one plank in width, on a level with, and partly below the water.

The road, in approaching nearer to the shore of the Mediterranean, afforded the traveller a sight of a great number of neat villages, protected, on the one side, by the Pyrenees, against the *minstrat*, or strong north winds, seated among fields whose verdure was made rich by the warm breezes of the neighbouring sea, and surrounded with vineyards, cornfields, and olive orchards, amidst which the blossom and the fruit of the orange might be at the same time beheld. Hedges of aloe, which we had thought peculiar to the more southern provinces, were seen by our traveller before reaching Barcelona.

He alighted in this city, at the "Hotel of the Four Nations," a very general sign among the many bad and the few good inns of Spain. Their best recommendation is, that their ceilings are lofty, and that large windows, with folding sashes, give free access to the air. The furniture is almost without exception scanty and wretched. The *fonda* at Barcelona had however the advantage of overlooking the Rambla, the rendezvous of walkers and idlers of all descriptions and ages, and where the black and gray, and white, blue, and brown frocks of the regular and secular clergy, rub against the fanciful national dress of the pretty girls who frequent it. For every hundred individuals, there are in Catalonia two belonging to the church. "There is no part," says our author, "where the clergy are so numerous. Two men in a hundred," exclaims he, "who neither sow, nor reap, nor labour!" Yet Catalonia is one of the most industrious provinces of Spain, in spite of fewer bounties from the hands of nature.

Barcelona is situated upon a plain near the sea, and its famous fort, Monjúi, reclines on the valley watered by the Llobregat. The city is sheltered during the winter from the north and west winds, by a lofty range of mountains, among which, "Montserrat, celebrated not less for its venerated shrine, under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin, than for the horrors of its scenery and situation, lifts up its crest, fringed with a forest of rocky pyramids." The port, not a bad one by nature, is farther improved by art, but is not always a safe refuge when strong winds blow from the east. Barcelona is the third, if not the second capital of the kingdom, and it is more interesting than Madrid, not only on account of its situation near the sea, but for its ruins of Roman structures, which give it a more venerable and classical appearance. There, too, are exhibited motley monuments of a modern civilization, peculiar to Spain, by the places where in former days the Catholic kings received from Columbus, in the midst of a splendid court,

the homage of the world he had discovered; where but lately the Inquisition erected her piles; and where cruelty still mixes itself with pleasure in the animation of a bull-fight.

Next to several beautiful churches, and the imposing custom-house, the exchange contributes most to give architectural splendour to Barcelona. Catalonia resembles Italy in many respects. In taste for music, its inhabitants are little inferior to those of Italy in general; and in navigation they equal the Genoese and the Venetians. The fields, intersected by small canals, and provided with machines for irrigation, yield to the careful husbandman abundant crops of all sorts of grain, vegetables, and fruit. In maritime enterprise, in industrious and commercial pursuits, the Catalans are greatly degenerated from their forefathers; but not so in valour and moral energy, although they are less violent in their political opinions than at the beginning of the last century, when their hatred to the French domination was so strong, that they were ready to bow themselves, voluntarily, beneath the Ottoman yoke.

"Though industry and frugality still characterize the Catalans," observes our author, "yet the capital and outlets which gave activity to these qualities, are either idle, or no longer exist. The manufactories of cutlery and fire-arms are ruined and forgotten, and the wines and brandies of Catalonia, the cotton and woollen goods which used formerly to be carried to every corner of the Americas, are now either shipped away by stealth, or only consumed in Spain. The ships and brigs, whose tall masts once loomed like a forest within the mole of Barcelona, are now replaced by a paltry assemblage of fishing boats and feluccas. Even these are not allowed a free communication along the coast of the peninsula, nor does Spain even enjoy the pitiful privilege of an interchange of her own productions. Pirates, and outcast adventurers of every nation except Colombia, assuming the easy flag of that country, and the name of patriot, rendered loathsome by its wearers, post themselves along the headlands of the peninsula, and pilfer all who pass."

Our traveller left Barcelona, in the diligence, for Valencia. The distance between the two cities is two hundred and twenty-five miles, and the expense about fifteen dollars, besides the douceurs which the coachmen and postillions receive every where, we believe, except in the United States. These conveyances have been made in Spain the monopoly of a company, and are, in consequence, more expensive to the public than in France. The travellers are, moreover, under injunctions not to endanger the profits of the monopolists, by carrying more money in their trunks than they actually need for the expenses of the journey, and a penalty awaits those who disobey, and who being robbed, and not seldom wounded, may be supposed to tempt highwaymen to attack the privileged diligence.

In Spain, the public coaches, like all carriages of trade and private use, are drawn by mules, horses being reserved for the saddle, and the caprice of a few imitators of foreign fashions; in some of the great cities, six or seven mules, adorned with bells,

plumes, and tassels of divers colours, are the appendage of a vehicle carrying five or more persons. It is not uncommon to pay four hundred dollars for one of these animals, which are generally very showy, well-formed, and strong, but extremely stubborn; and require, besides the whip, the appropriate elocution of their Spanish guides. The mule that leads, bears the name of "Capitana," and each of the others has a less significant, but not less essential name for the march. On setting out, one of the drivers takes the "Capitana" by the head, and proceeds thus with her until all obstacles to their progress are fairly passed; a lash of the whip on her flank is then the signal of definitive departure, which is successively imparted to her other companions, whereupon the team sets off in full gallop, leaving it to the agility of the driver to enable him to take his seat upon the bench, near his compeer, by grasping the tail of one of the hind mules.

Charles III., and his minister Floridablanca, have immortalized themselves by the improvement of the internal communications of a considerable portion of Spain. On following the steps of our observing traveller through Andalusia, we shall have an opportunity of noticing the excellent road between Madrid and Cadiz. That from Barcelona to the metropolis was lately not less beautiful; but it seems from our tourist's remarks, that it is at present somewhat in decay.

"It is constructed in a manner," says he, "which combines present convenience with great durability, winding round hills, where they are too steep to be crossed, and sometimes cutting directly through the side of them, and making a deep gap for its passage. As the hills are pierced, too, for the passage of the road, so the ravines are rendered passable by the bridges which span them, of one, and sometimes two, rows of arches, rising above each other, as in the aqueduct at Nismes. This road, though out of repair and neglected, was not, however, positively bad; and even though it had been bad, why should we care, with a string of seven mules to drag us, and two wild men to drive them? Indeed, we kept trotting up one side of a hill and galloping down the other, and up again and down again, the whole way to Tarragona. There was a pleasing excitement in this heels-over-head mode of travelling, after the slow and easy pace of the French Diligence, their heavy-headed and thick-legged horses, and the big boots of their postillion."

Thus they rolled on over a way partly laid out by the Romans, and under a vast stone arch of elegant and simple construction, until they reached, at length, the rocky eminence upon which Tarragona is situated. Its fortified walls might seem, at a distance, destined only to support and protect the numerous churches that send their steeples to the skies, and to encircle ruins less sacred but not less interesting:—the remains of temples, where the Scipios, Pompey, and Cæsar trod, a palace of Augustus, an amphitheatre and an aqueduct. Tarraco, as the city was called in those eventful times, numbered half a million of inhabitants: now it contains scarcely seven thousand.

From Tarragona the travellers proceeded to Valencia, in com-

pany with some students, dressed in their black garb, and a merchant, with his wife and daughter, (a pretty lass of fifteen,) who by a fanciful soldier-like dress augmented that military air, which, as our author justly observes, is almost natural to all Spaniards. From the coast, along which they journeyed, they discovered vineyards and olive orchards, and when they entered more in the interior, they wound through the narrow pass, crowned on the right by the castle of Balaguer. They afterwards wheeled through a ravine, which yields to banditti as many facilities to attack unprotected travellers, as the neighbouring castle to defend the defile against a foreign enemy. As wars are rare occurrences, and robberies far more common events in Spain, garrisons might be dispensed with more easily than the means of insuring the safety of a peaceful traveller. The gallows constructed in the ravine, is certainly a poor expedient to alarm the conscience of banditti, and to save the innocent.

On approaching the Ebro, and advancing towards Amposta, the road passes over barren and sandy downs. The river itself there answers but little to its classic fame, and the half naked fishermen and labourers, thinly scattered through the streets of Amposta, as little correspond to the fierce soldiers of the Scipios and Asdrubal, Pompey and Cæsar, who fought on its banks for the mighty destinies of Rome and Carthage. Our author has very judiciously introduced, in this part of his narrative, as in many subsequent ones, historical recollections, which increase our interest in the country through which he leads us, and interrupt the monotony of simple memoranda of what actually struck his sight at a much less glorious epoch.

Though the pursuits of the present inhabitants of Amposta are of the humble nature we have mentioned, there is nevertheless something in their bearing, and still more in their attire, with which especially an American tourist, recently arrived from his own country, is struck, as belonging to remoter times and to a remoter region. Among the peculiarities of the United States, none is perhaps more striking to a European recently landed, nor more conclusive as to the political and civil condition of the people with whom he is about to associate, than their almost uniform dress. The pilot and his crew, who generally are the first Americans he beholds, are attired very much like the banker, the scholar, or the artist, with whom he exchanged his last greetings on the European coast. On entering the port at which he lands, he looks in vain for the difference of dress that would at once distinguish the servant from his master; the inhabitants of Louisiana from those of Maine; or the hardy Nantucketer from the planter of Virginia. Much of the monotony, and the want of poetic effect, which Europeans sometimes allege, with more or less good sense and taste, against this country, arise in a great measure from that

sameness of attire, which is indeed quite unpicturesque, though very eloquent to the philanthropist. All the countries of the old world are extremely unlike, in this respect, to the United States; but none more so than Spain. The work before us indeed abounds in descriptions, that would suit for an article on "fancy-balls," in a *Journal des Modes*; nor can the foreigner, who wanders with a sketchbook through the "country of romance," with propriety omit them; for his picture of Spain would not only be without its proper colouring, but a lifeless skeleton, were he to disdain such details of dress. The most grotesque among the various Spanish costumes, is that of the Valencians. It bears testimony of Asiatic and African manners and tastes, without almost any mixture of European habits.

"In the short distance of a few leagues, and without any sensible change of climate, the long pantaloons of the Catalan, extending from his shoulders to the ground, is exchanged to loose breeches of linen, called *bragas*, which tie over the hips with a drawing string, and which like the Highland kilt terminate above the knee. Besides this airy and convenient garment, the Valencian wears a shirt, a waistcoat, straw or hempen sandals, and a long red cap like the Catalan, or instead of the latter a cotton handkerchief, tied round the head and hanging down behind. His legs are in general bare, or only covered with a leathern gaiter laced on tightly, or more frequently a stocking without a foot. Instead of the velvet jacket and silver buttons of the Catalan, the Valencian wears a long woollen sack, called *manta*, edged with fringe, and chequered like a plaid. This hangs carelessly over one shoulder on ordinary occasions, and when the air is sharp he rolls himself tightly up in it; if he has a burthen to carry, he puts it in one end of his sack, and lets it hang behind him, whilst the remainder serves to keep him warm; and in sowing a field, the *manta* is the depository whence he takes the seed, to drop it into the furrow. Nor was there a less striking difference in the figure and faces of these natives of two neighbouring provinces of the same kingdom, than I had noticed in their dress. The stature of the Valencians seemed less than that of the Catalans, and their faces, instead of indicating a northern origin, were of an Asiatic cast; indeed, as I looked upon their red and well-turned limbs and sunburnt faces, unshaded save by the straight black hair that hung about them, I was strongly reminded of the red inhabitants of our forests, and the idea kept recurring whenever I saw them."

The following details of a repast in a poor inn at Amposta, amidst bare-legged Valencians, are so comprehensive in regard to the eating and the culinary regimen in the public houses and the majority of private families throughout Spain, that we shall probably not be obliged to add much on the subject, in proceeding with our author.

"My companions were already seated upon the long wooden benches, and silently employed with the soup. This was succeeded by the *puchero* or *olla*, a dish of universal use in Spain, which takes its name from the earthen jug or iron pot in which it is prepared. It consists of an odd mixture of beef, chicken, a species of pea called *garbanzo*, in great favour among the Spaniards, and of a great variety of vegetables, the whole being seasoned plentifully with garlic, and a small piece of salt pork or bacon. This is the common *olla*, such as one meets with everywhere in Spain; but the *olla podrida* is a rarer dish, a manner of ark where animals of every colour and every kind meet and are represented as in a common congress. After the *puchero* came roast fowls and salad, which we ate together as in France; and then a desert of olives, apples, figs, almonds, and grapes dried in the shade, which, though a little withered, still preserved their

juice and sweetness. Last of all, a decanter of brandy impregnated with anise, as Spanish brandy usually is, was placed on the table; each person, ladies and all, swallowed a portion of it unadulterated, from small Dutch cordial glasses curiously ornamented and gilded, which, from the manner in which they were produced from an antique chest that stood in the corner, were evidently in high estimation at Amposta."

"When these uncouth Catalans were pretty well gorged, they gradually became less exclusive, would be at the trouble of offering to others the dish of which they had already partaken, and, growing more polite as they grew less hungry, would even help others before serving themselves. This politeness was more especially extended to our fair Valenciana, and when the desert came, each one who sat near her, after paring an apple, would first offer her a portion of it on the end of a knife. This she always accepted, and ate either the whole or part of it, as if usage rendered it obligatory. These acts of courtesy were sometimes accompanied with gallant speeches, which, instead of being received amiss by the lively girl, were either laughed at or retorted. After being accustomed to the retiring modesty of young girls in France, I was much startled at this freedom of manners in our Valenciana, and still more so at the indifference of her father and mother, who, so long as they saw that she was in sight, and sitting between them, seemed to care little for a few hardy words.

"Supper being over, and paper cigars lit by most of the company, the landlady went round the table to collect her dues, followed by a modern Maritornes with hand outstretched to receive the expected gratuity. The demand was sixteen reals for each, and two more for those who wanted chocolate in the morning. The Catalans exclaimed against the charge, pronounced it outrageous, and swore that at least ten reals must be for the *ruido de casa*, or noise of the house, which is a fair subject of taxation in any Spanish *posada*. Finding, however, that the matter was not to be got rid of in any other way, each fell to chasing his money about in his pockets, and having drawn it forth, reluctant to appear on such an occasion, the account was at length balanced; not, however, without a supplemental dispute with Maritornes, on the question of a real or a half real. This over, we were shown to our sleeping place, which was beside the eating-room, and which had a small double door, fastened with a swinging bar, as in our stables; it had likewise a single window with an iron grating, which looked upon the court-yard, and which, instead of a sash, was furnished with a door. Eight beds, spread on cots, were arranged at convenient distances round the room, for the accommodation of our party, with the exception of the Valencian family, and at the side of each bed was a rickety chair, which from its own infirmity or the inequalities of the ground, for the apartment had no other floor, leaned fearfully with one leg in the air, or else sought support by reclining against the bed. Having closed the window to keep the night air out, I chose a bed from among the number, and, without investigating too nicely the question of clean sheets, threw myself upon it, and was soon unconscious of the conversation which my companions still maintained in their discordant Catalan, no less than of the munching of the mules, and jingling of their bells, as they fed and moved about in the adjoining stable."

The travellers entered what is called emphatically, and not unjustly, the "garden of Spain," the kingdom of Valencia. But the gifts of nature are here wofully contrasted by the deeds of man, for amidst the most luxuriant vegetation, extends a long line of crosses, commemorating scenes of robbery and murder, with the laconic inscription—"Here was killed Mr. ———." From Torreblanca to Villareal, they were escorted by four ill-fed and ill-mounted dragoons, whose place was afterwards taken by four men of the provincial infantry, still worse accoutred, but whom it might have been difficult to excel in bodily strength and agility.

Murviedro was the next halting place, and in the ancient Saguntum, the mind of a traveller like our author could not but be forcibly carried back to one of the most memorable epochs in the history of Rome and Carthage. His way towards Valencia continued through a fertile and well cultivated country, and after having passed the convent of San Miguel de los Reyes, a splendid pile, partly constructed with fragments of the Sanguntean amphitheatre, he at length caught a sight of Valencia from the north.

"Domes and towers without number," says he, "are seen gradually to emerge from out the continuous orchard of lemon, orange, fig, pomegranate, and mulberry, which extends itself over fields laid out in kitchen gardens, and thus made to yield a double tribute to the industrious cultivator. At length, after passing through this grove, the source at once of usefulness and beauty, we came to the bank of a wide ravine, bounded on both sides by strong parapets of hewn stone. This ravine was the bed of the Guadalaviar, and is evidently formed to contain the waters of a powerful stream; but, when I saw it, a brook could with difficulty be discovered, trickling along a small channel, which it has made for itself in the middle of the ravine. The remainder was covered with grass of the richest verdure, and cropped by sheep and goats, now wandering fearlessly over the soil, which in the season of freshets is filled high with the resistless element. The cause of this disappearance of the Guadalaviar is, that its waters are diverted, throughout the whole course of the stream, for the purpose of irrigation."

This extensive system of irrigation is an additional feature of the Asiatic physiognomy of Valencia. The province, with a population of a million of souls, is among the most fertile and most richly gifted by nature of the whole dominions of Spain. It is watered by thirty-six streams, which disembogue in the Mediterranean; its mountains abound in valuable minerals, and its fields, "which are either plain by nature, or have been levelled off for the convenience of irrigation into platforms—are crowded with crops and trees, rising above each other in animated perspective, like the ascending grades of an amphitheatre. These produce abundant crops of hemp, flax, cotton, wheat, rice, indian corn, 'algazobor,' beans, apples, pears, peaches, oranges, lemons, citrons, pomegranates, dates, almonds, beside melons which are renowned throughout Spain, and every species of culinary vegetable, with such an infinity of mulberry trees, that they furnish annually a million and a half of the richest silk."

We should be obliged to copy whole pages, were we to exhibit, in the animated manner of our author, the natural resources and beauty of the fair kingdom of Valencia. Our readers will do well to turn to his description, in which mighty recollections, like those of the Cid, the Arragonian King James, and the French adventurers commanded by the Bishop of Narbonne, fighting against the Saracens, are interwoven with references to a most delightful climate, and to a population at once interesting for its vivacity and genius, and fearful on account of a revengefulness and treacherous disposition, which might seem incompatible with natural light-heartedness and frivolity.

Until the French revolution rendered the Spanish government more suspicious than it had ever before been, more books were printed in Valencia than in any other city of Spain. It still possesses an university, an academy of arts, and two public libraries.

The houses are of a quadrangular form, with square courts in the centre, and grated windows near the ground, "to prevent the entrance of a thief, or a lover, or the evasion of a wife." The upper windows descend, as almost everywhere in Spain, from the ceiling to the floor, and open on balconies; they are generally decorated with shrubbery and plants, and not seldom exhibit groups of fascinating beauties amidst devoted admirers.

Valencia possesses several public walks, tastefully laid out, along the banks of the Guadalaviar, and towards the seaport. The "glorieta," a square enclosed by a railing and covered with scented shrubberies and flower-pots, is the most frequented rendezvous of the higher classes.—In the last half hour that our traveller could spare before his departure from Valencia, he ascended the top of the cathedral, to take a final and general survey of the city and its environs. Extending his sight beyond the crooked streets and the tiled roofs beneath, it embraced objects more agreeable: "the verdant 'glorieta', with its trees and fountains; the gate of the Cid, and the numerous avenues leading to the capital; the five bridges of the Guadalaviar, and the promenades which skirt its banks. These were enclosed in that wide expanse of verdure, interspersed everywhere with villages and farm-houses, to which the Spaniards have given the glowing name of 'Huerta de Valencia,' the garden and orchard of Valencia, whose fertility had no other bounds but the sea and mountains which everywhere terminated the prospect."

We must now follow the traveller more rapidly on his journey to Madrid. He passed through the *Jatina* of the Moors, called *San Felipe* from the time that Philip V. had decreed the demolition of the city formerly built on that spot, to punish it for its adherence to the cause of his Austrian competitor to the crown of Spain. At *Mogente* he entered the table land, which forms the greater part of the two Castiles, and lies two thousand feet above the level of the sea; and here not only ended the garden-like aspect of Valencia, but the gloomy uniformity of *La Mancha* began. In the centre of Spain, forests have been as ill-treated as in a great portion of the United States; the soil has become excessively dry, and empty ravines are all that remain of the streams that watered it when it was sheltered by trees. Agriculture is in a poor state, and cattle by no means abundant; whilst there are spaces of eight and ten miles without a single habitation. Upon reaching one, the traveller, instead of witnessing the animation that enlivens the banks of the Guadalaviar, be-

holds scanty groups of small houses, which are scarcely distinguished from the dark soil, by the gray clay with which they are plastered over. Besides, in that comparatively high region, the heat of summer is as unpleasant as the cold, which begins very early in the autumn. In the first days of November, the traveller found ice in several places, long after the sun had risen. The clothing of the inhabitants was, in consequence, very different from the airy attire of the Valencians; velvet caps, woollen stockings, gaiters, tight *inexpressibles* of cloth, betray a less sunny climate, and a more chilly blood, though on this account, the Castilians are certainly not less honest or respectable than their more fiery neighbours.

The road to Madrid proceeds through Almansa, renowned for the decisive battle fought for the cause of the Bourbons by a son of James II.—Albacete, in which iron and steel are roughly manufactured, and a fair is held once a year—El Provencio, not far from which are the wind-mills of Don Quixote—and close by Toboso, immortalized by his Dulcinea.

The classical recollections of the adventures of the Knight of the sorrowful countenance, gave way, at Ocaña, to others of a more woful reality. Near this town was fought one of the few pitched battles, in which, during the national war, the Spanish troops were engaged: here, too, they met the enemy without any auxiliaries, and suffered one of the most complete defeats that throw a gloom over the pages of their most interesting annals. On the same spot, where our traveller might behold young women laughing, chatting, and singing “segurillas,” lay, fifteen or sixteen years before, heaps of arms, lost to the banners of patriotism, and thousands of brave soldiers, who wanted perhaps nothing but an able general and a better fortune to ensure their success.

On approaching Madrid, the aspect of the country becomes less and less engaging, except at Aranjuez, and on the appearance of the Tagus. Lofty trees, a few splendid buildings, and a scene which brings to the imagination occurrences not only important to Spain but to all Europe, were a great relief from the tediousness of the preceding journey. At Aranjuez began that series of events, which terminated in the downfall of Napoleon, and a pistol-shot was, as it were, the signal of that mighty catastrophe.

After crossing one of the most splendid bridges of Europe, the traveller enters upon mountain scenery, not destitute of grandeur, but wanting the embellishments of timber and water. The range of the Guadarrama separates Old from New Castile, and in their last declivity, in the former province, lies Madrid. “Our first view of Madrid,” says our author, “was extremely imposing; it offered a compact mass, crowned everywhere with countless domes of temples and palaces, upon which

the setting sun sent his rays obliquely, and which conveyed in a high degree the idea of magnificence and splendour. Nor was this effect diminished as we advanced; for the cupolas first seen grew into still greater pre-eminence, whilst others, at each instant, rose above the confusion." The Manzanares, upon whose north-eastern bank the Spanish metropolis is situated, often wants water to be a river. "Solo al rio falta el rio," says Calderon, but it swells sometimes in the mountains, through which it takes its course, to such a degree, that the noble bridge which spans it, and which would not be unworthy of a mighty stream, is not altogether a monument of superfluous splendour. There is not, at the entrance of Madrid, the throng and stir which give to the environs of Paris and London, at a circumference of many miles, the appearance of portions of those capitals, and our author was peculiarly favoured by meeting a multitude of carriages, horsemen, and pedestrians.

He could not have chosen a happier mode of exhibiting Madrid and the manners of its inhabitants, than by placing himself nearly in the centre of that metropolis, and describing the different objects and occurrences he successively beheld, on extending his walks in different directions. His descriptions have thus the exactness of a panorama, with the difference, that a correct observance of the rules of perspective and a vivid colouring, are supplied by an intelligent arrangement of topics and an animated style. He brings almost to the view, in rapid succession, daily occurrences, of the most characteristic physiognomy, which might not have arrested at all the attention of a careless observer, or which a less gifted writer would have exhibited one by one in meagre singleness.

He begins with an account of the accommodation a foreigner finds in the Spanish metropolis. After having passed a few days in one of the *best* hotels, where he was deprived of every comfort, and where there "was nothing, in short, beside the bed and two chairs, and the grated window and dark walls terminated overhead by naked beams, and below by a cold tile floor," he removed into a more sunny and larger apartment, at the front of the house, which was provided with a sofa, half-a-dozen straw-bottomed chairs, a straw mat in lieu of a carpet, a crazy table, and "even a mirror." The writer of this article would venture, from recollections still vivid, to point out with little difficulty the very room our author has described, furnished exactly in the same manner as when he occupied it; at least one apartment of the "Fonda de Malta," looking upon "Calle Caballero de Gracia," was not differently conditioned about twelve years ago. So much for the steady habits of Spain. One thing, however, is altered, it seems, in the political administration of the hotel. There was, in 1817, no pretty woman in the public room, to

mimic the French in their skilful management of human passions. From the hotel, the young American removed, at length, into a "casa de huespede," which was not unlike a "boarding house," but on a much smaller scale. Two or three individuals, and generally those alone who live in single blessedness, are the temporary lodgers of such houses, and they take their meals at the common board, or, what is much less frequently the case, are provided apart. With the exception of the few families of the highest nobility, who fill their palaces with their numerous suites—a most ruinous article of Spanish pomp—each story of the other dwelling-houses is, as in most capitals of Europe, occupied by a distinct family. The head of the one to which the author was introduced by his one-eyed Spanish teacher, had probably seen better days, whilst, during the political commotions of his country, he was engaged in a variety of mercantile affairs: but now he had cause to lament having become acquainted with some hoarded plate and other valuables stolen from the royal palace, during the national war, and having been himself robbed of a small sum which he had saved during the latest revolution by keeping a reading-room. He continued, however, to lend out at the entrance of the house, the only two newspapers published in Madrid, since the complete re-establishment of the royal power. His apartment was in a far higher region than his alimentary establishment. He occupied the third story and the garret. Little is said by our author of the good man's wife, but he is more communicative in regard to his interesting daughter, Doña Florencia, a young lady still in her teens, and who returned just in time, from a walk, to determine the traveller to conclude his negotiation with her father. This most pleasing individual of the family is not a bad specimen of Spanish beauty.

"She might be nineteen or thereabout, a little above the middle size, and finely proportioned; with features regular enough, and hair and eyes not so black as is common in her country, a circumstance, upon which, when I came to know her better, she used to pride herself; for in Spain, auburn hair, and even red, is looked upon as a great beauty. She had on a *mantilla* of lace, pinned to her hair and hanging about her shoulders, and a 'basquiña' of black silk, garnished with cord and tassels, and loaded at the bottom with lead, to make it fit closely around the body, and show a shape which was really handsome. Though high in the neck, it did not descend so low as to hide a well turned foot, covered with a white stocking and low shoe of black, bound over the instep by a ribbon of the same colour.—As I said before, I was met full in the face by this damsel of La Rioja, to whose cheek the ascent of three pairs of stairs had given a colour which is not common in Madrid, and which to herself was not habitual. Her whole manner showed that sense of satisfaction which people who feel well and virtuously always experience on reaching the domestic threshold. She was opening and shutting her fan with vivacity, and stopped short in the midst of a little song, which is a great favourite in Andalusia, and which begins,

"O no! no quiero casarme!

Ques mejor, ques mejor ser soltera!"

"No, no, I will not marry; 'tis better, 'tis better to be a maiden." So at least would we venture to translate it; for our author, in this instance, as in several others, has rather gratuitously supposed that all his readers are conversant with Spanish.

There was, beside, as a boarder, a married lady, separated from her husband, in consequence of an ultra-patriotic toast which he gave during the late troubles, and whose situation may for ever remain as unfortunate as that of thousands of others, who were as much deceived in regard to the opinions and feelings of the great bulk of their countrymen. The author lived in this family the whole time that he sojourned in Madrid, and he was received by them, after some short absences, occasioned by his excursions, with as much hearty kindness, as was shown to him when he took his final leave of them. The author does not introduce us into any other family, and this is perhaps the greatest defect of omission, at least of his picture of Madrid, for he might have added many distinctive traits of the ordinary life of the various classes of Spanish society. But the habits of his daily companions are those of so extensive a class, that the account it gives of them is comprehensive enough.

"As for the occupations of our little family, they were such as are common in Spain. The first thing in the morning was to arrange and order everything for the day. Then each took the little *higada* of chocolate and *panecillo*, or small roll of the delightful bread of Madrid. This meal is not taken at table, but sitting, standing, or walking from room to room, and not unfrequently in bed. This over, each went to his peculiar occupations; the old woman with her *Diarios* and *Gacetas* to open her reading room in the entry, Florencia to ply her needle, and Don Valentin to tinker overhead, having first taken out his flint and steel, and cigar and paper, to prepare his brief *cigarillo*, which he would smoke, with a sigh between each puff, after those days of liberty when a cigar cost two *cuartos* instead of four. Towards noon he would roll himself in his *capa parda*—cloak of brown—and go down into the *Puerta del Sol*, to learn the thousand rumours, which, in the absence of all other publication, there find daily circulation. If it were a feast day, the mass being over he would go with his daughter to the *Prado*. At two the family took its mid-day meal; consisting, beside some simple dessert, of soup and *puchero*, well seasoned with pepper, saffron, and garlic. If it had been summer, the *siesta* would have passed in sleep; but being winter, Don Valentin profited of the short-lived heat to wander forth with a friend; and in the evening went to his *tertulia*, or friendly reunion. In summer, one, or even two o'clock, is the hour of retiring; but in winter it is eleven. Always the last thing, before going to bed, was to take a supper of meat and tomatoes, prepared in oil, or some other greasy stew, to sleep upon."

On his way to his new lodgings, the author met with the variety of objects, which, as we observed above, might not be found under the head of a single morning in the journal of a less lively tourist. The driver of a drove of turkeys urged him, in the true Spanish style, to buy one for his wife; and when he replied that he was not married, the peasant returned, "then purchase one for your mistress," or in the graceful diminutive of the Castilian tongue; "para su queridita." Next came the grotesque gigs, which are seen rolling at full gallop on Mondays, in vast

numbers, to the bull-fight, and the various other objects that enliven the famous "Puerta del Sol," such as politicians and idlers muffled in their cloaks; hungry officers, in anxious expectation of a friend from whom they might borrow the money they want for a dinner, or some other real or imaginary necessity; women that sell oranges; mules and asses that carry loads of straw; water carriers, all natives of Galicia; blind ballad singers and beggars; the royal family in coaches and six, preceded and followed by detachments of cavalry; clergymen proceeding slowly to the beds of the dying; lancers of the royal guard marching to the sound of some of Rossini's airs.

Madrid is two thousand feet above the level of the sea. Its climate is healthful, the temperature rarely exceeding ninety degrees, in the summer, and thirty-two in winter; yet from the snow that covers the Guadarrama, the cold is often extremely severe. Several sentinels and laundresses were frozen during the winter which the author spent in Madrid. The interior of the houses is ill-accommodated for so low a temperature. Stoves are not in use; fire-places are found only in palaces and a few private houses; and the more general mode of heating by coals or olive kernels burning in a copper basin, upon which it is often necessary to recline in order to avoid a pinching cold, is excessively trying to persons liable to head-aches, and affords a sad substitute for the cheerful hearth. Cases of consumption are but too frequent, and the disease is, on the high table-land of New-Castile, swifter in its ravages than perhaps anywhere else upon earth.

The environs of Madrid afford few resources for daily necessities. There are no rivers or ponds to furnish the 150,000 inhabitants with fish, nor cultivated fields or gardens to provide them with fruit or grain to the extent they require. Fish are therefore brought on the backs of mules, from Biscay and Valencia, and the nearest point from which vegetables and fruit are sent to the capital is Aranjuez.

Of the eight thousand buildings which compose the Spanish metropolis, the largest and most splendid is the royal palace, almost built without any timber, and standing upon subterranean arches. "It consists of a hollow square, 470 feet on the outside, and 140 within. Within is a colonnade and gallery, running entirely round the square, and without, a judicious distribution of windows, cornices, and columns, unincumbered by redundant ornament, except, indeed, in the heavy balustrade which crowns the whole, and hides the leaden roof from view." We remember the time when this balustrade was decorated with a considerable number of noble marble statues. The principal staircase corresponds to the magnificence of the whole building, and the different ceilings are embellished in "fresco" by the pencils of

Mengs, Bayeux, Velazquez, and Giordano, whilst the apartments and the galleries are covered with the masterpieces of the Spanish, Flemish, and Italian schools of painting. The next remarkable specimens of architecture are the custom-house, the cabinet of natural history, the museum of artillery and that of armoury, which contains a collection of armour, singularly interesting to the student of Spanish history, and the ruins of the palace of Buen-Retiro.—146 religious buildings, including 62 convents; 18 hospitals, 13 colleges, 15 academies, 4 public libraries, 6 prisons, 2 theatres, 15 gates of granite, 85 squares and places, and 50 public fountains, beside the 8000 private dwellings, would not complete a statistical table of Madrid, were the splendid Prado and the botanic garden omitted. Of the former our author gives a very exact and most graphic description, heightened by vivid pictures of the various scenes of which it is the daily theatre, and of the dress, the manners, and the genius of a people which nowhere else, except at the bull-fights, discovers itself so much to an observer's eye. Too little is said respecting the botanic garden, in a work otherwise so just to the few endeavours of the Spanish government for the advancement of science. The same remark cannot be made in regard to the information it contains of the principal public library, an establishment not only very creditable to its founder, and interesting from the 200,000 volumes and the valuable manuscripts it contains, but exemplary for the excellent footing on which it has not ceased to be maintained, and the conveniences it affords to students. "This prosperity," says our author, "is doubtless owing to the library's drawing its support from sources which are independent of the necessities of the state. It is one of the many institutions which awaken the admiration of the stranger in Spain, as being at variance with the pervading decay."

The shortest extract of the description of the bull-fight would require more space than we have at our command. The author has brought into it somewhat of the animation of an "amateur;" and we do not remember having read anywhere a more minute or masterly account of that most characteristic amusement.

His remarks on dramatic performances in Spain, are correct and judicious. It is no wonder that the scenic art has made little progress in the country the most ungenerous and intolerant to its possessors. Actors are in Spain nearly on a level with bull-fighters and butchers. They are compelled to have a private burial place and chapel: they are deprived of the titles of Don and Doña given to almost every body except the lowest classes of males and females; and they are never seen in good company. Their morals are far from profiting by these exclusions. There existed, about twenty years ago, an actress by the name of Rita Luna, who from living more decently than most of her compa-

nions, from going regularly to mass and having but one "protector," was a sort of saint among them. The next individual of that class who was remarkable in another way, was Mayquez, of whom the author justly says that he had formed himself under the eye of Talma. Endeavouring to imitate that great master, he had the good taste to excel him by a more natural declamation, although he could never approach him in energy and fire, when extraordinary emotions required them. He had, however, the merit of reforming the Spanish theatre, which before his day was at least a century behind that of the rest of Europe. He first tore wigs from the heads of the Cæsars and the Brutuses, and introduced not only appropriate costumes but theatrical decorations. Without solid instruction of any kind, he did more for his profession than the most learned board would perhaps have accomplished under the direction of a Sheridan or Byron. He translated several comedies from the French, and awakened thereby a taste for the modern theatre, of which the enthusiastic admirers of the old Spanish dramatists complain bitterly. He ranged in point of reading far above the generality of his companions; the greatest number of whom, principally among the fair sex, can neither read nor write, and require the assistance of "studenti" to learn their parts. The following remarks on Spanish actresses, give at the same time some idea of the dramatic art in general, on the principal theatres of Spain.

"In private life, the Spanish females are remarkable for amiable attention to the courtesies of society, for tact in directing, and sprightliness in sustaining conversation, as for every thing that can give a charm to social intercourse. When they step upon the stage, they seem to leave all their fascination behind them. Their manner is by times inflated and unnatural; or else they exhibit symptoms of weariness, by looking round and gaping, or of a sense of ridicule, by exchanging a glance of recognition and a smile with an acquaintance in the audience. What can be less easily forgiven them, they are no longer young and beautiful, as in the days of Gil Blas and Laura, but have grown old, fat, and ugly. Can any thing be more repulsive, than to see a waddling, hackneyed old sinner, plead the cause of injured innocence and endangered chastity?"

"But no sooner," observes our author in a following passage, "is the tragedy over, and the men, throwing away cloak and sword, and kicking off the buskin, appear in the every-day garb of peasants, gypsies, and 'contrabandists;' and the women, laying aside their assumed and ill-worn look of innocence, step forth loosely and boldly as coquettes and courtesans, than the audience is at once lost to every thing but the reality of the scene. The jokes and equivoques call down the unremitting bursts of laughter; and the finale of breaking each other's heads with clubs of paper, is the signal for shouting and uproars amidst the dispersing audience. That the Spaniards should fail in tragedy, and succeed in farce, may clash with all those received notions of lofty bearing and Castilian gravity which the reader may have formed to himself."

We are the less able to follow the young American in his interesting excursions to Segovia, San-Ildefonso, and Toledo, as we have but few pages at our disposal for his still more important journey through Andalusia, and foresee that it will scarcely be possible for us to touch, on the present occasion, on the topics

of which he treats in his "General View of Spain." The reader will, however, we think, peruse with no less pleasure than ourselves, an animated description of three places so renowned for their peculiar grandeur and beauty, their historical associations, and the mention which is made of one of them in the most admirable picture of Spanish manners—the ever true "Gil Blas."

On leaving Madrid for Cadiz, our traveller passed a second time through Ocaña, the Valencia and Seville high roads being but one, for a distance of thirty-six miles, notwithstanding the situation of these two capitals in nearly opposite directions from the metropolis. Andalusians are no bad travelling companions, as the author observes, and more agreeable than Catalans and Valencians; but merely as long as none of their evil passions are awakened. From Ocaña he proceeded to Madrilejos, with an escort of four wild-looking troopers, and from thence to Puerto Lapiche, where Cervantes had his incomparable hero dubbed knight-errant; and here our young American was fated to be a second time stopped by robbers, and to lose the greatest part of his baggage. The conclusion of the story is too characteristic of the generosity which is often blended with the greatest wickedness in the soul of a Spanish robber, to be omitted, although we can merely allude to the incident:—

"Before the robbers departed, the postillion told Cacaruco, (the leader of the banditti,) that he had nothing in the world but the two horses, and that if he lost them he was a ruined man; he begged him at least to leave him the poorest of the two. After a short parley the request was granted, and then they moved off at a walk, talking and gesticulating, without once looking behind."

At Manzanares, the travellers met the daughter of the afore-said robber,—“an interesting girl of seven or eight, very neatly dressed, with a gold cross and rosary. The poor little thing, on seeing herself the object of general attention, slunk behind the door of the stable-yard, and kept out of sight.” It is not uncommon in Spain to find that the relations of a famous highwayman are well known, and that he continues in correspondence with them, without subjecting them to a very close “surveillance” of the police. The reason is, that robbery is commonly but a branch of smuggling, and that the latter is no disgraceful occupation in the eyes of the common people, who associate with it ideas of valour, and a sort of chivalrous character. “The poor man”—“el pobre,” or “el pobrecito,” will escape the purest lips, at the mention of the execution of such a worthy.

Shortly after issuing from the valley of the Tagus, the traveller found himself suddenly amidst precipices and chasms; so rapid is the ascent of the Sierra Morena. “At the Dispeniaperros—Pitch-off-Dogs, so called, for the abrupt and sudden nature of the declivity—the crags rose round us,” says he, “in such rug-

ged and hardy confusion, that when we looked back upon them their tops seemed connected overhead. Yet this wild region, which scarce furnishes a resting place for a scattering growth of pines and brambles, is traversed by one of the most safe and beautiful roads in the world."

"The road of Dispeniaperros was constructed in the time of the good king Charles III., by M. Le Mauv, a French engineer, and is a noble triumph of art over the obstacles of nature. The difficulty of its execution may be estimated from the number of its bridges, which, large and small, amount to four hundred. Yet the road is nowhere so steep as to require the chaining of a wheel in the descent even of a heavy diligence, or to occasion inconvenience and danger to the team and passengers; a rare merit in a mountain highway, which may not always be said of the celebrated Simplon. To gain such a result over a piece of ground which has merited the name of Dispeniaperros, required infinite art. Sometimes the road follows the course of a torrent, until, met full in the face by some impassable barrier, it crosses to the opposite bank, over a yawning chasm, spanned by a single hardy arch; sometimes its way is forced by explosion into the side of a crag, and the shattered rocks assume a new asperity; sometimes, an arched slope is run along the edge of a nearly perpendicular cliff, clinging to the inequalities of the precipice by a tenure so slight, that it seems unequal to support the weight of the mason work, much less of the loaded diligence, the mules, and the passengers, who are only separated by a low barrier from a deep abyss, where a fall would lead to many deaths. It rained hard as we passed through this wild region, and the bottoms of the ravines were every where torn by torrents, which often dashed through bridges beneath the road, covering it with their spray. The rain did not, however, hinder me from stretching my neck from the window to gaze, now at the rugged and saw-like crests of the overhanging mountains, rending the heavy clouds as they rushed furiously by; now, at the deep ravine below, white with the foam of the dashing water; or, at the well soaked mules and muleteers, that might be distinctly seen at no great distance from us, toiling up the weary side of the mountain, and turning, first to the right hand, then to the left, as the road made angles to overcome the declivity. Sometimes, we appeared to be coming towards them, and they towards us, with inconceivable rapidity, passing and repassing many times, the intervening rocks and trees seeming likewise to partake of the celerity of our motion, and the whole landscape changing at every step."

At Carolina, which our author says might serve as a model to all village-makers in the world, he could not help being struck with the contrast of the lamentable fate of its founder, and the lasting benefit he has bestowed upon his country. Olavide, one of Spain's most patriotic sons, died a fugitive, and, in the opinion of the Inquisition, disgraced and branded for ever, whereas the Alpine region of Spain should be crowned with his statues, and daily resound with praises for his successful exertions to benefit his country.

Baylen, the next halting place, lies at the foot of the mountains. On approaching it, the traveller has no reason to complain of a decrease of loveliness in the scenery, in comparison with the preceding district, and on advancing further he at length reaches the pasturages watered and embellished by the Guadalquivir. The author found them covered with horses, sheep, and oxen, and the men who tended them singing wild melodies. "This, then," exclaims he, "was the Betis of the Phœ-

nicians, the Carthagenians, and the Romans, the Guadalquivir of the Arab and the Castilian. Can we wonder that they should have sung its praises boastingly; that they should have fought hard for its possession?"

Travelling through a splendid country, to which historical recollections and the kindling animation of the inhabitants gave incessantly additional charms, the author passed through Andujar towards Cordova. This capital of the province or kingdom of the same name, stands on the right bank of the Guadalquivir, at the foot of the Sierra Morena, and amidst meadows, orchards, and plantations of wheat, vine, oranges, and olives. Agriculture ought, perhaps, to be in a still more prosperous condition, where nature has so lavishly dispersed her gifts, if the softness of the climate were not one of the reasons, and almost an apology, for the carelessness with which the inhabitants leave her bounties comparatively unimproved. It is right to censure institutions which paralyse national industry; but yet the government, while by maintaining them it neglects its own interests, and forgets its primary duties, might, if they were abolished, still find it difficult to change into Swiss agriculturists, or Birmingham manufacturers, a people having a glorious sun to warm them, instead of Newcastle coals, and who in lieu of the expensive comforts of the meanest workmen in England, need only a piece of bread, an onion or a few olives, and a cigar, to consider themselves not much inferior to the lords upon whose land they are settled, and to whose income they contribute, rather with the ready productions of nature, than with the fruit of painful exertions.

We recommend to our readers the author's retrospective view of Cordova, under the domination of the Romans and the Arabs. Much historical information, and many judicious remarks, are there condensed in a few pages.

The walls which encircle Cordova, are the accumulated work of almost all the nations who have successively ruled Spain; and the most splendid structure which they inclose, is also a compound of the tastes and religious rites of different ages and different climes. The present cathedral had been a mosque, the rival of the Caaba of Mecca in splendour and sanctity; and four hundred columns, ranged in twenty-nine parallel rows, of different forms and thickness, and of different materials, such as granite, serpentine, porphyry, jasper, and marbles of every colour, are but fragments of the former magnificence of this Arab temple. Triumphant Christianity has been content to erect, in the midst of this sculptured forest, an immense Gothic choir and some chapels. A spacious garden, planted with large orange trees, and inclosing several fountains of gushing water, serves as a vestibule. It is no wonder that our author caught the inspiration of such splendid monuments of human gratitude towards

God, whether from Saracens or Catholics, in the account he gives of his own feelings at the celebration of mass within the cathedral.

Nor are we surprised that he was much struck at the first sight of a palm tree. As we have ourselves often wandered in the neighbourhood of Alicante, in the mild evenings of April, we have been almost irresistibly attracted by a few of those noble trees, which impress the imagination with something greater, more mysterious, and nearer to the origin of mankind, than any thing that is found out of Asia and Africa; and we could sensibly participate in the emotions of Abderahman, when he exclaimed, in the words quoted by our author—"Beautiful palm tree! thou art, like me, a stranger in this land; but thy roots find a friendly and a fertile soil; thy head rises into a genial atmosphere; and the balmy west breathes kindly among thy branches. Thou hast nothing to fear from evil fortune; whilst I am ever exposed to its treachery!"

The Arabs understood the climate of Spain, in making narrow streets and projecting roofs the means of procuring shade; and they had not to regret the inconveniences of an architecture imported from a damp, foggy, and cold country.

A visit to a hermitage situate in the last range of the Sierra Morena, at the distance of five miles from Cordova, induces the author to express, as he had done on many previous occasions, his unprejudiced judgment in regard to the customs of Spain. "These humble brethren," says he, "do not live by the toil of their fellow men, but eat only the fruits of their own labour. Their wants, indeed, are all reduced to the narrowest necessities of nature. It may be that their piety is a mistaken one, but it certainly must be sincere; and if they add little to their own happiness, they certainly take nothing from the happiness of others."

As he advanced, he found the more to admire. On reaching the summit of a hill, he beheld the Genil, and beyond the bridge which spans that river so often sung in animated verse, Ecija, once a border fortress between the Moors and Christians, and at present chiefly spoken of on account of a band of highwaymen who call themselves the "Thirteen Little Ones of Ecija." Contenting themselves with simple robbery, they endeavour to pacify their consciences, and to ensure their persons, by dividing their spoils with a convent and the magistrates of the neighbouring villages. At least, so says loose report.

Carmona, the next considerable town, reposes on the summit of a mountain from which the fertile valley of the Guadalquivir is seen to great advantage. On a closer examination, the effects of a want of population, and the evil consequences of the political system on agriculture, become, however, but too visible. On a nearer approach to Seville, the condition of the country is

considerably better, and Granada or Valencia alone excels it in cultivation and fertility. Wheat of the best quality, abundance of oil and precious minerals, might indeed be sufficient to give it a high rank among the fairest portions of the earth.

Seville lies chiefly on the left bank of the Guadalquivir, and with its splendid cathedral, its alcazar, and the surrounding gardens, the lonja or exchange, principally interesting on account of the documents relating to America which it contains, and with a countless number of churches, convents, and other public edifices, may deservedly be called one of the most noble cities of Europe, although the time is long gone by, when it was the exclusive depot of the commercial relations between the new and the old world.

Under the Arab domination, the population of this capital was rated at 400,000 souls; it scarcely amounts now to 100,000. Of the manufactories which once contributed to its wealth and importance, no other considerable trace remains than 2500 silk looms; and as for commerce, it is reduced to a small trade with some Spanish ports.

Ferdinand Columbus has left a noble memorial of his zeal for the art to which the discoverer of the new world owes his immortality, by the marine academy, still flourishing in the outskirts of Seville. The great defect of this establishment seems to be, that the theory of navigation is supposed to be sufficiently aided in practice by a little mock frigate suspended upon a pivot, which the young men are taught to tack and veer, and that no exercises on ship-board are instituted to initiate them more truly in the management of a vessel. In the school of practice at Toulon also, they have nothing but a ship moored head and stern, and at Amsterdam sea voyages are mimicked on the tops of trees. The young American betrays, in some remarks on a sounder combination of theory and practice in the study of navigation, his more than common acquaintance with the subject. But as long as he prefers an incognito so unnecessary for the safety of his reputation as an author, he may be sure of our discretion in not seeking to confirm our surmises, and much less to alarm his modesty.

Three sorts of architecture are combined in the famous cathedral of Seville, which contains 83 altars, in an extent of 420 feet by 260. Its tower, the giralda, is of Arabic construction, and rises to an elevation of 364 feet. For ascending it there is a spiral staircase without steps, the inclination of which is such, that to walk up costs no more fatigue than to mount a gentle hill. On the top is a colossal brass statue, representing Faith, which performs the unbecoming office of a weathercock. On the gallery at the top of the tower, Alonzo de Ojeda performed the feat recorded in Washington Irving's *Life of Columbus*. "The view

from this immense elevation is necessarily a fine one; the huge cathedral below, and round about it the city with its many churches, its hundred convents, its alcazar and amphitheatre; without these, the ancient walls and time-worn turrets of Hispalis; the masts, yards, and streamers of the vessels in port, and the leafy promenades that offer shade and shelter for the daily and nightly exercises of the Sevillians, and in the remoter portions of the panorama, a vast tract of level country, traversed by the winding Guadalquivir; all combine to furnish a delightful picture."

The inhabitants of Seville are as renowned in Spain for their lightheartedness and their appetite for pleasure, as the Cordovas for their rusticity. They are "eternal scratchers of the guitar, and danciers of the waltz and *bolero*."

"There are a variety of pleasant promenades," continues our author, "in and about the city.—You may wander through the orange grove of the old Alcazar; or cross over to Triana and take a look at the convent of the silent Cartusians; or, following the receding tide, as it floats along the quay, you may mingle amid the motley group of sailors and landsmen there assembled, until you pause to contemplate the famous Golden Tower; a venerable pile which has in like manner been looked on by Sertorius and by Cæsar. And then, as you proceed, you may chance to discover some naked people bathing, or walking along the bank of the river in their snug-setting suit of buff. Or, perhaps, a group of females—haply the same chaste nymphs of the Guadalquivir invoked by the bard of Gonsalvo. Thence, turning back upon the Betis, you may seek the shade of the neighbouring *alameda*. Here you find a throng of soldiers, citizens, and peasants; with priests and friars, no longer so grave as in Madrid and Toledo; perhaps, too, a light-hearted Frenchman from the garrison at Cadiz, who has come in search of a little amusement, moving about as if he had lived all his life at Seville, and already on the best terms in the world with some dozen of newly-made acquaintances; or else, an Englishman from Gibraltar, who has come to see the Holy Week, and sneer at papistical degradation; buttoned to the chin in his military frock, between which and his slouched foraging cap, he looks defiance upon the multitude. Here, too, are hosts of gracious Sevillanas, with pretty nurses not a few; and groups of boys and girls following in the train of their parents, with each a woolly white dog, or a pet-lamb adorned with bells and ribbons, and accommodated with a pair of mimic panniers, which the little ones load with grass, and thus make their favourite carry home his own supper. I have nowhere seen such a fondness for this little animal—emblem of innocence—as in Seville; it is quite as common an inmate of the house as a dog, and it is by no means rare to see a full-sized merino, thus grown up in family favour, following its master about the streets to his daily avocations. This simple bias would go far to intimate, and indeed to produce an amenity of disposition, difficult to reconcile with a taste for the sanguinary sports of the arena. Whilst the children, caring little for the thoughts of others, abandon themselves without restraint to the frolic of their disposition, the full-grown, on the contrary, scarce seem to live for themselves. With them, all is deference, courtesy, and submission, on the one side, met by a winning display of charms, of graces, and fascination. Little do these happy mortals remember that the ground which they now tread with so free a step has been stained by the crimes of Peter the Cruel; has heard the reproaches of the murdered Abu-Said, or rung with the wailings of Doña Urraca de Orsorio!"

"I had come to Seville," says he, "with expectations greatly raised, and had met in some measure with disappointment. Instead of the delightful situation of Cordova, the at once protecting and cooling neighbourhood of the Sierra Morena, and the pleasing alternation of hill and dale that there meet the eye;

here, if you except a highland in the direction of *Itálica*, the surrounding country is flat and marshy; which, in connexion with its partially drained and poorly cultivated condition, furnishes the fruitful source of fevers. Indeed, were it not for the thousand interesting associations that hover over *Hispalis* and *Seville*; had not *San Fernando* taken the city, and *Peter the Cruel* delivered *Leonor de Guzman* into the hands of his mother and her rival, and stabbed the Moor, and burnt *Doña Mozacca*; had *Algeber* forgotten to build the *Giralda*, and *Ojeda* to stand upon it with one leg, whilst he flourished the other in the air for the gratification of *Isabella*; I would not give a pin to have seen it. But it ill becomes the merchant to speak disparagingly of his merchandise, or the voyager to undervalue his; so I will even send the untraveller reader away regretful and envious, by quoting an old proverb quite common in Spain:—

‘He who hath not *Seville* seen,
Hath not seen strange things, I ween.’

‘*Quien no ha visto Sevilla,
No ha visto Maravilla.*’ ”

The author departed from *Seville* in the only steam-boat that exists in the country which claims the honour of its invention. Built in *England*, and possessing the most essential requisites of comfort, it is, nevertheless, less elegant than those which adorn our rivers. The banks of the *Guadalquivir*, below *Seville*, are level, and almost entirely uncultivated and deserted.

To all appearance, *Cadiz* will in regard to commercial activity, never be again what it was, before the wars consequent on the French revolution, and principally before the insurrection of the Spanish colonies; and it will perhaps never be so great a focus of political and social movements, as during its siege by the troops of *Napoleon*, and the residence of the *Cortes* of 1812 and 1813 within its walls. At that epoch, a large portion of the highest aristocracy had taken refuge in *Cadiz*, and although their temporary embarrassments compelled them to restrain their ostentatious habits, they nevertheless imparted a sort of patrician refinement, new to the ordinary society of *Cadiz*. A diplomatic corps, at the head of which was a brother of the great reconqueror of Spain, not inferior to him in nobleness and frankness of manners—a constant succession of generals and distinguished foreigners—and a national assembly composed of representatives of the Spanish possessions in the four parts of the world, formed a mass of actors not altogether unworthy of the drama under performance. Amid the thunder of the enemy’s artillery, the cortes enacted laws so fundamental, that it might have seemed that the Spanish monarchy was lying not on a precipice but in a cradle, and so dangerous to the sovereignty of Spain in *America*, that the reformers were perhaps secretly as much detested by the merchants of *Cadiz*, as the foe who bombarded the vaults which in happier times harboured the treasures of the new world. Under such circumstances, there was certainly a great and unwholesome excitement; but at the same time, a festive disposition and scenes of pleasure assuaged so successfully the contest of opinions

and the clash of opposing interests, that this scene of danger and of bitter discord leaves on the whole many agreeable impressions upon the memory of those who either played a part in that memorable drama or were merely spectators.

Our author found Cadiz enlivened by the presence of a French army, which had come with a very different object from that of Napoleon. The revolution of France has made, as it were, of Europe, a chess-board, and of the nations which inhabit it, the pieces with which the game is played. The revolutionary and anti-revolutionary principles have successively moved in mutual opposition, now the white—now the red king: and thus it has happened, that, while from 1812 to 1814, French troops fought in Spain for the last results of the political commotions of their own country, they returned thither in 1821 to extinguish similar ones. But the character and the disposition of the French soldier are always the same, and are strikingly described by the author.

“They are the soul of the theatres, the public walks, and the coffee houses, where soldiers and officers meet as on a neutral ground, captains going with captains, lieutenants with their equals, and corporals with corporals, and where of whatever grade they are equally conspicuous for correct deportment and civility. I have often been amused with the conversation of the common soldiers and sub-officers. Sometimes they admire the beauty of a female whom they have just passed, or who is walking before them, speaking critically of whatever is pleasing and lovely in her face or figure, and talking, perhaps purposely, in a high whisper, that they may be overheard, as if by accident, by the object of their admiration—not so loud as to embarrass, yet just loud enough to please and flatter. Sometimes, too, and much oftener, they talk about the prospects of war, and gaining glory and advancement; the corporal declaims upon *la tactique militaire*, and sighs for *quelque peu de promotion*, the height of his present ambition being to win the half silver epaulette of the serjeant major, or to become a sub-lieutenant, and reach the first step above the rank of *sous officier*. Even in their cups and revelry these light-hearted fellows continue to amuse; and when sometimes they sit too long over the hardy wines of Spain, forgetting that they have not to deal with the *petits vins* of their province, instead of passing insults, which among them can never be washed away except by blood, instead of pulling out their swords, or belabouring each other with their fists, which they never do, whether drunk or sober; they seem, on the contrary, overcome with a rare kindness, and the most drunken fellow of the company is taken with the fancy of assisting his companions in this their helpless condition. Should a sudden reel of this officious assistant, or the twisting of his spur or sabre, bring a whole group to the ground, instead of coming to blows they laugh at the accident, and fall to hugging and kissing each other. Hardly and intrepid upon the field of battle, the social sentiment is strong in the breast of the Frenchman—frank, generous, and loyal, he is a stranger to jealousy and suspicion; he is ever ready to give his hand to a friend, and lay his heart at the feet of the nearest fair one.”

Though Cadiz is not, as the author calls it, one of the handsomest cities in the world—(by the by a rare instance of hyperbole, less consonant to the general manner of the author than to the taste of the country he describes,) it is certainly one of the neatest. The walk on the rampart is very inferior to the “battery” at New-York. But the houses are better adapted to the climate than those of the “London of America.”

"They are built in the style which was introduced by the Arabs, and is now general throughout Spain; being of two stories, with a square in the centre, and a double gallery supported on columns of marble running round the interior. In summer an awning is spread over the area of this square, and being wet from time to time, the place is always kept cool. The sun is never permitted to enter this pleasant retreat, where the evening 'tertulia' is held; where the chocolate is served, and the lover is admitted to touch his guitar, and pour out his passion in the eloquence of song, or to listen to a sweeter melody, and catch the spirit of wit and merriment from the frolic sallies of some bewitching Gaditana. The windows on the street reach from the ceiling to the tile floor, so as to leave a free passage to the air. Each has a balcony furnished with a green veranda, through the lattices of which you may sometimes catch sight of a fair tenant sitting amidst plants and flowers, covering a handkerchief with the elaborate embroidery which the Spanish ladies love, whilst the rose, the geranium, and the lavender, encompass her with perfumes, and the canary which hangs above, pleased with a climate kindly as his own, keeps constantly greeting her with his song."

Here we must stop in our extracts from the work before us. The passages we have transcribed from it will enable our readers to form some opinion of the merits of its style. Such narratives as those of the first highway-robbery committed upon him, and of the bull-fights, we could not have refrained from quoting also, if we had not seen them in many of the newspapers. We recommend his work as one of the best accounts of a considerable portion of Spain, and as a most entertaining mixture of useful and novel information, of pleasing pictures, and of incidents at once true, and tinged with a romantic colouring. The difficulties he has encountered in procuring a publisher, are not always "ominous of evil," as he seems to apprehend; and although, certainly, books have their fates like man, and the best are sometimes treated the worst, we trust that he will be agreeably undeceived, and have reason to be as much satisfied with the reading portion of his countrymen, as he has a right to be with himself in the character of an author. We beg him to empty his portfolio, if the unpublished portions of his narrative equal that which we have read twice with pleasure in a short time.

We cannot however conclude, without inviting the author to correct, in a future edition, a few errors, rather surprising in so sedulous an inquirer, and which must have escaped his pen in the heat of a rapid composition. The present king of Spain was not married to two sisters in succession, as the author states, (p. 381,) for his first wife was a princess of Naples, and his second, the much lamented Maria Isabel de Braganza. Nor did the queen, who has recently died, need to be "anxious to expiate the former heresy of her family and herself, by every species of self-denial and mortification," (p. 133.) The royal dynasty of Saxony professes the Roman Catholic religion, although the Protestant creed prevails among the Saxons. There are a few other similar mistakes, which the author will easily detect in revising his work.

ART. VII.—EDUCATION.

- 1.—*Chapter XV. of the first part of the proposed revision of the Statute Laws of the State of New-York.* Albany: Crosswell and Van Benthuyssen. 1827. 8vo. pp. 72.
- 2.—*A General View of the present System of public Education in France, and of the Laws, Regulations, and Courses of Studies in the different Faculties, Colleges, and inferior Schools which now compose the Royal University of that Kingdom; preceded by a short History of the University of Paris, before the Revolution.* By DAVID JOHNSON M. D. Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 8vo. pp. 244.

EDUCATION is the noblest and most important subject that can engage the attention of the lawgiver. It lies, in truth, at the basis of the whole social system. It affects not only the individual happiness, the character, and the usefulness of those who are its objects, but exerts a most powerful and irresistible influence upon the government, the laws, and the liberties of communities. No nation, when the majority of the people is well educated, can remain enslaved; no nation, when the great mass is ignorant, can retain its freedom. In proportion to the general intelligence will be the force, the wealth, and the influence of a state; and it will be respected in the exact ratio of the instructed talent that it can bring into its negotiations.

The government of those ancient nations which either obtained lasting power, or earned a reputation that has preserved their memory, paid the most sedulous attention to the education of their youth. It was indeed conducted upon far different principles from those which would be advisable at the present day; the means by which the mind was exercised in order to imbue it with practical wisdom were different, and the development of the physical faculties, in a state of frequent and savage warfare, was as important as the cultivation of the intellect. Education was consequently longer in attaining what we might consider as the mere elements, but from the very exertion of mind and body which it demanded, it produced a higher degree of intellectual energy than the same nominal acquirements are ever attended with in modern days. Athens and Rome may be quoted as having, each in its own particular direction, excelled in their systems of education. Each acquired the object of its peculiar system. The one still gives laws to the literary world, the other regulates the jurisprudence of civilized man. The first, while it did not discourage the warlike virtues, but taught how to defend the liberties the people enjoyed, was applied most peculiarly to the

cultivation of the taste. The tragedies of *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*, were the amusement, not of a privileged class, but of the populace of Athens, and the meanest frequenter of the market was a skilful critic in the delicacies of their polished dialect. In the other, the citizen was qualified to bear himself with honour in every possible species of public business; the road to public trust required the exercise of the various qualifications of soldier, accountant, judge, legislator, and general, and we rarely find an instance of the entire absence of the qualifications necessary for these apparently incongruous avocations. Some of the instances indeed at once strike us with surprise, as in the case of *Cicero*, who although qualified, as a general view of his character would at first seem to show, for any thing rather than a military man, nevertheless acquired the highest praise that soldiers could confer on their commander, being saluted by them *Imperator*. Such versatility in the application of talent, could be only obtained, as a general rule, by a proper education. The same mind, however powerful, is rarely fitted for greatness in more than one direction; but by an education various and comprehensive in its views, inculcating the necessity of exertion and habituating to labour, it may be rendered efficient in whatever business it is engaged. In modern times, the division of labour is carried to a vast extent; in some cases so far as to reduce the human body to a mere machine. Such machines are useful to their employers, and add to the general wealth; but they are not entitled to the rank or privileges of free agents, unless they be animated by an intelligence that will suffice for their own direction. Such are the *operatives* of Europe, but such never will be the *operatives* of the United States, unless the fatal system of giving no more of education than will just qualify for the course of life chosen for the party, should prevail among us.

We regret to say, that we begin to see strong indications of a belief, that more of learning than will suffice for the pursuits prescribed by parents and guardians, or than is absolutely demanded in the exercise of the contemplated profession, is worse than useless. We have heard of divines who have deprecated the use of mere human learning in their scholars; physicians sneered at by their more ignorant fellows, because they were chemists and zoologists; lawyers less patronised because scholars; merchants who refused to admit liberally educated young men as their clerks; and parents who prohibited the study of mathematics to boys intended for the counting-house. The great cry in considering systems of education, is *cui bono*; the ends are constantly mistaken for the means; and it is universally forgotten that elementary education is far less intended to qualify for any specific pursuit, than to give that development of mental powers and energy, which may lead to usefulness in almost any, and

lay the foundation of greatness in that for which the peculiar bent of the genius is calculated.

Of such objections as we have mentioned, ignorance is the great cause. No one who has studied the mathematics can fail to have remarked the improvement of those of his powers which are adapted for mercantile life; no one who has watched the manner in which duty is performed, by those who are in possession of mental resources to fill their hours of idleness, and by those who must, for want of other objects of interest, apply their waste time to dissipation, would hesitate between an educated and an ignorant clerk. Who that has compared the close and pertinent reasoning of the well educated and learned barrister, with the frothy declamation of ignorance, could hesitate which to choose for his counsel? Who that knows the powerful effect of chemical affinities upon the substances employed as remedies, and the vast complexity of the human machine, would intrust his life to the physician who could not judge for himself of the chemical, physical, and even mechanical principles on which the success of his practice must be founded? And finally, what harm will not he do to the cause of religion, whose diction and pronunciation are barbarous and inelegant, whose taste is gross from a want of acquaintance with classic models, who will oppose his own interpretation of a text, or even that of his church, to the facts which the study of the great book of nature is every day bringing to the confirmation and support of revelation?

There is none of these errors so fatal as the last, inasmuch as it affects more than temporal concerns. Spiritual teachers must keep pace with the learning and improvement of the age, or they will become the sources and the propagators of infidelity. No simple circumstance can cause in an unreflecting mind, such a doubt of divine truth, as to hear its texts cited in opposition to facts susceptible of demonstration by mathematical reasoning, or of indisputable proof from inductive evidence. Whatever forced construction the ingenuity of man and the authority of churches may have put upon scriptural passages, their real meaning has never, nor ever can be, at variance with mathematical or physical truth. Yet when churchmen are behind the knowledge of the age in which they live, they cannot fail to array, what they may fancy to be the meaning of scripture, in opposition to the discoveries of science. The famous sentence passed against Galileo, is perhaps the most marked instance of this, and it tended more to the promotion of infidelity than the exertions of all the professed sceptics who have ever lived. The present age has witnessed a contest of the same sort; some of the most enlightened men and best christians have been stigmatized as infidels, for believing that they found in the earth itself clear proofs of an existence far more remote than the received construction of

the Pentateuch would permit; and we have ourselves heard scriptural texts, in the usual construction, urged to refute a proposition susceptible of no other than physical evidence. As, however, the most able commentators on Newton were to be found among the catholic clergy, so in the present day churchmen have been seen to aid in the improvement of geology, and the salvo with which the former, in a less enlightened age, were compelled to open their commentary, has not been necessary to be repeated by the latter.

The governments of modern Europe have only recently made public education an important object of their attention. Its interests and its management had indeed become vested in separate hands. The downfall of the Roman empire, and the universal extension of the government of illiterate barbarians, left none but a few ecclesiastics who retained any tincture of letters. To them would necessarily be confided the management of the little education which the state of the times demanded. What thus accidentally fell to the disposal of the church, was claimed by it in after times as a right; the complete supremacy over all literary and scientific institutions was arrogated by the Pope, and even admitted to belong to him for a succession of ages; universities became governments independent of the nation in which they were placed, and amenable only to a foreign rule.

However repugnant such a state of things may have been to our ideas at the present day, it was not without great advantages at the time. The church was the only road to preferment open to the mass of the people, and hence formed a most powerful barrier to the oppression of the feudal nobles. In the contests that grew out of this state of things, intellect and education were sure to triumph in the end over brute force, and every victory gained by the church added to the privileges of the serf. Finally, however, the church itself grew too powerful, and its privileges became the means of an oppression under which even crowned heads were compelled to bow.

Yet while we may blame the severe and iron rule of the church, for a few ages preceding the reformation, we must bear our testimony to the liberal and enlightened manner in which its vast wealth was applied to purposes of acknowledged utility, or magnificence, which if not directly was at least indirectly advantageous to the community. When the traveller in Europe pauses to admire the splendid and beautiful edifices, to which the presumptuous ignorance of a later age applied as a term of reproach the epithet Gothic; when he inquires into the munificent endowments of universities and schools of learning, he is referred back for the history of their foundation to the munificent spirit of the Catholic priesthood. In England in particular, where the donations of ancient times are more religiously pre-

served than in any other country, ministers and churches, colleges and schools, still bear testimony to this fact. Of all the religious edifices of the first class, but one cathedral refers for its erection to a recent date; and of the many colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, but one is posterior to the reformation. Can it be, that the celibacy of the clergy, by doing away the necessity of providing for a family, left them more free to pursue the dictates of public duty? When the reformation abrogated in some countries, and weakened in all, the authority of the court of Rome, it did not serve to emancipate education from ecclesiastical control. In some respects churchmen are perhaps better suited than any other class for the profession of teachers; to convey instruction to every capacity is in fact the very object of the institution of a separate body for the ministry of the church, and the same learning and talent that will do this successfully in spiritual concerns, must qualify them in no small degree for temporal instructors. Still, however, in the multiplied disputes which have been awakened on all points of doctrine and discipline, churchmen have become so ardent in polemics, as to diminish in no small degree their usefulness when employed as teachers. Holding exclusive possession of colleges and schools of learning, they have either directly or indirectly excluded from them those of tenets different from their own. To counterbalance this influence, in countries where sufficient toleration existed, different sects have each established their own seminaries, and these have become nurseries of dissension and religious controversy. Learning, instead of producing its natural effect of lessening the violence of temper, has been converted into the instrument of furious discussion.

England furnishes a marked instance of this species of intolerance. Her two great universities, with their vast revenues and patronage, are wholly at the disposal of the established church; and not merely does it engross all the pecuniary part of the endowments, but all dissenters are excluded, even from admission as pupils, by tests of such character as they cannot in conscience subscribe. So also are all the endowed grammar schools taught exclusively by clergymen of the established church; and if the *shibboleth* is not there applied as in the universities, still the fear of an improper exertion of the natural influence of preceptor over pupil, keeps away the children even of Protestant dissenters. The abilities, the intelligence, and the learning of these teachers are not to be disputed, but that is a bad system which confines the usefulness of such men to one sect, numerous though it be in comparison with the others.

The circumstances under which our own country was settled, as well as the spirit of the age, led to a similar state of things. The more ancient colleges of the United States are still to be distinguished by the tenets of their founders, as Catholic, Anglican,

or Presbyterian. And it is to be regretted, that although legislative provisions have been framed to diminish their sectarian character, it is in many cases retained, and that in newer institutions, and in new states, public patronage has been extended to institutions avowedly intended to subserve a partial object. The principle which *should* govern in such cases, appears to be a clear one. No obstacle ought to be interposed to prevent the endowment of schools and colleges by any sect whatsoever, provided they be calculated to maintain the proper standard of liberal education; but *public* patronage should be given to those alone that can be resorted to by the *public* without distinction of rank or sect.

Elementary education being thus left in Christian countries under the administration of the church, was modified in them according to the spirit of the peculiar form that ecclesiastical influence assumed. In Switzerland, in Scotland, in Holland, and among the settlers of New-England, a lay influence was felt, and even predominated occasionally. Hence the institutions assumed more of a lay character than would have been tolerated where a hierarchy bore uncontrolled sway. In all these countries, laymen of the requisite talents and learning aspired to be professors of universities. But the most marked effect of the lay influence was to be found in the establishment of a system of public schools, accessible to every condition of the inhabitants. The effects of these institutions on the condition of the respective countries, can hardly be appreciated at the present day; we see the positive results indeed, but we cannot even imagine the miseries prevented. In Scotland, for instance, where a narrow and sterile territory and unfavourable climate seemed almost to forbid any hope of an improvement in the condition of the poor, there existed a population so destitute, and so abandoned to crime, that the best patriot of that country considered the introduction of domestic slavery as the only possible remedy. In less than half a century, that dissolute and degraded population was extinguished by the prevalence of education, and replaced by one more orderly, more happy, than any in Europe, and in which poors' rates and mendicity were both unknown.*

The close of the eighteenth century, fertile in revolutions of every description, has done much to extend the blessings of education. Those who at first opposed, have been compelled to join in promoting the great cause, and an improvement by which the expense of instruction is much diminished, will render the elements of learning accessible to all. We refer to the system of mutual instruction, which may in truth be considered as a labour

* The effect of education on morals may be illustrated by the fact, that since public schools were instituted in the city of New-York, no person educated in them has ever been convicted of a crime.

saving machine, valuable from the rapidity and ease with which its work is performed, and therefore admirably suited for communities previously devoid of the means of instruction. Here, however, its value we conceive rests. Practised from time immemorial in comparatively rude nations, it formed of itself the barrier to their progress; it will teach to read, to write, and to perform simple calculations, but it can never make scholars, or qualify properly for the task of instruction even by its own methods. Miraculous in its effect on the ignorant and debased populace of the great towns of France and England, it failed in Scotland and Switzerland, where adequate means of a better kind were already provided at the public expense, and where an improvement in the quality of education was more to be desired than a diminution of its cost. The system of mutual instruction may be employed to the greatest advantage in the lowest elementary branches of education; the order and discipline that are essential to its application, may be a most useful adjunct as the education advances to higher objects; but the personal care and close superintendence of numerous intelligent teachers will be as necessary as ever, if accuracy of knowledge and purity of taste be sought; and their place can never be filled by monitors chosen from the scholars themselves. To teach successfully, requires an acquaintance not only with the subject taught, but with all collateral branches of learning, and with those of a higher order, to which the study itself is to serve as an introduction.

Education has not only become more generally diffused since the close of the last century, but has attracted the attention of all enlightened governments, who have at last seen the necessity of taking the interests of the rising generation into their own hands, instead of abandoning it to those who seek either their own personal emolument, or the promotion of sectarian views. In France in particular, more has been done to place education upon a proper footing, than in any European country; and a corresponding success has attended these efforts, in giving to the literary and scientific institutions of that country, a character higher than is borne by those of any other.

The University of Paris, which was merged in the new order of things, is perhaps the most ancient in Europe, and is the mother of nearly all the others that were successively founded, and adorned by the talents of men formed in this venerable school. Its rise may be dated from the reign of Charlemagne, about the close of the eighth century; and from this era a succession of teachers can be traced, until the university assumed the form of a powerful and privileged corporation. This was rendered necessary by the rapid increase of the numbers of the students, in order to keep up the regularity and obedience indispensable to its welfare. The grants of privileges were principally made by

Louis VII., and his son Philip Augustus. They were so great as to encroach on those of the monarch, and give the university an existence independent of the state. It was exempted from the royal jurisdiction, permitted to choose its own authorities, and to administer justice for itself. These privileges were obtained from Philip Augustus, in consequence of an affray between the citizens of Paris and the members of the university, in which some of the latter lost their lives; and were extorted by the fear that the teachers would quit the city, and transfer their useful labours to other countries.

At an early period in the history of the University of Paris, we find it divided into four nations. A nation was composed of teachers professing all the liberal arts taught in the university, and of those enrolled as their students, and living under the same statutes and governments. It consisted of persons of the same country, who, whatever might be the nature of their studies and pursuits, joined in forming one body, were governed by laws framed and authorities chosen by themselves, and occupied buildings and pursued a mode of life confined to their own company. Each nation had at its head an officer called procurator; the four procurators chose the rector, and formed his ordinary council.

The institution of separate faculties was of a date far later than that of nations. The faculty of theology was the first of these. It arose from an attempt on the part of the Dominican friars to institute a professorship of theology. This attempt was supported by the bishop of Paris, and the example was followed by the Franciscans. The university itself made the most strenuous opposition, and both parties applied to the head of the church. The claim of the regular clergy was sustained by the Popes Innocent IV. and Alexander IV., who, finding the rector and nations resolute in their opposition, finally commanded them to submit, under pain of incurring the censures of the church. The secular teachers of theology, who had favoured the claims of the monks, soon joined themselves with them in a separate body or faculty, at the head of which was placed a dean. Faculties of medicine and of the canon law were speedily formed upon the same model. From this time, the four nations were much curtailed in their privileges, although they still maintained their four voices in the council, which, when united, gave a majority over the deans of the three faculties. The style of the "Faculty of Arts," was gradually attributed to the teachers and procurators of the four nations. Their duties became limited to those preparatory studies necessary to entering upon the courses of either of the other faculties.

The colleges forming a part of the University of Paris, were at first merely public dwellings for the students, who were conducted by their governors to the public lectures; they afterwards

became schools, and finally divided among themselves the labour of instruction in the different branches of knowledge. These colleges grew at last to be the great support of the university, from which they in return derived splendour and influence.

At the commencement of the thirteenth century, the University of Paris was in the most flourishing condition; students crowded to it from all parts of Europe, in numbers almost beyond belief, and which have been stated by cotemporary authorities as high as 30,000. At this time a dispute occurred with Blanche, regent of the kingdom during the absence of her husband St. Louis. In consequence of this, the greater number of the students and teachers left Paris, and dispersed themselves throughout Europe. They not only founded rival schools in the provinces of France, but established or improved the universities of other countries. Henry II. of England held forth such inducements, as caused many of the most celebrated teachers to repair to that country; and we can trace the first dawn of the celebrity of the schools of Oxford and Cambridge, to this partial dispersion of the University of Paris.

The University of Paris was, as we have stated, subject from the very beginning to clerical government. Its rector was subordinate only to the metropolitan of the kingdom, and accountable through him to the Pope alone. With the head of the church, indeed, a good understanding always subsisted, for each was benefited by the power and influence of the other. During a long period, his right to govern universities, and alone to establish them, was not questioned. As the influence of the Pope declined, the civil power exerted a greater influence over seminaries of learning; but their immediate government resided in ecclesiastical hands, down to the commencement of the French revolution. At this momentous epoch, there existed a very general complaint, the causes of which were in some respects real, but in others entirely imaginary, against the institutions for public instruction in every part of France. We are not to seek for these in the decay of literature, nor in any indifference on the part of the people towards the attainment of knowledge. The causes were partly inherent in the system itself, and partly existed in the minds of its opponents.

The teachers had not been sufficiently careful to keep up with the advance in the sciences, and were frequently disposed to array themselves in opposition to novelties, merely because they were such. The illiberal doctrines they held had been controverted and confuted, but the spirit of the universities was still at variance with the spirit of the times. We shall extract from the work of Dr. Johnson, his account of this state of things, which had such a powerful influence upon the great events that were so soon to follow:—

"The country was becoming enlightened; while those who studied with the intention of becoming public instructors, found themselves, upon leaving the university where they had been educated, behind the world in many respects, and, it may be said, were forced to unlearn every thing in order to commence their education anew. This was a state of things that could not last long; the catastrophe was hastened by the diffusion of a new philosophy, which was rapidly gaining ground; and the doctrines of which, although long in openly manifesting themselves, and though opposed by all the influence of church and state, were not destined to be slow or ineffectual in their ultimate progress.

"But it must not be supposed that the low state into which the universities of France had fallen in the public estimation, was altogether owing to defects in their own constitution. Though, perhaps, proceeding in some measure from this cause, it is to the bias which the minds of men had received from the doctrines, of which the tendency was to throw down all existing opinions, and establish in their place a new philosophy, that it must be principally ascribed. Knowledge, it is true, was spreading among the people, but not in a manner calculated to produce good fruits; it was knowledge unsupported by truth or reason, disseminated by a few powerful but ill regulated minds, and received by a class of men, who, unable to discover the fallacious or sophistical nature of the proof, or the insufficiency of the basis, were yet readily disposed to seize upon doctrines that flattered their worldly or personal feelings, and appeared to degrade what was above their attainment. Instruction, though it had become more general, had become more superficial; and, what were termed the positive sciences, were alone the pretended object of pursuit. The natural consequence of this was, the neglect of whatever had hitherto been accounted most important in literature, and was still the great object of study in the schools.

"The spirit of ancient literature was passing away, and a superficial education, calculated to unfit men for the dry details and intricate reasoning of the deeper branches of science, led to the cultivation of those branches less complicated, more applicable to the every day current of human affairs, but more agreeable and less fatiguing to the mind. What was disagreeable, therefore, was accounted useless; and the stale and abstruse doctrines of the universities, gave way before the novel and superficial, though alluring and eloquent philosophy of a Diderot, a Raynal, a Voltaire, or a Rousseau.

The universities still produced men of erudition; but this erudition was no longer applicable to the existing order of things, and exposed to ridicule, rather than to admiration, those who professed it. It was another species of literature that now conferred honour; and hosts of authors sprung up, who, with the weapons of ridicule, soon destroyed the impressions of those who in real science were far above them. By such writers, appeals were made to the passions, and often to the worst passions of man; and what was wanting in genuine sentiment and just reasoning, was supplied by high sounding and empty declamation."

"The revolution was effected by public opinion; but when it had once taken place, that disappeared, and the acts of horror, madness, and folly which it exhibited, were no longer the expression of public opinion. They were the acts of a few men, who for the time had concentrated in themselves the will and the power of action. Science and letters were found incompatible with the new order of things, and were neglected. Every establishment or institution belonging to the former era, was, in the madness of innovation, destroyed; and amongst others the universities, which were no longer deemed compatible with liberty and equality, were thrown down, to be raised anew, in a form more adapted to the supposed regeneration of the human mind. But it was an easier matter to destroy, than to re-establish them; and for some time the nation remained destitute of all means of instruction even in the ordinary branches of education.

"When the reign of anarchy had in some measure passed away, and when true lovers of their country once more had a voice in its government, the effects produced by the low state of literature became apparent, and measures were adopted to repair the mischief. But it was a long time before the passions of

men sufficiently subsided to enable them to consider, free from prejudice and bias, the plans that were proposed. Ideas of perfection were entertained, which it was evident were not to be realized; and in the desire to avoid all resemblance to the institutions of monarchy, the republic was likely, in seeking after simplicity and equality, to lose sight of those laws and restrictions essentially necessary to the welfare of every seminary of education.

"Among the various plans presented to the national convention, some were of a description so lofty and extravagant, as to excite at the present time a smile at their visionary perfection; others were too like the establishments of old, and alarmed the revolutionary spirit. Some men of enlightened character endeavoured to reconcile the two; but the time had not yet arrived for the cool consideration of so important an object, and in consequence, the first plan adopted and promulgated in the year 1795, by no means answered the purposes intended, and was far from administering to the wants of the great body of the people."

The system then adopted was never fully carried into effect, was shortlived, and gave way to one of even shorter duration. To the last of these succeeded an imperial decree, which was carried into effect on the 17th of March 1808. An university was established, of which all the seminaries of education throughout France were to form a part. The general features of this plan, compared with one adopted in the state of New-York as early as 1789, are so similar that we cannot help feeling the conviction that the French statesmen had seen and copied the plan carried into effect in that state. We must, however, admit that they added some important improvements. The general character of this institution is still preserved; it has, indeed, received a few partial modifications, and its name has been changed from imperial to royal, but its constitution remains essentially the same. Under Louis XVIII., the ministry of public worship, and of education, together with the office of grand-master of the University, were confided to a single individual; and the prominent influence, which under Napoleon was military, became clerical. At the recent change of ministry, this was among the abuses which called for correction, and the departments of ecclesiastical affairs, and of public education, were separated.

At the time Dr. Johnson wrote, and we have heard of no material change since that date, the public instruction throughout the kingdom was exclusively confided to the Royal University of France, which is a body extending its branches throughout the whole country, and is subject to the jurisdiction of the Royal council of public instruction, which has its seat in Paris.

"No establishments for education, except those connected with the public service, can exist in France unconnected with or independent of the university; every school, where any number of children are met together for the purpose of receiving instruction, is subject to its statutes; and no one can open a school or seminary of education, without being a member of the university, and holding a degree of one of its faculties."

The university is composed of twenty-six academies, answering in number and location to the royal courts of appeal; and in these academies are the following orders of schools.

1. **Faculties**, in which are taught the highest branches of science and literature; these are divided, in the order of subjects, into five classes; those of theology, law, medicine, sciences, and literature. But it does not necessarily happen that all these five faculties are to be found in any one academy; such a union is rare; few academies have more than three, and there are some in which none have yet been formed.

The number and relative importance of these faculties in the general system of education, may be judged of from the following list.

Faculties of Theology, - - - - -	7
(of these, two are Protestant, one for the Lutherans at Strasburg, one for the Calvinists at Montauban.)	
Faculties of Law, - - - - -	9
Do. of Medicine, - - - - -	3
Do. of Sciences, - - - - -	10
Do. of Literature, - - - - -	23

52

or on an average two to each academy.

2. **Colleges**, in which are taught the elements of the study of letters, history, philosophy, the mathematical and physical sciences.

3. **Private establishments**, in which a similar course of instruction is pursued.

4. **Primary schools**. In these are taught reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic; geography and drawing; they have been divided into three classes, according to the extent of the instruction that is given in them.

The whole are subject to the visitation of inspectors general, who are sixteen in number, and divided into five orders, corresponding to the five faculties.

“The duties of these inspectors are most important, and the powers with which they are invested, for the purpose of obtaining what information they may desire, are very considerable. They can summon a meeting of the council or administration of an academy, and demand from the members a full account of their proceedings; they are entitled to seek an explanation of any infringement or apparent infringement of the statutes, and to propose any amelioration they may deem advisable. They make particular inquiries into the proficiency of the students, and into the propriety of their behaviour; ascertain if the examinations for degrees be sufficiently strict; watch over the general discipline and internal police of the royal colleges, and observe that the teachers and office-bearers fulfil their duties in a proper manner; that the buildings are kept in good repair; that food and clothing are duly provided, and that cleanliness and health are particularly attended to. Their duty does not stop here, but extends also to the commercial colleges, and even to the primary schools. At their return from each inspection, they must lay before the royal council a full account of their mission; and, during the course of the year, they are expected to give any advice that may appear proper, respecting the affairs, administration, or improvement of the academies they have visited.”

By such a system of inspection, intrusted to persons who have themselves filled with reputation the office of instructors, in the branches to which their duties are confined, one uniform and consistent plan of education, in all branches from the lowest to the highest, is established throughout France. Thus its apparent rigidity, which, were it intrusted to persons ignorant of the difficulties and labours that attend the task of a teacher, would be intolerable, becomes no more than a supervision of a parental character, strict indeed, but gentle and considerate.

At the head of each academy is a rector, assisted by a council whose jurisdiction extends over all the schools situated in the department. A dean chosen from among the professors presides over each faculty. The professors were usually chosen from among candidates contending for the office, at an examination before qualified persons; but this method being found objectionable, has been abandoned in all the faculties except those of law.

To obtain the degrees of the several faculties, an attendance upon a certain prescribed number of courses in each is indispensable, and an examination in public. To matriculate in the faculties of law and theology, a degree from a faculty of literature is essential; and to enter upon the study of medicine, the student must be a bachelor both in letters and in the sciences. It is to this last provision that the great celebrity of the present French school of medicine is in a very great degree to be ascribed.

It ensures that none aspire to the honours of the faculty of medicine and surgery, who have not manifested perseverance at least in the pursuit of elementary learning, and who are not qualified to understand and profit by the instructions they receive. However learned and indefatigable an instructor may be, he cannot enlighten a mind unpractised in study, or unprepared by elementary learning for the subjects he teaches. No policy is more fatal to the reputation of a school of learning of any description, than that which opens it to those who can neither appreciate the value of the instruction which is given, nor profit by it for want of elementary learning. Dr. Johnson contrasts the system which the French government have enforced in their schools of medicine, with that pursued in the universities of Scotland, using in aid of his argument the high authority of Dr. Thomson. The same remarks apply to the second class of medical practitioners in England, and we regret to say to the schools of that science in this country, in at least an equal degree. As we purpose however to confine our article to that elementary education which is rather intended to prepare the mind for higher studies, than susceptible of immediate application, we shall not pursue this subject, although it be one well worthy of public attention.

The faculties of sciences are attached to the academies of Paris, Strasburg, Caen, Dijon, Montpellier and Grenoble. They generally consist of four professorships, but in some the number of courses is greater. The subjects taught are

The higher Mathematics,
Mechanics and Astronomy,
Physics and chemistry,
Natural History, (in its different branches.)

In Paris the faculty of sciences is composed of two sections, mathematical and physical. The first has three professorships, the latter four, and a course of natural philosophy (*physique generale et experimentale*,) is common to the two sections. To obtain the degree of bachelor in the sciences, a previous degree in letters is requisite; but the whole circle of study is not made the subject of examination to the candidate, who may confine himself either to the natural or mathematical sciences, according to the bent of his mind, and the object he has in view. To become a licentiate, or admissible to the office of an instructor in the sciences, not only is the degree of bachelor requisite, but attendance upon a double course. As this rule applies to teachers both in public and private institutions, and as a similar principle extends to the inferior departments, there is an effectual preventive to the practice of that *charlatanerie*, so much more fatal than even medical quackery, which wastes the time and destroys the minds of the rising generation, by promising royal roads to learning.

For the degree of bachelor in letters, examinations must be passed upon Latin and Greek literature, rhetoric, history, geography, moral philosophy, and the elements of mathematics and natural philosophy. Faculties are established in all the academies of France except a very few; and in the latter a commission is formed to examine those candidates who may have pursued their studies in some other manner. In Paris there are nine courses delivered by the professors of the faculty of letters, and the chairs are all filled by distinguished men.

The support of the professors in all the faculties, is partly fixed and derived from public funds, partly from the fees for attendance upon their lectures, and for performing the examinations of candidates for degrees. The payment of these fees and regular attendance, are preliminaries to obtaining the honours of the faculties, and where the door is so carefully closed against unqualified persons, the payment of these small fees is no hardship, as a successful candidate is sure of a provision for life. But as there is a very large class of the community who never mean to become teachers, or to exercise any of the learned professions, yet to whom an acquaintance with literature and science is valuable as a means of training the mind for less elevated pursuits, and as a

needful and noble accomplishment, the government has wisely provided, that all who are not candidates for degrees, may receive without fee, tickets of admission to any of the courses of the faculties they may think proper to attend. The fixed salaries are then a compensation for this part of the duty of the professors.

The faculties are established without exception in the towns of the first class in the district to which they belong, and the students either reside with their parents or board with the citizens, being in truth liable to no other discipline than such as relates to attendance and examinations. Even this is indirect, being exerted only upon their application for degrees. Such is, we must conceive, the proper course to be adopted, so soon as the age in which bodily coercion can be applied is past. From this time teachers can exert no farther beneficial influence upon their pupils, except by the force of their talent and learning, their assiduity in labour, and the example of a moral life. Wherever numbers of youth approaching to manhood are collected within the walls of a single seminary, they are more exposed to the influence of improper example, more liable to unite in combinations to resist the authorities, and likely at every instant to come into collision with them on the ignoble subject of college commons. An instructor who would maintain himself in a proper degree of respectability, will carefully shun all collisions with his pupils where his interests may appear to be affected, whether as an individual or as a member of the college.

These two points are well worthy of being attended to in this country. Our great cities furnish the only proper sites for flourishing and well supported universities. In them the mere population that have not the means to send their children to a distance, would furnish no small support to such an institution, while the habits, the morals, and the character of the students would be more likely to be correct under the eye, and enforced by the example of parents and judicious friends, than they could be in a thin population, or where numbers are accumulated under the form of a collegiate life. Those too who resorted to them from the country, would have an opportunity of freeing themselves from that rusticity of manner, and want of ease, which are in many cases impediments to the useful exertion of talent, or of avoiding the opposite extreme of misplaced confidence in powers of mind that have not been tested by comparison with others of equal or superior order.

In the midst of a dense population, and compelled from position to mix with those engaged in active pursuits, the teachers would be far more likely to be useful than if cloistered in remote districts. No profession, it has been well remarked, is so likely to generate vanity as that of a schoolmaster, and the same is in a measure true, even of those who instruct in the most exalted

branches of human learning. And yet in no other profession is such vanity more fatal to usefulness. The mind of the young is quick-sighted in detecting foibles of this description, and with the detection, contempt, or at least a diminution of respect, is generated.

In cities too, it would be the height of impolicy to restrict the admission to the classes, to those alone who look for the degrees as a step to some one of the learned professions. The example of France, we may say of all Europe, should therefore be imitated; where, as we have stated, the courses of the several faculties are opened to all who may desire to profit by them. Our country does not indeed possess institutions so liberally endowed as to render a gratis admission to such courses practicable, but there ought to be no positive interdiction to those who seek for a portion of the advantages our literary and scientific institutions hold out, or might be made to hold out to the student. Universities placed in cities possess peculiar advantages for pursuing this system. Besides such natives of the city as devote themselves to business, a great number of young men are constantly pouring in from the country, to supply the perpetual demand for industry and talent. To such persons it is of the utmost importance that they be imbued with a taste for pursuits which will tend to fill up the hours of relaxation, that must occur even in the most laborious pursuits, in a manner which shall enable them to defy the allurements of vice; which shall prepare them to dignify prosperity when that shall reach them; or comfort them under the pressure of adversity. In some of our cities, separate institutions to supply the demand for such a species of mental occupation have been projected or actually established, but while they will unquestionably prove detrimental to the colleges, they cannot themselves be productive of any permanent good effects. For science, if treated of in a manner merely popular, cannot long serve even as an amusement; and will, while it sickens the appetite of him that pursues its study, react most unfavourably upon the teacher himself, in whom the habit of mere popular declamation may speedily supersede that of close and accurate instruction.—Both of these requisites must be equally cultivated by any one who would become distinguished as a teacher. He must possess fluency of diction, and ease of communicating instruction, even to the meanest capacity, and along with it the industry and assiduous application which can alone be effectual in imparting close and accurate knowledge on any subject.—These two different excellencies are not to be attained by any individual who is not in the daily habit of addressing a class, for whose intelligence and opinion he feels a deference, as well as of instructing those of less extensive attainments. Some of our colleges strictly confine their professors to the instruction of their own undergradu-

ates, and not only exclude those who wish to pursue a partial course, but jealously debar their teachers from any public exhibition of their acquirements. No policy can be more misjudged. Should their professors be unfit to meet the public eye, this fact cannot be too soon known: and it is obvious, that by the want of the stimulus growing out of an intelligent auditory, the talent of the teacher must decline, and his habits of application relax. Thus confined and trammelled, deprived of motive for exertion, his usefulness must eventually diminish, and with it the reputation of the institution of which he is a member. In Paris, the public lectures of the professors are attended by hundreds of all classes, ages, and countries, and the perpetual stimulus that is thus kept up, accounts in no small degree for the celebrity of the teachers of that metropolis.

Next in rank to the faculties, in the University of France, stand colleges. The signification of this term is far more extensive in that country than in ours. They embrace in their course of instruction all subjects, from the most elementary even to those which qualify for degrees in the faculty of letters, and have also the means of enabling the student to pursue the sciences. They may be divided into three classes,—royal, commercial, and private. The first are partly supported by the government; the second are maintained in part at the expense of the town to which they belong; the third are the objects of individual enterprise. In return for the support derived from the public, a certain number of scholars are educated gratis in the royal and commercial colleges, and they are open to paying students, not only as boarders, but to those who reside with their friends. The professors therefore receive a moderate but fixed salary, and have besides an opportunity of realizing, from the joint exertions of themselves and colleagues, what may in many cases amount to wealth, but which will be in exact proportion to their success as teachers. Students are admitted to the colleges at the age of eight years. Matters purely elementary are taught for the two first years; a regular course of language, mathematics, and philosophy, is then entered upon, which occupies six years. At the end of this time, they are presumed to be qualified to compete for the degree of bachelor in letters. The last two years' course, therefore, appears to be identical with that of the faculties of letters, except that the advantages offered to the student are less in the colleges than they are in the faculties themselves; and it would seem that he may, after four years' course in a college, enter upon the studies of a faculty of letters. The scientific course of these colleges occupies two years, but it is even more inferior in extent to that of the faculties of sciences; nor does it appear from our author, that it qualifies for admission to the Baccalaureate in the sciences. The course of education is

a complete one; it is not, as in the great schools in England, confined to the mere acquisition of Latin and Greek, but includes the various branches of the moral, mathematical, and physical sciences.

There are thirty-four royal, and three hundred and twenty-two commercial colleges in France, and they employ in all about seventeen hundred teachers, whose fixed salaries, independent of the fees of tuition and examination, average about two hundred dollars. The private institutions have the same internal organization, but on a smaller scale, with the public colleges, and have a right, after two consecutive years passed under the government of the university, and after they have for five years taught the entire course to their pupils, to assume the style and title of colleges. But although education is thus left open to private competition, still, care is taken to guard against improper persons undertaking this important business. In the private institutions, the permission of the university is required before they can teach those branches of knowledge taught in the royal colleges, and the principal must have the degree of bachelor in the sciences; while even in schools of a lower order, the same degree in letters is indispensable. Thus, while every qualified person may engage in the duties of public instruction, those who have not received a good education themselves are properly excluded. The quackery which is so often seen offering cheap and easy access to learning, and wasting time never to be recalled, in unprofitable pursuits, cannot, therefore, be practised in France.

"The elementary schools of France are placed under the superintendence of committees, one of which is established in each canton of the kingdom, and watches over the progress of instruction in that canton. The number of members composing each committee, varies according to the population and extent of the district.

"Primary schools may be founded by communities, by charitable associations, by licensed teachers, or by private munificence; but, at the same time, none can be founded but under certain conditions, which must be observed before they receive the countenance of the law. The teachers also have certain forms to go through, and certain examinations to undergo, before receiving the right of teaching."

Those who are found qualified are divided into three classes, and receive patents in reference to the extent of instruction given in each school; and, in addition, the laws and regulations in relation to the primary schools are strict and well defined, and the utmost attention is paid to the morals and welfare of the children who attend them.

The committees that direct the primary schools, are again subject to the supervision of the university, but the whole system is such, as while it prevents abuse, does not interfere with the exertions of individuals to promote this most important of all the objects of an enlightened benevolence. Great exertions have

indeed been made, both by the government and by individuals, insomuch that the people of France is rapidly passing from a state of great ignorance, to an equality in respect of education with almost any other European country. The numbers of scholars in the primary schools have increased in a geometric ratio, and the introduction of the system of mutual instruction in 1815, has been attended with the most important results, having added in six years upwards of 300,000 to the numbers of those who received an elementary education.

Still it is in the system of colleges and faculties that France is most to be envied, and worthy of imitation. It may be safely said, that no country in the world holds out such advantages for the education of the middling and higher classes. Under the influence of this system, that country not only stands pre-eminent in science, but is changing from one unfit for free institutions, to one well calculated for self-government.

Such is the plan of the French public instruction, and such are its happy results, which must in truth be considered as the most important of the advantages that nation has derived from the revolution. It must indeed be considered as affording complete security, that, on the one hand, the bloody scenes of anarchy which disgraced it, can never again be witnessed; and, on the other, that the evils and oppression of the ancient *régime* can never again be permitted to influence the fate of that government.

It is mortifying to be obliged to confess, that the public education of our own country, affords a complete contrast in many respects to that of France. The means of elementary instruction are to be sure far more extensive, and more widely diffused, than in that, or perhaps in any other country; but here our boasted advantages cease. The instructors of these primary schools are, as a general rule, selected rather for the low price at which they will serve, than for their qualifications, either literary or moral. They therefore are drawn from those who are too feeble for the labours of the field, and unfit for success in professional life. Neither in them nor in the next order of schools, is there any general system of instruction or beneficial superintendence, even within the limits of a single state. The elementary education of the middling and higher classes, is left almost wholly to private competition for its regulation, without any superintendence. It is therefore often undertaken as a business by persons wholly unqualified, who make up for their deficiencies in learning, by *charlatanerie* of all possible descriptions. Thus the splendid success of the national academy at West Point, has led to a deluge of military schools, which resemble that excellent institution in no other points but that the pupils wear uniform, and learn the manual exercise. The reputation of the Edinburgh

grammar school, under a teacher who was brought from England to restore the standard of classical learning, has led to the institution of high schools, where the ancient languages are either not taught at all, or form a very secondary object. Our higher institutions languish, and maintain an ineffectual struggle against the declining spirit of the times, or abandoning themselves to it, grant their honours to those entirely deficient in what universal and well-grounded custom considers as scholarship. They vie with each other, not in the quality of the education they furnish, but in its cheapness, both estimated by time and by money. It is in the eastern states that this decline in the quality of education is most obvious. One of the colleges of that section of the country, actually gives its degrees to those who pass what they style our English education; and another, and that of the highest reputation, has just been saved from a similar course, by great resolution on the part of its government. On the other hand, the southern and western states seem to be pursuing a directly contrary system, and are engaged in endowing universities, and furnishing them with the most ample means of a liberal education. Should these two divisions of our country each pursue their present career, and should the fashion of cloistering young men in places far removed from those where they are to act the business of life, continue, a few years will see the intellectual portion of our eastern brethren compelled to seek their education in the south or west, thus reversing the present order of things.

The outcry for an *English* education, to the exclusion of the ancient languages, popular though it be, is one of the most preposterous, when the state of our education is fairly considered, that can well be imagined. Well meaning and intelligent men have joined in the cry, influenced by arguments grounded upon a far different state of things. Certain articles in the *Edinburgh*, and more recently in the *Westminster Review*, levelled against the system of education that prevails in England, are constantly quoted as if the cases were parallel. Now be it known, that in no part of our country has classic literature been so cultivated as to do an injury by its excess. The course preparatory to admission into that of our colleges, which demands most of the ancient languages, can be and is often accomplished by boys of twelve years of age; and if they ever exceed fourteen, it is to be attributed to a want of proper advantages, or a neglect on the part of their friends or instructors; and in the course of instruction of all our colleges without exception, the sciences have at least an equal share of consideration with pure literature. The error, if it be one, is of policy, not of principle, in making the same course imperative upon all, however different in taste or in distinction. On the other hand, in England the great schools avowedly teach

nothing but Greek and Latin, and that frequently in such a way as not even to awaken the taste for the beauties of classic models. At Eton, for instance, even writing and arithmetic are no part of the course of instruction, but are to be obtained only by the aid of private instructors.

The man of science may forget his Latin and eschew his Greek, but the study of them will have left its indelible impression upon his written and spoken language, and if he examine the action of his own mind, he will find that whatever of easy and graceful diction, of language pregnant with meaning he may have the power of uttering, he can trace to his early classic studies as a source.* On the other hand, the mere literary man may ascribe to early mathematical studies, the power of combining thought and reasoning justly, while in the more elevated sciences he will find the most apt and fit illustrations to embellish and adorn his style. But in those pursuits which are more general in their character, and in particular where eloquence is a valuable accessory, the study both of science and of literature must have united to form him who can command the attention of an intelligent auditory.

In our country, every man ought to prepare himself for taking a part in her public business. Should he never aspire to a seat in her state or national councils, he yet owes it as a duty to himself and his posterity, to let any talent he may possess appear at least in her primary assemblies. Yet for want of the general diffusion of liberal education, the whole business of our legislative assemblies is abandoned to those whose pursuits make them talkers by profession, and who, in the habit of arguing with equal interest upon the wrong as upon the right side, lose the nice discrimination which ought to be the attribute of the statesman. Two different sets of studies may then be considered as the basis of all knowledge, to whatever purpose it may be applied in future life. These are:—classical literature, and elementary mathematics. Those who look only to their di-

* We cannot better illustrate the value of the study of the Latin language, than by a fact, for the truth of which we can vouch, which occurred in the school of a very intelligent teacher of English. He had, in consequence of a demand for classic learning among his more advanced scholars, formed a connexion with a teacher of the languages, and one of his classes was nearly equally divided into two parts, of which one continued with him alone, applying its whole attention to what is called an English education; the other, although it did not cease to pursue the English course, devoted rather more than half its time to classic studies. At the end of a year, the half that had commenced the study of Latin, not only had made a fair proficiency in that direction, but had far outstripped, in the other department, those whose attention was solely devoted to it. We may also quote the authority of Malthus, who, after he had been successful, in spite of great opposition, in introducing the study of Latin into the East India college at Hertford, of which he is a professor, had the satisfaction to find that it was attended with a greater progress in the other subjects taught at that institution.

rect application to the business of life, are apt to undervalue both; while those who devote themselves exclusively to either, frequently lose the faculty of perceiving the advantages of the other. We have often heard the question asked, why so many years of a life are devoted to studies in themselves incapable of yielding a direct profit; and have to remark with pain, the disputes of the initiated in relation to the respective importance of their favourite studies. But the cavils of the first class, and the contentions of the second, are alike unfounded. The mind of the young requires a regular and progressive training for the active business of life. On the first development of its powers, the memory is that which is most readily made the object of cultivation; and the ignorant or indulgent instructor will not endeavour to awaken any other. Thus we find it to be a favourite system, to assign tasks to be acquired by the memory alone, and which require no other exertion in the teacher, than to keep his eyes on the lesson, and open his ears to the recitation. This is a most fatal error; for when the memory is thus strengthened, it is always at the expense of the reasoning powers. A study, which while it rests for its success more immediately upon the first of these faculties, but which as it advances calls at every step for the aid of the other, is of all the most appropriate. Such a study is that of another language, and of all languages the Latin is perhaps the best adapted to this purpose. It is far more philosophical and regular in its structure than any modern language, and therefore more easily reducible to fixed rules; it forms a link of connexion between our own tongue and the Greek, as well as idioms of more remote antiquity; it is, besides, the key and root of all the languages of southern Europe, the whole of which may probably be acquired along with the Latin, and through its aid, in a shorter space of time than any single one, if studied separately. Its study, accompanied by proper exercises in double translation, is the shortest road to a knowledge of the grammar and structure of our tongue: it besides has a value of its own, in opening access to a literature, which, if inferior to the Greek, is not equalled in any modern language, and which furnishes models pure and worthy of imitation in almost every possible species of composition. May we add, that all the science of Europe, from the revival of learning down to the middle of the last century, is conveyed in the Latin tongue.

A French critic, celebrated for the elegance of his style, was asked how his manner of composition was formed; he replied, "by reading Cicero in the original:" and the example is as well worthy of imitation by those who use the English language.

Were we to direct the education of a boy, we should lose no time in putting into his hands some selection of easy Latin passages, and instruct him in the grammar of that language as he

proceeded in the translation, so that he might acquire it by practice instead of the sheer exercise of memory. And we are satisfied, that at the end of a few months he would be better acquainted, in this practical manner, with the grammar and structure of his own language, than he could be by years of the dry grammatical studies with which the youth of our country are embarrassed. To attain such a result, it is necessary to be sure that the teacher be really such, and honestly perform the labours of preliminary instruction, instead of leaving the pupil to grope unaided through the idioms and difficulties of a new language. To enter into this course of study, no more preparation is necessary than to read and spell his own tongue, and to write a tolerable hand. We object *in toto* to the system of learning by rote, to the catechisms, the grammars, and the unexplained rules which teachers, under pretence of relieving youth from the study of the learned tongues, inflict upon them. If the memory is to be directly exercised at all, let it be by the recitation of choice passages of the best authors both in prose and verse, and let the selections be drawn from "the pure fount of English undefiled," so that the ear may become a nice judge of elegance and purity of diction.

When by means of the study of language the reasoning faculty is prepared for their reception, the elementary mathematics may be called in to fulfil their proper part in education. First in order we must of course name arithmetic, but as this is usually taught, it is rather a means of hampering and narrowing the mind, than of preparing it for higher pursuits. No one however pretends to doubt its utility, and hence it stands at a higher point of estimation with the public, than almost any other single branch of an elementary education. It may, however, be taught in far less time than is usually applied to it; in the French colleges, arithmetic just occupies three months of collateral study. In this time the principles are fully and completely taught, and its practice follows as a matter of course. When thus taught, from the exercise afforded in the higher branches, all its future applications become easy, and it has besides the property of imparting great acuteness to the mental powers. So far as mere elementary knowledge is concerned, the lower branches of algebra are all that we need consider. These being no more than a generalization of arithmetic, have the properties of extending its useful applications, of facilitating calculation, and of exerting a most powerful influence upon the expansion of the mind. But even in an education intended to be strictly practical, of which we shall assume as an instance that intended for mercantile life, a proficiency in algebra is an attainment of vast utility. The whole subject of compound interest, the compensation of chances on which every species of insurance is founded, the real principles

of stock operations, the arbitration of exchanges, may be treated in algebraic forms, and from them alone any valuable practical rules can be derived. The last of these is not yet an object of business among us, but the time is approaching, when, in intelligent hands, it will be the surest and safest mode of employing capital. To facilitate the calculations of this important branch of business, a synopsis of algebraic formulæ, and tables of logarithms, lie upon the desk of every banker of Europe.

To return to general views of education:—it is in the logic of the ancient geometers that we are to find that exercise which is finally efficient in bringing the reasoning faculty to its proper state of development. We are willing indeed to admit that there may occasionally be found persons of strong and masculine genius, who write their native language with force and even purity, yet who have not received a liberal education; but such instances are so rare, as like all other exceptions to be the most convincing proofs of the general rule. On the other hand, a classical education will create even in inferior minds the faculty of the easy and elegant expression of thought. But the proof of the value of mathematical studies is even more conclusive; for we can quote no instance, in any author of modern date, of a long sustained and convincing logical reasoning, carried on by any person, who had not in his youth imbibed the spirit of the ancient geometers. We are aware that there are now shorter roads to proficiency in mathematics, and that modern metaphysical subtilty has affected to discover omissions and inaccuracies in the foundation of some of the more important trains of ancient geometric argument; but we must say, that here we might be disposed to admit of the physical argument, that where the inference is true, and all the steps that lead to it unexceptionable, the basis cannot be defective. We would allude more particularly to the ancient theory of parallel lines, which modern geometers seem to concur in admitting to be incomplete, and for which no adequate substitute has been proposed. To this refinement we would oppose the single objection, that more than twenty centuries had read and considered this theory, and that it was not until the taste which could fully appreciate the whole merit of the geometric method of the ancients had begun to decline, that we find its accuracy doubted.

The fashion of the day has led to the substitution of various treatises, more valuable perhaps in their application to higher studies than the *Elements* of Euclid. Among these the treatise of Legendre has had the most success, probably from its having been chosen by Harvard University, and since adopted at West Point. Considering as we do the science of mathematics rather as a part, though doubtless a most important one of a liberal education, than as to be studied for its own sake, except

by those who are to profess it, we cannot but object to the substitution of this treatise for the ancient one.

We would urge with all our strength the importance of elementary mathematics in every system of liberal education; because their value seems to be equally misapprehended by those who are mathematicians and those who are not; by those who consider the learning of the schools as intended to be a training of the mind, and those who look upon education with no other view than the limited one of the direct application of it to useful purposes. The mathematics have no doubt the most extensive useful applications of any branch of study; every art and every science derive from them some, if not all of the most important principles, but all are not called upon to know the science on which their practice is founded, while many men never have occasion in after life to use even its most remote inferences. Our estimate of the value of mathematical learning coincides with that of the great statesman of Holland, who, when asked of what use the geometrical studies, to which a great portion of his youth had been devoted, were to him, replied, "they have passed from my memory to my judgment."

Such is indeed the real and useful object of all elementary education; to occupy the youthful mind in such a manner as gradually to form habits of thought and application; to fit it to engage in the business of life with an intelligence and acuteness that will enable it to foil the devices of low cunning, which the ignorant mistake for wisdom; to prepare it, if need be, for the study of the more elevated sciences, or the pursuit of literature; and in a more especial manner, to enable it to appreciate the wisdom, the power, and the beneficence of the deity.

Here the direct objects of an early education may be considered as ceasing. Other branches there are, collateral and less important in mental discipline, but which their more immediate utility will not permit us to pass over. No man can be considered as educated, who is unacquainted with the political and natural divisions of the globe he inhabits; with the history of his race, of his native country, and of those from which its civilization and population are derived; with the scientific principles on which the arts that distinguish civilized man from the savage are founded; with the structure and laws that govern the universe; and above all with his duties as a man, a citizen, and an accountable being.

Much might be said in respect to the manner in which these ought to be taught, and the space they ought to fill in elementary education. But our prescribed limits will not permit us to dilate on these heads. Suffice it to say, that a good teacher will in them all endeavour to impress upon his pupil's mind clear and accurate ideas, instead of a mere recollection of words; and

that the utmost that can be done in any institution, is to establish a solid foundation, on which the labours of after life are to erect the superstructure.

With those who wish to overturn the established system of education, the modern languages rank next in importance to the applied sciences. We place both of these in a high rank, but we make both the result and object of a good education, instead of considering them as the means. We are satisfied, that as a general rule, no high or even useful attainment in science is to be reached by those who have not laid the foundation deep in language and the mathematics; and while we deem any modern language inferior to the Latin as the first that is to be studied, we know that when the latter is once attained, no difficulty remains in reaching the literature of the former. A few lessons will enable a classical scholar to read with ease the prose writers of France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy. The first of these nations has no poetic dialect, and that of the three last, however valuable in a point of view purely literary, is not a matter to be considered in an education which is merely intended to be useful. To speak and pronounce with fluency and elegance, to write with idiomatic accuracy any modern language, is an acquisition of far greater difficulty; practice alone can give so much, and hence they can form no part of an elementary education, but must be left to the taste, the future pursuits, and opportunities of the pupil. While, then, we would be far from rejecting any of them as a branch of collegiate education, we would neither make them imperative, nor admit them as substitutes for the studies we have urged as more immediately necessary.

The subjects of which we have hitherto spoken, are in their nature purely elementary. We cannot conceive intelligence to exist, without the acquisition of the greater part of them. But the education afforded by a college or university is not to stop at the elements. Higher studies must be introduced, to occupy the time that intervenes between youth and manhood—between the years when parental caution would exclude the pupil from too close a contact with the world, and those in which a professional noviciate can be entered upon to advantage, or the society of men enjoyed. Among such studies stand pre-eminent the Greek language and the higher mathematics. The former opens the door to the most perfect literature the world has ever known, to the finest models of style, and exquisite instances of taste; the latter are boundless in their useful applications, and so much a matter of liberal knowledge, that we consider an acquaintance with their language at least, as indispensable in every scheme of finished education.

In the study of the higher mathematics, the method of the ancients must now be abandoned. The analytic course of reason-

ing opens shorter and better roads to all the truths and practical applications of the science; and from the moment the elements are acquired, any deviation from this, the most direct path, is sheer waste of time and opportunities. Single equations, deduced by short and perspicuous processes, involve the expression of truths, that would occupy pages even to express in the Synthetic method, and volumes to contain their demonstrations.

The study of rhetoric, and practice in English composition, will next become valuable, although we do not ascribe to them the high rank they hold in some systems of education. The latter is in truth rather the mechanical application of knowledge, than a mode of acquiring it. Good writing consists in the expression of clear and well-defined ideas in terse and apposite language; the former quality is attainable only by a knowledge of the subject; the latter by practice, of which the best is the verbal translation from some other language. Rhetoric teaches us to name, and even gives us rules for using, the tools, but without the materials the mere tools are of no value. In short,

"Bene scribendi sapere est et principium et fons."

If a delicate English ear does, or at least affects to, perceive even in our best authors the marks of a foreign origin, precisely as those of a former age detected similar faults in Hume and Robertson; if our most distinguished poets frequently fail to reach the spirit of the poetic idiom, is it not because we study our language in dictionaries and grammars, and neglect the only true road to elegance of style, frequent and copious translation from the classic writers?

Such was not the case when the value of a classic education was better understood. If before the revolution fewer were well educated, yet in those few the groundwork was better laid, and hence the state papers of the early congress were worthy of the splendid eulogy of Chatham, and equalled in force, in elegance, and in purity, the productions of the best cotemporary writers of England, although those were Johnson and Goldsmith.

ART. VIII.—*The Diplomacy of the United States. Being an Account of the Foreign Relations of the Country, from the First Treaty with France, in 1778, to the present time. Second Edition, with Additions.* By THEODORE LYMAN, Jr.; 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 470 and 517. Wells & Lilly. Boston: 1828.

Few subjects possess more intrinsic interest to Americans, than the history of our diplomacy, including as it does that of all our foreign relations—our disputed boundaries and their settlement—the spoliations suffered, and the reparations obtained or sought by us; our acquisition of territory, and the terms of it; our commercial intercourse with other countries, and the treaties which regulate it; our maritime rights—their violation and vindication; the causes of war and the conditions of peace; finally, the general policy pursued by our government, and the circumstances by which that policy has been, or is likely to be, changed or affected. Topics of this nature are important in every country; in our own especially, it is indispensable that their discussion should be frequent and open, and that public opinion should be enlightened and decided on the great questions arising on them.

In its design, therefore, this work is excellent; and we are tempted, in consideration of that, to overlook many of the faults in its arrangement and execution. The author's opinions are generally sound, and his facts authentic; but his reasonings are not strongly presented, nor is his narrative remarkable for perspicuity; it is rather for his intention, than the fulfilment of it, that he deserves our thanks.

In a review of our negotiations, from the Declaration of Independence to the present day, there will be found much of what Americans may regard with just pride, in the general ability, directness, frankness, sagacity, and vigour of our state papers. They are remarkable for these qualities, and for the almost total absence of that duplicity, cunning, and Machiavelism, which are held contemptible in private life, and ought to be considered equally so in public transactions.

Our diplomatic history may be divided into four periods, the first of them including our negotiations during the war of independence, and immediately subsequent, down to the commencement of the wars of the French revolution: the second extending through the course of those wars, to the Treaty of Ghent; the third ending at our acknowledgment of the independence of the Spanish American States; and the fourth coming down to the present time.

Our first diplomatic appearance at the courts of Europe, was

to ask an acknowledgment of our right to appear there at all, and assistance in maintaining that right. In 1776, very soon after the Declaration of Independence, ministers or commissioners were despatched to several of the principal continental powers. How far prudence and a due sense of dignity warranted the course pursued of sending embassies to these courts, without first ascertaining by informal inquiries whether they would be received, was much questioned by some of the ablest men of that day, and can scarcely admit of question at this. Private applications had already procured secret succours; our public missions obtained no formal reception, until the contest for independence had ceased to be doubtful. Even France, the first European power that treated with us as an independent nation, took no open and decided step in our behalf until the scale of our fortune had begun evidently to preponderate. So late as the summer of 1777, after repeated vacillations, she adopted some strong measures for removing the suspicions which the British government entertained of her intentions. American privateers were seized in her ports; one of the persons who had been principally concerned in fitting out some of them was thrown into the Bastille; and the most positive assurances were given to the British ambassador, that his Christian Majesty, in the faithful observance of the treaties which existed with his Britannic Majesty, would permit no act in his dominions that could derogate from them. Early, however, in December of the same year, arrived despatches containing accounts of the surrender of General Burgoyne's army, and this simple fact availed more in determining his Christian Majesty to become "our very dear great friend and ally," than had all the arguments in all the memoirs of all our commissioners during the two preceding years. These had been years of unnecessary humiliation for us. An extract from a letter of the French King to his Catholic Majesty, written in the beginning of the year 1778, exhibits clearly the views and feelings of the French ministry.

"England, our common and inveterate enemy, has been engaged for three years in a war with her colonies. We have agreed not to take a part in it, and, considering both parties as English, we have made the commerce of our state free to whoever should find his advantage in it. In this way America has provided herself with those arms and munitions, of which she was in want. I do not speak of the aid we have given that country in money and other articles, the whole having been done in the ordinary course of commerce. England has shown some vexation at this circumstance, and we are not ignorant that she will sooner or later revenge herself. This was the situation of the business the last November. The destruction of Burgoyne and the embarrassments of Howe have changed the face of things. America is triumphant; England is cast down. But her vast marine is still entire, and having abandoned the idea of conquering the colonies, she has resolved to form an alliance with them. All parties in England are agreed in this particular. Lord North has himself announced a plan of pacification. It does not much signify to us, whether he or any other minister is in place; actuated by different motives, they will still unite against us. *It is very important to prevent the reunion of the colonies with the mother country.*"

From Spain we suffered mortifications still more severe. Even when in 1779 she joined in the war against England and became in effect our ally, she still refused formally to acknowledge our existence as an independent nation. An official though unwavering correspondence had been held with her government by our emissaries, and in 1779 John Jay was appointed our minister plenipotentiary. He arrived at Cadiz in the beginning of the year 1780, and had at first a fair prospect of being soon officially accredited. Having in April of that year presented a full and just view of the situation of the United States, he was informed by Count Florida Blanca, that the only obstacle to a successful negotiation, was the navigation of the Mississippi—at so early a date commenced those embarrassments with Spain which form the longest chapter in the history of our intercourse with her. At one time, “the king offered the envoy his personal responsibility to enable him to negotiate a loan of 150,000 dollars.” This offer was afterwards repeated, “but no cash could be obtained on the credit of it, either in France or England.”

“‘Thus things’ remarks Mr. Jay in a letter of July 5, 1780, ‘were apparently in a good train, when the news of the loss of Charleston became credible. The effect of it was as visible the next day, as that of a hard night’s frost on young leaves.’ From this moment the minister met with delay and cold looks on every hand, and de Florida Blanca declared nothing could be done, till the arrival of a person at Madrid, who was to succeed M. Miralles at Philadelphia, an individual employed by Spain to give them information, and who, it appears, had died that spring in the United States. In the mean time, Mr. Jay was extremely embarrassed by the bills drawn on him by congress;—for many days he was threatened with protests,—the credit of the country being at the lowest possible ebb. Towards the end of the summer, the king again offered his name for 150,000 dollars, but no cash could be obtained on the credit of it, either in France or England: and in September 1780, we find that 50,000 dollars of bills still remained without acceptance. Some intimations were, indeed, given that money would be furnished if the United States would relinquish their claim to the Mississippi.”

Then came the secret mission of Cumberland, on behalf of England, to endeavour to detach Spain from her participation in the war—and indeed according to his account of the progress made in his negotiation, the news above mentioned of the enemy’s success in South Carolina, would have come nigh to crush our interests at Madrid, if the ill effects had not been prevented just in time, by unfavourable intelligence of equal moment from England itself.

“‘I will only say, that my treaty was in shape, and such as my instructions would have warranted me to transmit and recommend. Spain had received a recent check from Admiral Rodney, Gibraltar had been relieved with a high hand; she was also upon very delicate and dubious terms with France. The crisis was decidedly in my favour, my reception flattering in the extreme, the Spanish nation was anxious for peace, and both court, ecclesiastics and military anti-gallican. The minister did not lose an hour after my arrival, but with much apparent alacrity in the cause, immediately proceeded to business. I never had any reason upon reflection to doubt the sincerity of Count Florida Blanca at this

moment, and verily believe we should have advanced the business of the preliminaries, if the fatal news of the riots had not most critically come to hand that very day on which by the minister's own appointment we were to meet for fair discussion of the terms, while nothing seemed to threaten serious difficulty or disagreement between us."—(*Cumberland.*)

Thus the ground which we had suddenly lost by the fall of Charleston, we as suddenly regained by Lord George Gordon's no popery mob. Truly might Mr. Jay remark, "the conduct of this court bears few marks of wisdom. The fact is, they have little money, less credit, and very moderate talents."

Still Mr. Jay was not accredited; and at length, in September 1781, he went so far by order of congress, as to make a formal offer on behalf of the United States, to relinquish the navigation of the Mississippi, from the point where it leaves the then territory of the United States, down to the ocean.—"Perhaps," says Mr. Lyman, "the most disastrous, fatal proposition ever made by this country." Even this, however, did not induce Spain to abandon her habitual hesitation,—she still wavered, advancing and retreating by turns, according to the news of the day, and never received the *chargé d'affaires*, whom Mr. Jay left at his departure, in an official manner, until February 1783, about three months after the provisional articles of peace had been signed at Paris. All this conduct of Spain was weak and insulting, and our submission to it was of course calculated to injure our reputation abroad. One of our commissioners then in Europe, speaking on this subject, says, "the slight Spain has put upon our proffered friendship, is very disreputable to us, and of course hurtful to our affairs elsewhere."

Envoys were also sent to Germany and Russia, both of which governments refused all intercourse with "the revolted colonies." At Berlin, Mr. Arthur Lee had a little more success. Supplies were obtained for carrying on the war, and Frederic II., besides expressing a royal sympathy for us, caused to be exacted upon the Hessian troops bought by Great Britain, and passing through his dominions, the same toll that was levied on other cattle. This did not induce the formal reception of Lee, nor protect his apartment from being entered and robbed of his papers, nor procure him any redress beyond the mere restoration of the stolen property. We could wish that the fact of participation in this outrage had not been but too clearly brought home to the English envoy.

We conceive that there was great reason for the opinion of Franklin as expressed by him in one of his letters—"It would have been better," says he, "if we had never issued commissions to the courts of Spain, Vienna, Prussia, Tuscany, and Holland, till we had first privately learnt, whether our agents would have been received, since a refusal from one is an actual slight, that

lessens our reputation, and makes others less willing to form connexions with us."

In their negotiations, however, and the treaties which were at last concluded, the statesmen of that day exhibited a remarkable sagacity and firmness. Brought into contact, under every disadvantage, with the keenest and most able diplomatists of Europe, they baffled all the intrigues which even our pretended friends set on foot against us, and signed not a single treaty affecting either our commercial or territorial interests, of which experience has not sanctioned the policy. With these interests they were familiar, and the great principles which they established have been rendered more and more dear to us, as their salutary effects have been developed by time. The Treaty of Commerce of 1778, with France, contains the same principle of reciprocity which has governed us in our negotiations on commercial subjects from that period to the present day.

This treaty indeed, as originally concluded, contained a provision, the effect of which might have been to give the French navigation an undue advantage over our own. It had been admitted, through the too great eagerness of our eastern brethren to secure a cheap and plentiful supply of molasses. Of our commissioners then in Paris, Messrs. Lee and Izard were totally opposed to it. Messrs. Franklin, Adams, and Deane, (all of pilgrim lineage,) were as warm on the other side, and persisted in introducing the obnoxious stipulation; but by the more impartial good sense of congress, it was erased before the ratification of the treaty. The subject, however, occasioned many angry remarks among the commissioners, and the controversy finally led to a very wide breach between them. The feeling which it excited may be judged of from the terms in which Mr. Izard speaks of the decision of congress.—"I have the satisfaction," says he, in a letter to Mr. Laurens, "of finding that Mr. Adams, as well as his countrymen, Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane, have been mistaken in their expectation that congress would be inattentive to the interests of nine states, to gratify the eaters and distillers of molasses."

On some other subjects, a spirit so profound and penetrating was not evinced. Our statesmen of that day appeared scarcely to appreciate the advantages resulting from the remote and peculiar situation of the republic, or to perceive that the whole artificial system of European policy was really beyond our scope—and that our true welfare was to be pursued by avoiding all entanglement with foreign interests. We have properly no concern with the balance of power among the states of Europe, nor with the leagues, alliances holy or unholy, wars and negotiations arising from the efforts to maintain or overturn it; nor should we ever suffer our own plain and direct policy to be involved in

the-intricate and precarious relations which exist between other states. At the breaking out, however, of the revolutionary contest, our natural recourse for assistance against the power of England, was to her ancient enemies or hollow friends on the continent, and we were too ready, for the sake of present aid, to pledge the country to a future participation in the politics of the other hemisphere. Luckily most of our advances were slighted;—a short experience, and the abatement of the storm which had clouded their vision, gave our statesmen a clearer view of our situation; and on the whole, we suffered just enough from the embarrassment occasioned by the only imprudent connexion actually formed, to give us a permanent dislike to any further alliance of the same kind.

A few instances will show how narrowly we escaped being permanently involved in the vortex of European politics. In 1779 we offered to guaranty the Floridas to Spain; an offer which, if accepted, would have almost infallibly made us a party in any future war between Spain and England. In 1780, we went so far as to seek from Russia, (then persisting in her refusal to hold any intercourse with us,) permission to accede to "the armed neutrality," which amounted in fact almost to an alliance offensive and defensive. But a fortunate contempt of our supposed feebleness, and inability either to annoy an enemy or assist our friends, induced both Spain and Russia to treat these, and all other proffers of the same nature, with neglect, at the time; and in a few years we had thought better of the matter. The instructions for making the proposal to Russia, were very gladly countermanded by congress in 1783, and those fundamental principles laid down, which have since generally governed, (and long may they continue to govern,) our policy. In May, 1783, the following resolution was adopted by congress:—

"That though Congress approve the principles of the armed neutrality, founded on the liberal basis of a maintenance of the rights of neutral nations, and of the privileges of commerce, yet they are unwilling at this juncture to become a party to a confederacy, which may hereafter too far complicate the interests of the United States with the politics of Europe; and, therefore, if such a progress is not yet made in this business as to make it dishonourable to recede, it is their desire that no further measures may be taken at present towards the admission of the United States into that confederacy."

And again:—

"Whereas the primary object of the resolution of October 5th, 1780, and of the commission and instructions to Mr. Dana relative to the accession of the United States to the neutral confederacy, no longer can operate; and as the true interest of these states requires that they should be as little as possible entangled in the politics and controversies of European nations, it is inexpedient to renew the said powers, either to Mr. Dana or to the other ministers of these United States, in Europe; but, inasmuch as the liberal principles, on which the said confederacy was established, are conceived to be in general favourable to the interests of nations, and particularly to those of the United States, and ought in that view to be promoted by the latter, as far as will consist with their fundamental

policy,—Resolved, that the ministers plenipotentiary of these United States, for negotiating a peace, be, and they are hereby instructed, in case they should comprise in the definitive treaty, any stipulations amounting to a recognition of the rights of neutral nations, to avoid accompanying them by any engagements which shall oblige the contracting parties to support those stipulations by arms.”

The Treaty of Alliance of 1778 with France, contained two stipulations, the results of which led to a more firm conviction of the expediency of adhering to the principles stated in the resolution just quoted. By the eighth article of that treaty, it was provided that neither of the two contracting parties should conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain, without the formal consent of the other first obtained; and the eleventh stipulated a mutual guarantee, by the United States, of the French possessions in America; and by France, of our liberty, sovereignty, independence, and possessions. Both of these provisions were afterwards violated by us: the preliminary articles of peace with Great Britain were signed without the knowledge of the French government; and the first application by France for a compliance on our parts with the guarantee of the American possessions was refused. We do not know that these acts amounted strictly to breaches of faith; for the first, there was as much reason as there ever can be for dispensing with the performance of a positive national engagement. During the negotiations of 1782, France, (“our very dear great friend,”) was found supporting, not merely her own interests, where they were supposed to clash with ours, but those of Spain, and even in some respects of the common enemy;—backing the former in her outrageous claims on the Mississippi, and, indeed, seeking to confine us to the eastern side of the Allegheny;—backing the latter in her demands for compensation to the loyalists, and doing what she could towards excluding us from the fisheries. There was much of crooked intrigue on foot, and our commissioners were placed in an embarrassing position, having before their eyes not only the obligations created by the Treaty of Alliance, but their own instructions, which were positive and direct against signing any treaty without the concurrence of France. We owe it chiefly perhaps to the manliness and moral courage of John Jay, that the commissioners resolved at last to violate both the Treaty of Alliance and their instructions, and signed the provisional articles of the peace. This led to no worse consequences than a lofty complaint from Vergennes, and an ingenious acknowledgment and deprecation from Franklin.

The guarantee into which we had unfortunately entered, was destined to produce more embarrassing effects. When war first broke out between England and the French Republic, the latter invoked our compliance with the guarantee of the French possessions in America. The effect of such compliance, would have

been to involve us in the bloody contest of twenty years which was then commencing, to expose our interests to inevitable injury, and even to endanger in some degree our institutions. Our government refused compliance; ostensibly on two grounds. 1. That the *casus fœderis* had not occurred; that the guarantee, being merely general, could only be enforced in case of a *defensive* war waged by the party calling for the benefit of it; and that the war which was then carried on by the French republic, was not *defensive*. 2. That the republican government of France was not sufficiently established and recognised, to entitle it to call for the fulfilment of the guarantee in any case. We had at this very time, it must be recollected, recognised that government in the fullest manner, by receiving and accrediting its minister. In accordance with these views, our government determined to preserve a strict neutrality, and that determination was made known by the celebrated proclamation of neutrality issued in April 1793. The reasons given for the non-fulfilment of the guarantee, more plausible than forcible, were by no means calculated to satisfy the French. They complained in no very measured terms, and on their parts infringed our rights as neutrals, and even violated our sovereignty; their envoy within our territory granted commissions, enlisted men, and fitted out privateers to cruise and commit hostilities against the English, with whom we were at peace; and the French consuls at our ports even proceeded, under the authority of the same functionary, to condemn English prizes brought in by those privateers; while on the ocean, and in the French ports, our own commerce was subjected to a predatory warfare of the most destructive kind. This course of outrage was continued for years. All cordiality between the two governments was necessarily at an end. On one side were exhibited moderation, patience, an unwillingness to resent aggression however direct, and a desire, (perhaps too earnest,) to preserve the neutrality which had been declared. By the French were shown rudeness, insolence, and a total disregard of the ordinary courtesies which are observed in the intercourse between civilized nations. One minister whom we sent, they refused to receive in a public character, and he was finally ordered by the police to quit the French dominions. A second embassy was treated scarcely better. We could obtain neither redress for the past, nor security for the future.

Congress at last passed an Act, (7th July 1793,) by which, in consequence of the repeated violations of treaties by France, and other wrongs stated in the preamble, it was enacted, that the United States were, of right, freed and exonerated from the stipulations of the treaties and of the consular convention theretofore concluded between the United States and France, and that the same should not thenceforth be regarded as legally obligato-

ry on the government or citizens of the United States. This disposal of a treaty by Act of congress, was certainly rather a novel mode of abrogation, of which France naturally refused to recognise the validity. The two countries were on the very brink of war. Hostilities on the ocean were even begun. Finally, however, negotiations were again opened, which resulted in the convention of 3d of September 1800. By that instrument, the non-fulfilment of the guarantee by us, was compensated to the French by a relinquishment of the claims of our citizens for indemnity on account of spoliations committed before the 30th September 1800; but property which might be definitively condemned or captured after that date, (except contraband destined to an enemy's port,) was to be restored or paid for; and debts contracted by the one government with the citizens of the other, were to be paid. Thus, after seven years of vexation and embarrassment, we finally got rid of our first, and we trust our last, obligation of guarantee to any power.

This convention deserves notice on another account. It affords the first example of settling the claims of our citizens for illegal captures and condemnations, in a mode which has since been too frequently adopted. Every government is bound to afford to the persons and property of its citizens, in the pursuit of their lawful business at home or abroad, protection from illegal violence or oppression. If the property of such a citizen be irregularly and illegally seized and condemned, under the authority of a foreign power, on pretences not warranted by treaties or the law of nations, the injured party has a right to look to his own government for redress; and his own government is bound in justice and honour, either itself to make a compensation for the injury sustained, or to obtain such compensation from the government under whose authority the wrong was committed, or to grant the suffering party letters of marque and reprisal, and allow him to repay himself out of the property of such government or its subjects, which of course is a war measure; or lastly to declare war in form. Unfortunately, few wars occur, in the course of which the commerce of the innocent neutral does not become the prey of one or both of the hostile parties; and in such case, the obligation above mentioned is incurred in all its force by the neutral government. The insult to its own flag or sovereignty it may overlook or resent, as policy or a sense of national honour may dictate, but redress and compensation to the individual citizen who has suffered the wrong, it is bound to afford in some shape, and can only do so in one of the modes already pointed out.

The *first*, that of payment directly from its own treasury, though it has been adopted in some rare instances, is not customary with any nation. By a declaration of war, all accounts of

this kind are wiped off; and to this course, European neutral powers have generally been driven. We have usually pursued the middle course of negotiation, sending a minister and a remonstrance, when other governments would have issued a manifesto, and resorted to "the proud control of fierce and bloody war." For twenty years the storms of the French revolution raged; it was truly a time, "*inopinum casibus, atrox proeliis, discors seditionibus, ipsâ etiam pace sævum.*" During the greater part of that period, we were almost the only great neutral and commercial country, and our maritime rights were habitually infringed, our flag violated, and the property of our citizens seized and confiscated on various pretences, to an immense amount, and by almost all the belligerent powers; by Spain, England, France, Holland, Naples, Denmark, and Sweden. As our accounts with none of these countries except England have been liquidated by war, it may be supposed that the balance against most of them has run up to a very high sum. With some of them settlements have been effected more or less satisfactory to our government, but we regret to add, that in repeated instances, that government has acted upon principles not at all consistent with our ideas of justice or good faith towards its own citizens.

By the 7th article of Jay's treaty with England, it was agreed that compensation should be made by the British government, for irregular or illegal captures or condemnations of American property which had taken place under the authority of his Britannic Majesty; the amount to be ascertained by a joint commission. And by virtue of this article, a sum exceeding 1,200,000 pounds sterling was actually paid to American citizens. Again, by the 21st article of the treaty with Spain, of 1795, in order to terminate all differences on account of the losses sustained by the citizens of the United States, in consequence of their vessels and cargoes having been taken by the subjects of his Catholic Majesty during the war between Spain and France, which had been just ended by the peace of Basle, it was agreed that all such cases should be referred to the final decision of commissioners, to be appointed and sworn impartially to examine and decide the claims in question, according to the merits of the several cases, and to justice, equity, and the laws of nations. The award of any two of the commissioners was to be final and conclusive, and his Catholic Majesty undertook to pay the amount of the same in specie, without deduction. These were fair and equitable arrangements, and such as effectually fulfilled the obligations of our government to its citizens. But the precedents thus furnished by the administration of Washington have unfortunately not been since followed.

Next in order of time, came the convention of 1800 with France, in relation to which a very different course was pursued.

Instead of a provision for ascertaining and discharging the claims for spoliation, this convention contained an absolute stipulation by our government for a renunciation of all such claims, on behalf of our citizens, except for property captured or condemned after the 30th of September 1800,—and no specific course was pointed out for inquiring into the validity or amount of even these. Our Republic received a consideration for this renunciation, in the relinquishment by France of her claim for the fulfilment of the guarantee of 1778, and having thus traded away the rights of her citizens, it might have been supposed that she would instantly have made them a fair compensation. Their private property had, in effect, in the words of the constitution, been taken for the public use, and they were entitled to receive the value from the public treasury. If the United States had received the amount in money from France, they could not have been more bound in justice and honour, to distribute it among the sufferers to whom it belonged. The government did receive in fact what they conceived to be an equivalent for these claims, and in consequence renounced on behalf of the claimants all prosecution of them against France. Good faith required that they should immediately take measures for satisfying the claimants. Yet almost thirty years have passed, and the faith and honour of our government remain unredeemed. Next came the Louisiana treaty of 30th April 1803, which consisted of three conventions signed on the same day, the first to effect the cession of Louisiana by France to the United States, the second to regulate the price to be paid in cash and stock, the third to secure the assumption by the United States, of certain debts due by France to the citizens of the former. The debts thus provided for, were estimated to amount to 20,000,000 of francs, and that sum was allowed by France to be retained by the United States, for the purpose of paying those debts. They included, 1. Debts for captures of which the French council of prizes should have ordered restitution; 2. Debts mentioned in the 5th article of the convention of 30th September 1800, of which payment had been claimed of the actual government of France, and for which the creditors had a right to the protection of the United States. Claims for debts incurred since the 30th of September 1800, were not to be included. That is, the convention of 1803 provided for the assumption and payment by the United States, of all claims by her citizens against France, arising before the 30th of September 1800, for which they had a right to the protection of their government, and which had not been renounced by that government in the convention of 1800.

The greater part of the twenty millions (3,750,000 dollars,) thus retained, has been since paid by the United States, it is true, but even a small balance of that sum it is believed still remains

in the coffers of the government; and the amount paid was not even distributed pro rata among all the claimants, in consequence of which many of the debts thus solemnly assumed by the United States, remain altogether undischarged, the government having uniformly refused to go beyond the sum mentioned in the treaty. Thus we bought an invaluable territory from France, and as part of the consideration, assumed the payment of certain claims of our citizens upon her, which claims our negotiators chose to estimate at 20,000,000 of francs, though that proved to be far short of their real amount. France, however, is completely discharged from them. We pay away the greater part of the money to the first comers, and then shut the door in the faces of the rest, and leave them to contemplate in beggary the exquisite good faith in which their government has procured redress for them.

From the date of the treaty of Louisiana, ensued a long period, during which the belligerents appeared to task their ingenuity for the invention of new modes of annoyance to our commerce and insult to our flag. Fresh confiscations gave rise to fresh complaints, which produced no redress, and a new set of claims soon rose to an amount far exceeding that of any former ones. Sweden and Denmark are understood to have recently made arrangements satisfactory to the parties interested in the claims upon those governments. France, Naples, and the Netherlands, have hitherto pertinaciously resisted all attempts to bring them to a settlement. Spain has extinguished all demands of the kind upon her, by the Florida treaty, the last transaction of this nature to the principle of which we wish to call the attention of our readers. An abortive convention signed in 1802, ratified by the United States in 1804, by Spain not till 1818, and which was annulled by the treaty of 1819, had provided for the ascertainment by a commission, of the amount of claims on each government, for excesses committed by its subjects or citizens on those of the other, and for the payment of such amount. By the Florida treaty, the United States received from Spain a cession of the whole of East and West Florida, and a renunciation of claims by Spain or her subjects on the United States; in return for which, our government formally renounced all claims upon Spain for damages or injuries suffered by our citizens, and undertook itself to make satisfaction for the same, to an amount not exceeding 5,000,000 dollars.

Commissioners were to be appointed by the United States, for ascertaining the full amount and validity of the claims. They included—

1. Claims for injuries mentioned in the convention of 1802.
2. All claims on account of prizes made by French privateers, and condemned by French consuls within the territory and jurisdiction of Spain.

3. All claims of indemnities on account of the suspension of the right of deposit at New-Orleans, in the year 1802.

4. All claims of citizens of the United States upon the government of Spain, arising from unlawful seizures.

5. All claims of citizens of the United States upon the Spanish government, statements of which, soliciting the interposition of the government of the United States, had been presented to the department of state, or to the minister of the United States in Spain, since the date of the convention of 1802, and until the signature of the treaty of 1819.

It is evident, 1. That on the conclusion of this treaty, the obligations of the United States to their own citizens, became co-extensive with the claims from which she had thus exonerated Spain, and were not at all limited to the amount of 5,000,000 dollars mentioned in the treaty. 2. That claims not only for wrongs done, but for debts owing by Spain to our citizens, provided statements of such debts had been duly presented, were within the letter of the treaty, and being thereby released to Spain, became entitled to payment by the United States. And these *contract* claims have been declared by the negotiators on both sides to have been in their contemplation at the time, and intended to be included in the treaty, and accordingly Spain has ever since considered herself absolved from all obligation to pay those debts; notwithstanding which, our government have not only hitherto refused to go beyond the 5,000,000 dollars, (though a comparatively small additional sum would have covered the admitted claims,) but their commissioners, on some ingenious misconstruction of the treaty itself, actually shut out the contract claims from even a share in the distribution of that fund; and to this day, the shocking injustice remains unatoned for.

We conceive this case to be the one which of all appeals most urgently and irresistibly to the sense, honour, and feeling of congress and the country at large; and trust that ere long the obligations of the government, thus far at least, will be recognised, and an opportunity afforded of producing the proofs, on which the validity and amount of these contract claims may be fairly and impartially ascertained and provided for.

In these several instances we are compelled to say that our own government is more culpable than the original spoilers, just as it is worse in any government to defraud its own citizens than to commit violence upon foreigners, or in a guardian to cheat his ward, than to possess himself of the property of a stranger. Three times have we bargained away, for our own benefit, individual rights, which we were bound by the most sacred ties to protect, received a valuable consideration for releasing them, and then, with or without a pretext, refused compensation to all or some of

the individuals who had relied, fatally for themselves, upon the honesty and good faith of the only free government on earth.

To return from a long digression—the difficulties into which we were led by the French alliance and guarantee of 1778, and the vexations and embarrassments which we suffered before finally getting rid of the obligations then incurred, have confirmed all who have the true interest of the country at heart, in the wish for “peace and friendship with all nations, but entangling alliances with none,”—nor can we expect that our national prosperity will endure, when this shall cease to be a cardinal point of our policy. To this point the most watchful attention of the constitutional guardians of the country should be directed. The danger of being led, as in 1778, by the temptations of some present advantage, into stipulations tending to future embarrassment, always exists. The fewer treaties we have, the better. Our relations with Russia have been from the beginning more satisfactory than with any other country in the world, and yet the only treaty ever signed between the two countries, is the convention of 1824, for arranging a disputed claim on the north-west coast. An executive, especially if composed of old diplomatists, is as apt to be too fond of making treaties, as a legislature is of making laws. It is almost incredible, and is yet true, that within three years after we had effected our escape by the convention of 1800, from the guarantee of 1778, our executive should have three times incurred the risk of involving the country in the whirlpool of the wars of the French revolution. In a despatch from the secretary of state, to the American minister in Spain, of 11th May 1802, he is told—“You may not only receive and transmit a proposition of guarantee of her (Spain’s) territory beyond the Mississippi, as a condition of her ceding to the United States the territory including New-Orleans on this side, but in case it be necessary, *may make the proposition yourself*, in the forms required by the constitution.”

Again, in April and May 1803, instructions were given to Messrs. Monroe and Livingston, our ministers at Paris, (in case the French government should be found to meditate hostilities, or to have formed projects which would constrain the United States to resort to hostilities,) to sound the dispositions of Great Britain, and invite her concurrence in the war. In these instructions, the following language is used:—

“Notwithstanding the just repugnance of this country to a coalition of any sort with the belligerent parties of Europe, the advantages to be derived from the co-operation of Great Britain in a war of the United States at this period against France and her allies, are too obvious and too important to be renounced. And, notwithstanding the apparent disinclination of the British councils to a renewal of hostilities with France, it will probably yield to the various motives, which will be felt, to have the United States in the scale of Britain against France, and, particularly, for the immediate purpose of defeating a project of

the latter, which has evidently created much solicitude in the British government.

"The price which she may attach to her co-operation cannot be foreseen, and therefore cannot be the subject of full and precise instructions. It may be expected that she will insist, at least on a stipulation that neither of the parties shall make peace or truce without the consent of the other, and as such an article cannot be deemed unreasonable, and will secure us against the possibility of her being detached in the course of the war, by seducing overtures from France, it will not be proper to raise difficulties on that account. It may be useful, however, to draw from her a definition, as far as the case will admit, of the objects contemplated by her, that whenever, with ours, they may be attainable by peace, she may be duly pressed to listen to it. Such an explanation will be the more reasonable, as the objects of the United States will be so fair and so well known."

And again, in the instructions of the 2d of March 1803, to the same ministers, on the subject of the negotiations which resulted in the Louisiana treaty, these expressions occur:—

"It is hoped that the idea of a guarantee of the country reserved to France, may not be brought into the negotiation. Should France propose such a stipulation, it will be expedient to evade it, if possible, as more likely to be a source of disagreeable questions between the parties concerning the actual *casus fœderis*, than of real advantage to France. There will be less reason in the demand of such an article, as the United States would set little value on a guarantee of any part of their territory, and consequently there would be no just reciprocity in it. Should France, notwithstanding these considerations, make a guarantee an essential point, it will be better to accede to it, than to abandon the object of the negotiation, mitigating the evil, as much as possible, by requiring for the *casus fœderis* a great and manifest danger, threatened to the territory guaranteed, and by substituting for an indefinite succour, or even a definite succour, in military force, a fixed sum of money payable at the treasury of the United States."

We extract part of the judicious observations of Mr. Lyman on this head:—

"We had just thrown off one contract of guarantee, an evil whose extent and duration it was not easy to calculate;—it was brought about at a cheap rate and in a very expeditious way, and every one seemed to rejoice at it. Fortunately the country escaped a renewal of this mischievous engagement, attended with the certain, pernicious consequence of plunging us into the politics and wars of Europe. A guarantee of territory produces, at once, on the menace of war, a *casus fœderis*; immediately our neutrality and all the advantages of the remote situation of the country vanish,—a most injurious state of things, not only fatal to the interest, but in complete mockery of the loudly proclaimed policy of this nation. A war of this sort is accompanied with the worst effects for any people, for it neither depends upon them, either when war or peace shall be made. But the guarantee was not exacted.—Perhaps Napoleon thought it of little consequence from the way the United States had already fulfilled one stipulation of that sort. The situation in which he was placed, obviously made him think more of ready money than any distant advantages of an uncertain pledge."

The risk of entanglement has been much increased, since the rise of the republics formed from the wreck of the Spanish dominion in America. The establishment of their independence opened splendid visions to the eyes of some of our statesmen, whose brains were heated with sympathetic fervour, by the contemplation of their struggles for liberty. A certain enthusiasm was excited in their cause, especially among those of our citi-

zens who were fond of adventure. Enthusiasm is always contagious; and so far had it spread on this occasion, that in 1823, even the cautious spirit of President Monroe was inflamed to a flourish on the subject of any interference by the other European powers, in the contest between Spain and her former colonies. This was well understood at home to be a mere flower of rhetoric, not at all binding either the government or people of the United States to any connexion with the southern republics, beyond what our own interests might require. But the Spanish Americans being interested in converting this piece of eloquence into an assurance of assistance in a certain contingency, and our own statesmen giving countenance in a degree to this construction, for the purpose probably of forming more favourable treaties of commerce with some of the new states, and having moreover their heads full of a great American System, (antagonist to the European Holy Alliance,) of which we were to be the "*deus et præsidium*," the result was, that this simple excursion of fancy made by Mr. Monroe, came near being diplomatically understood and considered as a pledge, to the redemption of which our national faith was bound. Then happened the mission to the congress of Panama. A part of the instructions to the envoys appointed to represent us at that august assemblage, authorized them to go so far towards entering into an alliance offensive and defensive with our southern sisters, as to receive such a proposition, *ad referendum*, and submit it to the government at home. But this, and all other measures of the like nature, were luckily suspended, by the failure in the reassembling of the congress at Panama or Tacubaya.

We conceived the republics in question to be entitled to our sympathy. We would treat these nations, as all others, fairly, openly, and honestly. We would cultivate with them relations of peace, amity, and commerce. But any league, coalition, confederacy, alliance, or guarantee whatever, with or to them, or any nation on the face of the earth, we do utterly deprecate, as being contrary to the lessons of experience, in violation of all sound policy, fatal to our interests, and perilous to our institutions. We subjoin some of the reflections of Mr. Lyman, on the subject of this congress at Panama, and the confederacy to which it was supposed it might lead:—

"This republic has had no connexion, in war or peace, with the South American states, nor any points in discussion of a general nature, nor has she entered into alliances of any sort. The congress could not be held, therefore, for the purpose of settling past differences;—there were none such, nor did any special symptoms or grounds of alarm or uneasiness appear, that should make it necessary to send ministers for the purpose of invoking the contingent aid of the American states. This country was never in a sounder or more secure position, free and remote from danger or assault on every border. The congress of Panama was then designed to be a great confederacy of the American nations, in imitation of the great confederacy of European sovereigns, convened and organiz-

ed solely for general and indefinite objects, with this wide difference, that the European was a league for the protection of the throne against the subject, whereas this government, at least, was not required to enter into alliances to preserve itself from similar casualties."

"As some of the objects of this congress were professedly belligerent, and as Mr. Salazar says in his note, that 'eventual alliances may be formed, which shall remain secret,' a mission, on the part of the United States, has much the appearance of a breach of neutrality, or affords legitimate ground for such a belief. Unless it was belligerent doctrines, or plans to prevent colonization on the American continent, we know of no subjects for discussion at the congress. It was not necessary to send a special mission to form treaties of commerce, to introduce into general practice in this hemisphere the liberal notions concerning the law of nations the United States have always professed. We already possessed a treaty of commerce, cast, with one exception, in our own mould, with one of those states, (Colombia,) and others could have been negotiated at the respective capitals of the states by our ministers.

"We come now to look for a moment at the condition of the states, with whom it is proposed we should enter into this confederacy. This well constructed and organized, compact and mature government, trained and drilled to all exigencies, whether at home or abroad, that had passed through, in a brilliant, successful manner, the agony of a long and fearful revolution, the dangers and pressures of a foreign war, to unite with nations, not even in the gristle, just emerging from three hundred years of servitude, ignorance and bigotry, every thing loose, disjointed and afloat, not an anchor down, menaced with the fleets and armies of the whole Holy Alliance!—Upon what terms of equality do we enter into this compact? What reciprocity of assistance or of benefit? If all Europe should come, armed at every point, upon these United States, would the people look round for aid or dread the issue?—Or would they seek it from South America?—On the other hand, when the armadas of the Holy Alliance pressed upon the shores of the southern continent, with what haste and urgent zeal would our contingent be demanded? This is a war the people would never endure, and if the government had given a thousand pledges, there is not one the nation would redeem."

"We shall conclude this subject with one remark. In the vindications of the Panama mission we have read, (many prepared with care and ability,) it has appeared to us, that there was throughout an inherent defect in the application of the principle upon which their reasoning depended. Their authors have seemed to consider, there was an essential difference between a confederacy of European states and one of American. We confess, we perceive none. The governments of the old continent unite for the consolidation of the throne,—those of the new for the defence of the republic. The motives and objects of these respective alliances are different, but for this country to become a member either of one or the other is equally dangerous in its consequences,—equally a violation of the principles of the constitution,—and equally a departure from the policy and practice of the government."

But we must draw to a close. From the breaking out of the wars of the French revolution, to the peace of Ghent, we were involved in perpetual, and, with few exceptions, unsatisfactory negotiations. The early discontents with England were removed by Jay's Treaty of 1794; and the first difficulties with France, by the convention of 1800, and the Louisiana treaty of 1803; but new infractions of our rights occurred, and new questions of an irritating character were constantly springing up. Enjoying for nearly twenty years the advantage of being the carriers for almost all Europe, we submitted to too many indignities on all sides, for the sake of preserving it. The questions of that

day, involving the whole range of neutral maritime, and territorial rights, have lost much of the painful interest which they once excited; but the official papers of our statesmen may be referred to, as teeming with sound principles, vigorous reasoning, and eloquent remonstrance. The course of our government it is true showed a greater regard for safety than for national honour, and, on the whole, down to the declaration of war in 1812, it was for us a period of increasing wealth, and diminishing dignity. That war produced at least one good effect, in the national enthusiasm which it called forth, and the national pride which it created. The Treaty of Ghent, it is true, settled none of the questions which had occasioned the war; they all remain for future adjustment; but when the necessity shall again arise, we shall enter on the discussion of them with a greater confidence in ourselves, a more steadfast reliance on our resources, and a firmer determination to submit to no aggression on our rights, than were exhibited during the period when they were last agitated.

Of our negotiations since the peace of Ghent, we have not room to speak, further than some of them have been incidentally alluded to above.

Our object has been to carry the political student back to the earlier days in which the foundations of our strength were laid. In the investigation of our negotiations and state papers from the beginning, he will be deriving from the best sources, authentic information, and correct views, on the foreign policy and political history of our country. He will there find the reason and origin of those maxims of policy which experience taught and wisdom has sanctioned, and by an adherence to which, in our future course, we can alone expect to preserve and secure the happiness and prosperity of the republic.

ART. IX.—*Travels in the North of Germany, in the years 1825 and 1826.* By HENRY E. DWIGHT, A. M. New-York: G. & C. & H. Carvill: 1829.

WE have read Mr. Dwight's volume of travels with great interest. His sentiments are generally founded on personal observation; his narrative is rendered valuable by exact and well authenticated information; the subjects to which his attention was mainly given, are of the highest importance to every liberal and reflecting mind. The tolerant spirit in which the letters are written likewise merits commendation. Decided in his own views, Mr. Dwight is averse to every species of legislative bi-

gotry; and while the defects of literary institutions are illustrated, and the vices and foibles of literary devotees are distinctly sketched, he writes with the ardent enthusiasm of a scholar, and exalts intelligence to the highest rank among the objects of human pursuit. His inquiries during his residence in the heart of the European continent, were assisted by the liberal communications of well-informed men: and his account of foreign manners and institutions thus gains a title to confidence, without which a writer on a foreign country is absolutely valueless.

The frontispiece we consider the most exceptionable thing in the volume, because it sets in too bold relief the extravagances of the ruder part of German students. A peaceable man is as safe at Gottingen or Berlin as on any part of the earth. The established customs of the students strictly check all interferences in each other's concerns; and a hermit on the mountains is not more secure or more isolated, than a studious young man at one of the better German universities, if he desires to be so. Mr. Dwight is in his statements generally correct and cautious; it is only necessary to remind the casual reader, not to substitute the boisterous manners and foolish excesses of sottish idlers, the riotous subjects of university discipline, for the universal manners of the place. If, in a small city, fifteen hundred young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-three are congregated, it would be matter of infinite astonishment, if there were not frequent brawls, and the occasional acts of intemperate and nocturnal violence. But the dissolute and the idle are clamorous in the streets and the public walks, while the close recluse, in his still devotedness to the acquisition of learning, steals away from notice, and pursues his purposes without noise. The extravagant customs of the turbulent, offer the most striking points for remarks; but the *myriad* of learned men which each generation sees rise up in Germany, is evidence of the general habit of profound industry from the very dawn of their intellectual existence.

We say this, not in censure of Mr. Dwight, whose accuracy is exemplary, but as a caution to any, who, from a lively representation and agreeable description of the manners of a portion of the academic society, leap to a sweeping condemnation of the whole class, to whom the interests of intelligence, religion, and public justice, are in their turn to be intrusted. A pale student in the recesses of his study, or a professor immersed among books and scribbling at his desk, or a good-humoured, venerable scholar welcoming the youth to his family circle, would have given quite as just a first impression of a German university as an etching of ridiculous encounter. But industry and hospitality are universal qualities; the dwelling of a German student is certainly *sui generis*, absolutely unique, and merits commemoration as an astronomical absurdity. To the great topic itself, the organ-

ization of the German universities, Mr. Dwight does ample justice in an excellent letter; a letter which, on the whole, gives as plain and adequate a description of those celebrated establishments, as can readily be found, and combines scrupulous fidelity in the account, with feelings and wishes that do honour to the author's patriotism.

The best works on Germany, to which we may allude in connexion with the present travels, are Russel's very popular *Tour*, and the far more elaborate and more excellent "*Germany*" of Madame de Staël. When the latter was in the country, which it was her purpose to describe, she sought the acquaintance of almost every man of eminence and learning. Her own talents never appeared more brilliantly than in conversation; she courted the society of able men; and what literary recluse could resist the excitement of the presence, and the curiosity of so celebrated and accomplished a woman? She knew Fichte and Schelling very well, the Schlegels were almost a part of her train; and as an ancient has left it in writing, that he read no book from which he did not derive something worth remembering, so Madame de Staël met with no men so incorrigibly dull, from whom she did not contrive, by dint of questioning and cross-examining, to extract some valuable information. Of a philosopher she would demand a sketch of the philosophy of Kant; or of an admirer of Goethe, some analysis of his doctrine of colours. In this way she became somewhat acquainted with almost every object of intellectual interest. Every thing which she heard, received a livelier character, as it passed through her mind; the trials which she had herself encountered, but never fully sustained, fitted her to understand the deep character of the German nations; and though her principles were not severely austere, she yet in her life and in her writings followed her own convictions with passionate tenacity. The subjects which she was discussing, receive a deeper interest from the kind of gloomy discontent in which her own mind was held, and she became the more acute and restless observer, from her perpetual aspirations after a happiness which she was destined never to find.

The regions embraced under the general name of Germany, can hardly be connected in the mind with any very distinct associations; they are so wide in extent, so dissimilar in climate, aspect, and productions; in religion, manners, and government. Yet the portion of the country which Mr. Dwight brings under survey, amidst a great variety of local customs and political forms, has still some common characteristics. It is for the most part protestant in its religion; and it also prefers a just claim to pre-eminence in its culture. Its public institutions for liberal education have long been subjects of fear to the sovereigns of Europe, and of honourable curiosity to the scholars of America. Its taste

for the arts is attested by the universal enthusiasm which the gallery of Dresden continues to excite ; and its rivers, its cultivated plains, its mountains, and its towns, are not destitute of that surprising beauty which appeals directly to the imagination, and awakens a taste for the magnificence of art and nature. Yet its various scenes, though rendered illustrious by great historic events, still have not the power of recalling associations and quickening the mind in the same degree as the monuments of classic lands. There the recollections of the cloudy visions of boyhood enhance the interest of every celebrated spot by an indescribable charm, which connects the early with the riper existence, and mingles the dim sentiment of childish astonishment with the mature acknowledgment of heroic virtue or literary excellence. In Italy, the present generation is not so much identified in our minds with the country and its monuments, as the past ; and memory surrounds the traveller on every side with the mysterious influences of other days. But the German states do not share in this kind of power, though their battle fields have witnessed as great deeds in arms as any on the face of the earth : and sceptres have been repeatedly lost and won on their soil. True it is, they are not wholly devoid of an interest imparted by recollections. The protestant christian cannot pass unmoved the scenes of Luther's retirement and of his studies ; of his dangers and his successes ; his hiding places and the open theatres of his popular eloquence ; and the traveller pays the pious tribute of a passing visit to the scenes which were most distinguished by the moral victories of religious freedom. In the south, the Appenines, for the most part poorly wooded, or even entirely naked, rise in beautiful and successive ranges ; the clear atmosphere of Italy lends to them distinct outlines, and shows to perfect advantage the intermingling of light and shade on the remote hills and in the narrow valleys ; and imagination willingly lends itself to the fables of antiquity. It seems no unnatural idea, to have peopled the cheerful hills and the grateful woods with joyous nymphs and benevolent deities. In Germany, the highlands and groves are of a sombre cast ; the mountains are carefully kept covered with forests ; the heavy foliage gives a darker aspect to the gloomy hills ; or the thin branches of the pines make them appear still more bleak and desolate ; the mists are often gathering on the ridges ; the highest peaks are frequently wrapped in clouds ; the productions of the soil, at any considerable elevation, mark an inhospitable zone ; the inhabitants of the mountain towns are in abject poverty, and excite unmingled commiseration for their utter wretchedness ; and so a rude superstition has assigned to these northern fastnesses the distinction of being the abodes of hobgoblins and spectres ; the scenes of nocturnal incantations ; the general assembling place for all the motley and

fiendish creations of a barbarous fancy, the terrific servants of sin, who ride the air on broomsticks, and find their way over marsh and moor by the light of a Jack o' the Lantern. Yet the highest mountains of northern Germany are not very elevated; the streets of Mexico run on a plain much higher than the summit of the Brocken, and but few traditions, which deserve commemoration, still linger in the solemn but beautiful wildernesses of the Hartz.

In many parts of the country, especially along the Rhine and the Neckar, and on the eminences which command the rich valleys of central Germany, the genius of the middle ages is still visibly present in the castles of the earlier nobility,

"Those gray but leafy walls, where ruin greenly dwells."

There you have the battlements and the massive watch-towers, the dungeons and subterraneous passages, the banquetting halls and the chapels, which are so often introduced into romance, and which in themselves are far more touching in their decay, than in the descriptions of any writer of fiction. You may even inspect the very chambers of the secret tribunal, its instruments of torture, and its places of execution; and sacred enthusiasm has not failed to connect religious traditions with the scenes of greatest loveliness. Some of the simplest and purest legends of the church are connected with the wild scenery of the Rhine. It is in the midst of these relics of the middle ages, that objects of poetic interest are to be found in Germany; and enough remains to give some clear conceptions, some distinct ideas on the manners of those ages, when the fierceness of chivalrous bravery was tempered by the moderating influences of the Church, and the harshness of the haughty knight was exhibited in strange contrast with the impressive piety and graceful gentleness of woman. When we are admitted to the inner halls, and see, as it were, the daily footsteps of their inhabitants, it seems as if we were brought nearer to the days of feudal power; the anxious lady of the castle is still impatiently hearkening for the return of her lord; or the courtyard yet rings with the clattering of arms, and the loud merriment of a numerous and idle retinue; or the wine still flows freely at the hospitable but intemperate banquet; or the priest tempers the fierceness of valour with mercy, absolves the timid soul from the guilt of sin, and at the altar sanctifies to youthful valour the possession of beauty, whose affection was won by prowess in the field.

The charms which belong to this class of scenery and associations, are no where more inviting than at Heidelberg. The climate of the Neckar valley, like that of the valley of the Connecticut, is somewhat moist, and it is there no uncommon thing for the sun to set in splendour through the mild and delicious atmo-

sphere which follows a summer shower. The old remnants of the glories of the Palatinate there lie enveloped in a becoming mist; the sun half makes its way through the roofless chambers; the towers, as they lie in ruins, are wreathed in the brilliant verdure of immense masses of ivy. Nature drinks in the moisture and renovates her charms. At every step new scenes of beauty are opening. The beautiful line of the Neckar, as it makes its way through the hills, the arched bridge of stone, of ample breadth and grotesquely adorned with the statues of a heathen goddess and a German prince, the fruitful plains which fall away from the mountain, and extend to the distant banks of the Rhine, the busy city, crowded into a narrow space on the southern margin of the stream, the frequent villages, the distant ranges of hills, the luxuriant vegetation of the immediate vicinity, the proof of careful tillage and a temperate clime, all unite to produce one of the most engaging landscapes that can be found in Europe to the north of the Alps.

But it is not from the ruins of the past, or the recollections of the dead, that Germany gains its interest to an inquisitive mind. It is in the living or the recent monuments of its intellectual activity, in its munificent endowments for the purposes of education and science, in the hospitable and friendly forms of its social life, in its existing political relations, and in the influences which it exercises on protestant Christianity, that the attention of the curious is seriously engaged. We shall not follow Mr. Dwight in his progress from town to town, nor trace him on his way from Strasburg to Frankfort, Göttingen, Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, and Weimar; but shall rather glance in succession at some of the topics just enumerated, sometimes quoting his remarks, sometimes drawing from any other sources of information that may offer.

It is not natural scenery which attracts the traveller to Germany; in that our own country decidedly surpasses it; but we are first led to think of its scholars, compared with whom our own men of letters are but a handful. The traveller, as he descends from the castle which overhangs Heidelberg, enters within the precincts of a renowned university, adorned by professors of consummate erudition and eminent ability. The living welcome him to familiar intercourse; for the peculiar situation of Heidelberg favours the tastes which promote social habits. In the law, Thiebaut,* a professor in the university, is the worthy rival and opponent of Savigny. His house is famous for admirable concerts; and in the circle which he gathers round him, you are sure to meet those who share with him an enthusiasm for Mozart, and who sometimes revive the touching strains of

* Dwight's Travels, page 208.

the elder artists; of Scarlatti, who composed music and played the harp till almost seventy, but still more of the admirable Palestrina, whose ashes were deemed worthy of a place in St. Peter's,—the Raphael of music, than whom no one has better known how to express the spirit of religion by the harmony of sounds.

This is no bad introduction to the men of learning in Germany. The learned Thiebaut, a lawyer of profound skill, and an indefatigable student, has not one minute for listlessness, or sloth, or idle companionship, but divides his time between severe pursuits, his family, and the intense gratification of a cultivated taste.

The manners and household of Voss, were distinguished for hospitable simplicity. "I thank God," he would say, "for leaving me cheerfulness in my old age." And again: "I have lived a happy life, dividing my time between my books and my garden." He even imagined himself to be possessed of philosophic tranquillity; and, such is the exactness of self-knowledge in the world, thought himself the most moderate of men. But in truth he was the most contentious scholar of his day; he was always ready for battle; he foamed at the name of nobility; at the mere mention of the feudal knights, he raised a hue after the thieves and robbers; and as some men, according to Shylock, cannot contain themselves if they hear

"the bagpipe sing in the nose,
And some are mad if they behold a cat,"

so our excellent Voss, the most ingenuous of men, caught fire at the name of a rival or an antagonist.

Whoever touched Voss on republicanism, struck the key-note. A splendid eulogy of Washington and Franklin would follow; but the discourse would probably terminate in a tirade against nobility, of which the chief privilege, he would say, was, never to be hanged on the gallows.

Voss's hobby horse was the dangers impending over the protestant church. He would tell a long story about secret societies for making proselytes to the bosom of the Roman Catholic faith; he would rave against mystical tendencies; any one who lived on terms of amity with a Roman Catholic, was to him already little better than a renegade; and he had the most rare and keenest talent at getting scent of a Jesuit in disguise.

He was in sincerity a religious man; but his religion partook of the sternness of his own character. He pardoned nothing to devout weakness or to superstitious feelings. "This life," said he, "is but the prelude; action is happiness here, and without action there can be no Heaven." And then he would get into a heat, as he declared that he could not endure the thought of

Heaven as a place of absolute rest, or of blessedness, where the blessed have nothing to do. So far he may be commended. But what activity could such a man mean? We have somewhere read or heard of an English philosopher, we believe it was Priestley, who declared his belief, that his soul after death would yet revisit the scenes of its earthly interests, and still hover with delight round his laboratory and his chemical apparatus; and John von Müller hoped in the next world to be able to continue making excerpts for his universal history. The heroes of Greece believed they should still, in the world of spirits, pursue each "his favourite phantom;" and the Indian hunter hopes for ampler grounds for the chase—

"The hunter and the deer a shade."

By the same rule Voss might expect still to declaim intolerantly against intolerance, still to oppose bigotry with a bigotry yet more obstinate, to scold at rivals, to unmask Catholics in disguise, to translate good verses and write dull ones, to live on and for ever in the turmoils of controversy. Good man! He has at last gone to his rest with "the patriarchs of the infant world," and now we trust he has found, that men of all religious sects, and even Jesuits themselves, may reach the world of unclouded truth; that mistakes in literary opinions are of no more moment than the dust we tread upon; and that all errors are terminated and forgiven in the regions of perfect knowledge.

Mr. Dwight shall introduce us to two of the eminent worthies of Göttingen.

"Blumenbach is one of the most distinguished professors of Germany, and has done as much as any one now living, to extend the reputation of this university. He maintains that reputation in physiology in Germany, which Cuvier has in France, and has been more instrumental than any other man, in exciting an interest in these studies. He has in fact given such an impulse to them, that he may be considered as the creator of this science in this country. In consequence of the enthusiasm which he has produced, many of his pupils devoted their lives to these pursuits, and are now holding very honourable places in the other universities. His lectures on natural history, osteology, physiology, comparative anatomy, &c., have always attracted young men from the remotest parts of Germany. His room is always filled, as he has been for a long period the most popular of all the professors. His works have been made text books at many of the universities, and have been perused more than those of any other man in his department. He is now as enthusiastic as at any previous period of his life, and exhibits a boundless curiosity respecting new discoveries. In conversation he is most interesting, not only from his great learning, but from the youthful ardour with which he enters into every subject; and as the amiableness of his character is commensurate with his attainments, you feel a respect for his heart, which is not surpassed by your admiration of his talents. In the evening, his house is always open to his pupils, who are expected to visit him at pleasure, and they are welcomed by his family as well as by himself with so much cordiality, that they are often induced to avail themselves of this opportunity of enjoying his society.

"Among the professors of this institution, there is none whose name is so well known in the United States as Eichhorn, the father. Though but little of a German on my arrival here, I had still perused more of his writings than those of

any of the other Göttingen literati, and had found in them such research, and such new views of the subjects which he discusses, that although differing from him on many subjects, I had a greater desire to see him than almost any man in Germany. He had been, to my eyes, for several years, one of the *Gibborim* in oriental literature, and at the prospect of meeting him my curiosity became intense. My imagination had drawn a splendid picture of his physical as well as mental being; what then was my surprise on being ushered into his presence, to see a small man, of only five feet six inches in height, rather corpulent, and not having any resemblance to the picture fancy had drawn. His face is fine, and in his youth he must have been a very handsome man, and as such he was doubtless regarded by the German mademoiselles, some fifty or sixty years since. His hair, which is very long, is as white as snow, and is thrown back, falling over his shoulders. His eye, notwithstanding his close application, is very prominent, not having sunk in its orbit, as is almost always the case with such intense students as he has been. Though now seventy-three years old, he has much of the freshness of middle age in his face, but in his walk you discover the influence of time. He received me with great politeness, and in that open manner, which in a few minutes made me feel quite at my ease. According to his ideas of etiquette, it was improper to read the letter of introduction which I had handed him, in my presence; and begging me to excuse him a moment, he retired, that he might peruse it alone. Whether this was a part of the etiquette of Germany fifty years since, or whether it resulted from his peculiar feelings, I know not; but I have never seen it in any other instance. We talked about Charles X. Mr. Villele, French politics, the progress of liberty in Europe, and the Pope, on which topics he entered with a great deal of animation. I found him quite liberal in politics, an admirer of our institutions, and believing with most of the liberals on the continent, that our example would exert not a little influence on the future happiness of Europe.

"He has now almost finished the fifty-first year of his professorship, having been chosen when he was twenty-two years of age. He was first called to fill a professor's chair at Jena, where he remained until the death of Michaelis, when he was invited to this university. It is generally admitted, by all who know him, that he has been one of the most illustrious examples of mental application ever known in Germany. One who has long known him, and whose knowledge of his habits is such as to leave no doubt of the truth of the statement, has informed me, that, during the last fifty-five years, he has been in the habit of studying sixteen hours a day. What an exhibition of the improvement of time! I could not look at him without feeling that he was almost without a parallel, as an example of assiduity. He seemed to me like a noble doric column, upon which time had beaten almost in vain. His manners are an union of the old and new school; the dignity of the one, with the ease and gracefulness of the other. There is a very unusual degree of frankness in his reception of you, united with a scrupulous observance of all those civilities which prevent your wants by anticipating their gratification. His courtesy is not merely external, but flows at the same time from the heart, leaving on your mind the impression of a finished gentleman."

It is the tendency of great familiarity with any subject, however elevated, to diminish the sanctity of its character and the power of its impressions. The public interpreter of the Bible, regards the passage which is before him in his regular course, as so much Hebrew or Greek; and not a gleam of pious eloquence, nor a ray of exalted feeling, appears amidst the copiousness of emendatory criticism or exact illustration. Thus there may exist the apparent anomaly of a man most familiar with the sources of our religion, who is yet little influenced by its spirit; shutting up his knowledge of Christianity within the barren limits of elaborate commentaries.

Eichhorn made no pretensions to the character of distinguished piety. He was not what the Germans mean by the term religious. He esteemed himself doubtless a good Lutheran; and Lutheranism was to him the sum of Christian knowledge, at any given time, varying with the progress of light. The power of religion to excite ardent affections, or to interest the feelings strongly, he esteemed as a quality of religion in its action on weak minds.

As a public lecturer, Eichhorn was clear and earnest, rather than dignified or eloquent. He was elaborately diffuse, of uniform good humour, and of exemplary punctuality; but he would often raise a laugh in the course of his interpretations by some abortive attempt at humour, some frivolous drollery, equally unworthy of his subject, his learning, or his years; and when his hearers broke out into noisy and tumultuous approbation of his wit, he would smile with infinite satisfaction, and beg a respite from their deafening applause.

The learning of Eichhorn was prodigious. He read books on almost every thing, and he wrote on every thing of which he read. Was it always from a love of research? Was it not often from the love of gain? His large work on the history of the three last centuries, has none of the eloquence of which the historic narrative is capable, none of the philosophic instruction which the revolutions of the world might teach, none of that exact knowledge of human nature which excites confidence in the sketching of public men. The thick volumes are an abstract of facts; which, however, are not always to be taken without discrimination. His account, for instance, of our late war with the English, seems to have been derived mainly from the coloured statements of English writers; Eichhorn has mistaken the whole character, and the issue of the contest.

Men of letters are like professional men. Some physicians cannot speak but in terms of science; some lawyers are unintelligible but to the initiated; so it is, and so from the action of general principles it could not but be, with men of literary habits. They are often in their presence insignificant; they are objects of interest to an inquirer, but a single visit is enough for him; *ut semel vidit, transit et contentus est; ut si picturam aliquam vel statuam vidisset*. But others again emerge from the close air and thick dust of the library, and gaining a high rank in human nature, stand among the foremost in the personal competition of man with man. The morbid quiet of the contemplative student, yields to the lively influences of society, and the ability which has been assiduously acquired by solitary meditation, becomes eloquence, as it finds a way to express itself in the living word.

Something of this eloquence Mr. Dwight seems to have found in Tieck, whom he calls "one of the most distinguished poets

and critics of the present age." We cannot wholly subscribe to the commendation of Tieck's poetry, but are sure his personal intercourse must be very agreeable.—

"From his thorough knowledge of modern as well as ancient poetry, as well as from his susceptibility to the sublime and beautiful in the natural and ideal world, his conversation is more interesting than that of almost any man I have yet seen in Germany. His views on criticism are more profound, his intellectual horizon more extended, and the objects of beauty and grandeur which it embraces are more numerous, than you often find among the intellectually great of any age. During a long residence in many of the capitals of Europe, he has lost all that reserve, if he ever possessed it, which is so often observed among the literati of this country. His manners are frank, united with a polish rarely seen among the *savans* of Europe. His knowledge of the world gives him the full command of all his powers. With a fluency of utterance which cannot be surpassed, and with a perfect command of his rich and nervous vernacular language, he enters into every literary subject with an enthusiasm that gives a peculiar life and beauty to his conversation, and which secures the intense interest of every auditor. His countenance, at the same time, varies with every new thought, and in his eye and gestures, you discover an animation and force of expression, which such an intellectual enthusiasm as he exhibits could alone awaken.

"Tieck, at the present time, fills the office of *reader* to the queen of Saxony. He is reputed to be the best reader in Germany; no one, not even the most distinguished players, being able to modulate their voices with the same taste, and express every passion of dramatic poetry with the same eloquence as himself. To gratify his friends and others, he often reads Shakspeare to small circles assembled at his house to listen to him. I was so fortunate as to be present when he read "Much Ado about Nothing." He merely mentioned the names of the characters at the commencement of the different scenes, adapting his voice to each, with an accuracy that left you never in doubt as to the *dramatis personæ* who were speaking. His voice has great compass, an easy modulation, and a power which it is difficult to rival, even on the stage. The characters of the play became, under his enthusiastic elocution, real beings, and so animated were his gestures, and so marked was his face with the ever-varying expression of the characters, that it was no difficult thing to believe that you were listening to a theatrical representation."

Having thus introduced one of the candidates for popular fame, we will at once give the account of Mr. Dwight's visit to the great father of the poets of the age:—

"Shakspeare has never created a scene, where stronger or more heart-rending passion is exhibited, than in the visit of Faust to Margaret while in prison; nor has his genius more perfectly developed the wonderful conceptions of his mind, than has been done by Goethe, in the three prominent characters of that extraordinary poem. I am not here merely repeating the opinions which the Germans have formed of him; they are those of every foreigner I have ever seen, who has had a sufficient knowledge of the language to understand Faust in the original.

"With such feelings towards Goethe, you can easily believe that no little interest was felt by me in beholding a man, who has been the pride of his country, and the envy of monarchs. Never was my curiosity more intense, than when I was ushered into his parlour, or than in the few minutes which elapsed before he entered. As the door opened, I saw approaching me, a tall form, slightly bending with age. I had often heard, that he possessed the noblest physiognomy of any of the literati of Germany, and although I had formed a brilliant ideal of his physical man, when beholding his lofty forehead, his beaming eye, and the beautiful features of his expressive countenance, I felt that there was a suitable mansion for such a mind. Though he has probably seen more distinguished

society than any scholar or poet of Europe, he appears somewhat embarrassed when you are first presented to him. I should have imputed this to his ill health, (for he was slightly indisposed when I first saw him,) had not one of his most intimate friends subsequently informed me, that he had never been able entirely to conquer this feeling, by his extensive intercourse with the world. It is only after a long acquaintance with him, when the stranger ceases and you meet him on terms of familiarity, that you see the whole of his character. It is then that he opens to your view the rich treasures of his elevated mind, that you discover that deep feeling, that keen satire, that playful humour, and that intimate knowledge of every *nuance* of that human character, which are stamped with such power and beauty on the pages of Faust. There are few departments of literature with which Goethe has not made himself familiar; there are few which do not afford illustrations to his mind, when conversing with a friend. Though I had the pleasure of seeing him in several instances, I had no opportunity of hearing him in the rich flow of his animated conversation. Those who have been thus favoured, describe it as the richest intellectual banquet they have ever enjoyed, such as would be anticipated by his most enthusiastic admirers."

In his intercourse with strangers, Goethe usually had an air of dignity, which was not wholly free from stiffness. He walked (our remarks have reference to Goethe as he was several years ago,) very upright for a man of his years; and this stateliness of manner, joined with a large person, which in youth was very handsome, and in old age was very venerable, hair somewhat long, but fine and perfectly white, left the stranger, on the whole, agreeably impressed with the person of the poet, who is surpassed in genius by none of his contemporaries. But he has long since ceased to take any very lively interest in passing events. He has for a great while spent his time in retirement, hardly associating with any of the inhabitants of Weimar, and appearing neither at court, nor at parties in the city. Yet he still retained vigour to dictate, and would sometimes do so for hours in succession. He never wrote any thing except readily. If a new thought struck his mind, he would forthwith dictate it as a fragment, and throw it aside, until accident or inclination brought him again upon the same subject. Thus he often had by him works nearly perfect, others in good progress, and others but just sketched; so that one of the Weimar men of letters compared in his habits of production to the mice.

We have said that ordinarily Goethe has for many years been indifferent to passing events; but he regarded America with a lively curiosity, and possessed a good knowledge of our country. He would sometimes receive an American with more than hospitality, with open cordiality, and detain him as a guest for the whole evening, till nearly midnight. On such an occasion he would get into fine spirits, and be as familiar and playful as if with a friend of his youth. He would then talk with considerable freedom of the character of his contemporaries. "Lord Byron," he would say, "Lord Byron is the greatest, and indeed the only great living poet." And again, "there is a very large

party in Germany, who regard Byron with unbounded admiration. I belong to that class, and swallow every thing greedily that comes from him." He would then enlarge on the various poems of the illustrious English bard, allude with satisfaction to the manifest reference to his own Faust in the English Manfred, and admire the satirical humour of Don Juan. This again led him to an allusion to Dean Swift, and Goethe believed he discerned in the poetry of the Dean, the same caustic, misanthropic humour, and a similar, though inferior comic effect, produced by singular and unexpected rhymes. Goethe had less to say of Walter Scott; of Wordsworth and Southey he knew nothing; of Coleridge, the name, but had forgotten his works.

After some hours of good humour, he said of himself, what indeed his appearance very clearly indicated, that he had grown fastidious and morbid in his feelings; and that it required something uncommon to excite his attention in any degree. Bright days were then rare with him; and there are probably few hours, in which it would have been pleasant to be in his company.

Thus the rule of *nil admirari* would seem to gain further confirmation by one more illustrious example. Old age and disease are almost as great levellers as death itself. To have sat at the same board with the great patriarch of literature, or to have taken a morning's walk along with him, is an agreeable reminiscence for life; but while the homage of the lettered world has exalted him permanently in the eyes of men as a mind of a superior order, and even during his lifetime securely entered his name on the register of those whose forms and whose works mankind will never consent to lose; and while every cultivated person among the many millions of his countrymen is constantly expressing an interest in his health and life, the octogenarian poet is himself not spared by the stern law of nature; and it is the office of those who are near him, to smooth his descending steps with affectionate reverence, to watch the last glimmerings of the light of that inventive mind which in its noonday dazzled the world, and, in the presence of one of the most powerful geniuses that have ever appeared on earth, to stand in the relation of the strong, soothing the pains of decline, and ministering to the infirmities of age with anxious assiduity.

As the habits of German literary men have been subjects of general interest with us, we will quote Mr. Dwight's account of the great orientalist of Halle.

"Among the literati of this institution, there is no one whose name is so extensively known in the United States as Professor Gesenius. As he is not only admitted to be the first Hebrew scholar of Germany, but is probably regarded every where, as standing at the head of Hebrew philologists, you may expect something more than a general notice of him. This can be easily given you, as he received me in a very friendly manner, giving me much of his time during

the few days I passed here. He is about five feet eight inches in height, rather plump, has a high and beautiful forehead, and an eye beaming with intelligence. His face is much rounder than you often see in the United States, presenting a physiognomy not precisely German, but more so than belongs to those nations who have derived their language from the old Romans. Having travelled much more than most of the German professors, he is more a man of the world, and never exhibits that embarrassment you so often observe when conversing with them. Though he has intellectually lived in a distant age and country, during not a small portion of his life, his oriental studies have not unfitted him for mingling with the country and age in which he lives. The Hebrew *savant* appears only in his study and lecture-room, and in his works; but there he reminds you of one born in the golden age of Hebrew literature, whose birthplace was the metropolis of Palestine. In society, or in a ramble with him, you find his conversation very amusing and sprightly. Nothing of the bookworm appears; and, from his manner and remarks, you would not imagine that immense folios and quartos had been his most intimate companions. Paris, the French character, German universities, the late war, the state of education in our country, our political institutions, and the mounds and fortifications of our western states, were the prominent topics of conversation, into which he entered with great ardour, illustrating his opinions and arguments with a fund of anecdote and humour. His great frankness and agreeable manners, soon make one cease to feel that he is a stranger, and place him on the footing of a friend.

"I found that he, as well as all the theological professors of this country whom I have seen, orthodox as well as rationalists, entertain a very low opinion of the intellectual theology of England at the present time.

"At one of his lectures which I attended, about three hundred were present, but had the room been long enough to admit them, the number would probably have been doubled. His subject was the peculiar characteristics of Isaiah as a poet. These he delineated with the talent of the philologist and man of taste, and he made those nice discriminations you would anticipate from one so intimately acquainted with the language, the age, and the country of the prophet. There were no general remarks and conjectures; it was that minute analysis which distinguishes the true scholar from the great majority of commentators."

In seasons of illness and distress a German student is necessarily limited in his comfort. He must look within himself and among his books for relief from solitude and for the sources of cheerfulness. His limited habits of personal intercourse promise him no extended sympathies from a circle of friends. The successful writer may have made his mind familiar to the reading world: but he has hardly a large circle of associates, or intimate companions, who would care for the wants of his household and the sufferings of his sick chamber. In such cases, morbid melancholy and occasional enthusiasm, the gloom of despondency and the active vivacity of an irritable mind, contend for the mastery.

There was one such at Leipzig. The memory of Professor Spohn has some claim to excite an interest in Americans; for at one time it was his settled purpose to remove to New-England. He had counted the hazard of the enterprise; and had presented distinctly to his mind the privations which he would have to endure in removing from the scene of his early exertions and his rising reputation. But he had been assured of a kind reception at Cambridge, and had pleased himself with the idea of establishing at that ancient and cherished seat of learning, a philological

seminary after the manner of his country. It was thus his purpose to assist in raising up instructors, educated in the strictest system of philological accuracy, and suited to fill the places of teachers of the ancient languages in our classical schools.

It is now some years since an American went to visit the excellent man, who was then just recovering from a long indisposition, that had well nigh ended his trials. His cheeks were emaciated, and the vigour of health was entirely gone; but his eye had lost none of its lustre, nor his mind its activity; and the kind of joy he expressed at the visit, and the unusually hearty welcome which he gave, while they showed the strength and sincerity of his feelings, proved also how little he was accustomed to sympathy.

The preceding illness of Spohn had at intervals affected his imagination with a kind of insanity, which marked the strong passions of the scholar. At times he believed himself in the presence of an assembly of Grecians, preparing to hold an oration in the Attic tongue. Often it seemed to him, that an orator was standing near him, and screaming into his ears an impassioned peroration. All this while he had the consciousness that the illusion was the work of a disordered mind; but still the illusion itself kept fast hold of him; and he underwent the double torture of being haunted by strange creations, and yet of knowing that they were but phantasies, over which his reason had cognizance but not control.

The unfortunate Leipzig professor did not live many years after the time to which we have referred. But it must not be thought that the diseases incident to men of letters slay their thousands in Germany. The pursuit of letters there, as every where else in the world, is eminently favourable to longevity. Blumenbach would laugh outright, if asked the question, whether many did not fall victims to their ardour in the pursuit of intellectual distinction. For the fifty years and more of his connexion with a university, he has never known a single example. "No one," Eichhorn would say, and he was himself a hale man not less than a most indefatigable student, "no one ever died of hard study. The idea is preposterous. A man may fret himself to death over his books, or any where else; but literary application would tend to diffuse cheerfulness, and rather prolong than shorten the life of an infirm man."

Eichhorn's opinion may go for what it is worth; Blumenbach is a physician, and a careful observer. We confess we are believers in the doctrine. No class of men in New-England offer so many examples of longevity, as the clergy and the professors. We have heard many complaints made of the climate of New-England, and its influence to produce ill health in se-

dentary men; but we never knew an instance of death that could reasonably be ascribed to what is called hard study. An instance indeed occurs to us as we write, of a fine youth at Harvard University, who shortened his existence by the manner of his application. Engaged in the pursuit of theology, and quickened by some unpleasant recollections, he turned night into day, and neglected all regularity in the use of food and rest. His constitution soon gave way, not to the complaints incident to a literary life, but to a daring irregularity in the manner of living; an irregularity which would destroy any man in any walk of life.

And yet a great deal may be ventured upon by a literary man, so congenial (as we contend,) are his pursuits to health and longevity. Bossuet can hardly be said to have retired for a night's sleep. He kept a light always burning, and after dozing an hour or two would rise and write. The illustrious Hemsterhuis used to tell of himself with great and reasonable pride, that for twenty years, two nights in the week he almost entirely refrained from slumber;* and he was fond of counting up the hours which he had added to his actual existence by his habit in this respect. Yet Hemsterhuis was neither an invalid nor a book-worm. In his tastes and conversation there was nothing of a pedant; no dust of the schools dimmed the brilliancy of his mind; and his manners were distinguished for genuine urbanity. Nay, we remember to have heard respecting Griesbach, whose merits are well known among us, that while preparing his edition of the New-Testament, he was accustomed to sit up very late at night; and to promote wakefulness, would keep his feet immersed in cold water. We could cite almost numberless examples. Yet these men all became gray before they died.

But the world is already so old, and there have been poets, philosophers, and book-worms so long, that a reference to facts will best decide whether the pursuits of letters and science are favourable to health and long life. And here we are at a loss how to proceed; so many examples of venerable men crowd upon us as illustrations and evidence of our doctrine. When we read the best works of men of genius, we represent their authors as in the bloom and vigour of manhood; we conceive of wisdom as united with strength, and imagine the eloquent and the learned to be endued with energy and free from decay. Great writers are present to us, and live embodied in the imagination in the lineaments and outward forms which belong to the time of life when their greatest works were produced. So

* We cite from memory, but the anecdote rests on unquestionable authority. See the letters of Brandes, cited in the life of Heyne by his son-in-law.

the art of the painter represents the favoured evangelist, whom the Saviour loved, in the period of life at which he enjoyed the confidence of the Redeemer of the world; and when the admirable Domenichino drew him, the aged exile at Patmos, the venerable apostle who in his extreme old age was summoned by an archangel himself to write, the painter still deemed it fittest for his art to invest the gifted mortal with the outward radiance of perpetual youth.

We hazard then the assertion, that of all classes of men, the literary class are most remarkable for long life; and this assertion we are ready to defend: whether examples be sought of extreme longevity, or whether the average of human life be considered, literary history will present to our minds those men who have charmed the world with the sprightliness of their fancy, or instructed them by the profound lessons of truth, under the forms of those who are full of years. Not to multiply examples indefinitely, let us take any branch, and ask for the greatest men in that branch. The second best have of course a greater chance at long life, since their exertions are supposed to be less arduous and their minds less excited.

Look at the poets of Greece. Of their first in epic poetry, history is silent. The first in tragedy, which branch of the poetic art critics esteem the most arduous of all, is undoubtedly Sophocles; and he lived to be almost a hundred. The first in lyric poetry was Pindar. He certainly lived to be more than sixty-five; the time of his death is uncertain; some think he lived to be ninety. The first in erotic poetry, (shame that there should be such a class; and moreover we cannot think that the sorry odes which we have are really the genuine productions of the famed Teian bard,) was Anacreon. Nobody gives him less than eighty-four years. But the poets, it might be contended, were not plodders. Take then the philosophers. Plato died at eighty-two. Aristotle despaired of dying seasonably, and at sixty-two poisoned himself. The successor of Aristotle was Theophrastus; some say he lived to be one hundred and six; we may fairly allow him eighty-five. In the seventieth year of his life, the irony of Socrates was still keen, and his serene complacency showed the vital energies in healthful action. And the apologist of Socrates, the amiable Xenophon, bore to his grave the full weight of eighty-seven years. Or do you object to these examples, that philosophy is tranquillizing, and thus by stilling the passions, prevents the waste of the physical powers. The greatest of Grecian orators, the toilsome Demosthenes, whose orations gleam with the light of pure morality, while they sparkle with splendid imagery, and kindle with the fervid rapidity of his argument, was still in excellent health at sixty or sixty-two, when he swallowed poison. And the best of the elaborately

learned orators, the excellent Isocrates, lived to be ninety-seven or ninety-eight, and then did not die of old age, but

"that dishonest victory
At Chazonea, fatal to liberty,
Killed with report the old man eloquent."

We are disposed to give an opponent to our opinions every advantage in the argument. We care not what branch of science he selects, nor what age or country he chooses ; he cannot tread within the hallowed limits of literature, without finding himself surrounded by old men. He will find, to quote in a literal sense what was allegorically said by one who lived to grow old, he will find, that though the soil of Parnassus be barren, its air is pure and salubrious.

If objection is taken to the examples cited from the Greeks, examples which we could increase indefinitely, and if it be said that the Greeks were not laborious students, we deny the position, but waive all argument. Out of what nation shall we take illustrations ? The French ? No : their gaiety and vivacity promote good health, and when they grow old they are so lean, that disease has nothing to prey upon. We must pass over France, then, though Bossuet ; and Massillon, and Bourdaloue, and Lafontaine, and Voltaire, and Fontenelle, and Bernis, and De Lille, are excellent examples. We are reviewing a book of travels in Germany ; shall we take the Germans ? Oh no : their proverbial dulness and heaviness promote good health ; and when they grow old, they are yet so corpulent, that the extremities of the nerves are always comfortably covered ; and disease cannot get at them for their imperturbable composure.

But in sober earnest :—of all nations the Germans offer the most perfect examples of the strictly literary life. Our journal has on former occasions referred to their poets, who were almost all old men ;—Bodmer, and Klopstock, and Wieland, and Ramler, and Gleim, are among their septuagenaries. In the famed *Exegesis*, the great leaders were Semler, and Michaelis, and Eichhorn ; all old men. In medical science, in philosophy, in philology, in astronomy, and in every thing else, the case is the same. We might crowd our page with hard names ; but the point is conceded, that German students are tenacious of life ; that it is a common thing for the most laborious men to live beyond eighty ; and that they have excellent appetites, good digestion, and quiet sleep, fifteen or sixteen hours of daily toil to the contrary notwithstanding. We hear it contended, that these Germans are of a different order of beings, and that their bodies are governed by some wonderful laws, to which our American, more active frames, will not submit.

We still meet this view of the subject. Our fathers, the English, were their scholars shortlived ? Of their greatest poets,

Shakspeare did indeed fail to become old, but we know not the circumstances of his life; and Spenser died in manhood, perhaps for the want of opportunities for literary pursuits; and Pope was sustained by the quiet influence of study only till he was fifty-six; though in any other mode of life, his frail constitution would probably have yielded much sooner. But Milton, in spite of the evil days on which he had fallen, lived to be sixty-six, Dryden seventy, and Chaucer seventy-two. Thus, for the six greatest of the English poets of former generations, the average age is exactly sixty. This augurs not unfavourably for the long life of Wordsworth, Southey, and Moore. If we take the philosophers, Hobbes, Bacon, Locke, Reid, Dugald Stewart, Priestley, Hume, Berkeley, we give a captious reader leave to add any other names which merit a place with these, and he will get an average of more than seventy years, as the medium duration of the life of a British philosopher. It is not possible to gainsay authenticated facts. As to mathematics in England and every where else, from the days of Ptolemy to Laplace, Copernicus, Galileo, and Newton, were all longlived. Kepler only died young; that is, he died at fifty-nine.

If the caviller, tired of Europe, shields himself behind the perverse and fickle climate of his country, then we say, that in the first ranks of the laborious and valuable writers of our country, we must put the Mathers, President Edwards, Charles Chauncey, Barlow, Dwight, Franklin, the elder Adams, and Jefferson. Now the average of their lives is about seventy-two years and a half. But if you throw out of the account President Edwards, who, being in excellent health, and with a good life for twenty years more, was killed by his physicians; and Barlow, who might perhaps have lived till this time, if he had kept at his books, and written histories and epics, instead of driving after Napoleon across the plains of Poland; we shall then find the average age of our greatest authors to have been within a month or two, more or less, seventy-nine. If we add the name of the lamented Buckminster, and he deserves ever to be named among the finest minds of America, the average would then be more than seventy one; and Buckminster did not die of any thing incident to his acquirements or his life as a scholar.

Finally, for we are not writing a report for a life insurance company, of the scholars who have recently died, who were the greatest? All England had not such an intellectual Helluo as Parr; and an imprudent exposure, not severe application, carried him off at seventy-eight. The continent has rarely seen a Hellenist like Wolf, and he lived to be almost seventy. Voss deemed himself Wolf's rival, and he, too, died at the age of seventy-five or six. Who is the greatest of living poets on the

continent? A man* who is now two or three days older than eighty. Who is the greatest of the living English writers in verse and in prose? American readers answer unanimously Sir Walter Scott, who has yet some steps to take before he arrives at the threshold of old age. We bring a health to Sir Walter; may he live a thousand years; and why not add the rest of the pious wish, since an author's works are his children?—may he yet be father of a hundred sons, each fairer than the last, and may all who are of our way of thinking live to read them.

Thus much, *à propos* of Spohn, who recovered from his morbid sufferings, but died a few years after of an epidemic that prevailed in Leipzig. We have introduced our readers to one Leipzig Professor; Mr. Dwight shall give us the picture of another:—

“Professor Hermann is now fifty-four years of age, and about five feet seven inches in height. In his face, his eye, his conversation, his walk, and emphasis, you discover a life and animation rarely seen in Germany. His two ruling passions are, a love of equestrianism and of Greek. He is on his horse several hours daily; and were he disposed, he would doubtless give as able lectures on horsemanship, as on the poetry of ancient Greece. When he enters his lecture-room, he is usually clad in his riding dress, consisting of a coat, light buckskin pantaloons, long boots and spurs. He has also a riding whip in his hand, and in his dress presents very little of the antique cast of scholastic literature. Although his exterior is at first so unlike that of a *savant*, this is unobserved by the stranger as soon as he commences his lecture. His Latin is so pure, and delivered with so much ease and elegance, that you find it difficult to realize that it is not his native language. He is enthusiastic in his love of Greek literature, and has so completely identified himself with ancient Greece, that his mind lives in the plains, mountains, cities, and temples of that country. He peruses the works of the old Grecians, more than those of the Saxons of the nineteenth century, mentally participates in all their festivals and amusements, converses with their philosophers, poets, and historians, and mingles with them in all their foreign and domestic combats. His lecture-room is literally overflowing; every seat and vacant passage being occupied by the students, many of whom are compelled to stand. Even the door, the passage, and as far beyond it as his voice will reach, are equally thronged. Long before the hour of his arrival, they crowd into his room; and while he lectures no sound is heard but that of his voice, and that of hundreds of pens treasuring his observations. Hermann's fame in England is little inferior to that which he enjoys in this country. Some years since, as I have been informed, he received an invitation to accept a professor's chair at Oxford, and, if I mistake not, at Cambridge also. This country has had no Greek scholar, except Wolf, to compare with him. By some of the admirers of the Berlin professor, Hermann would be placed just below him, but the majority of voices would place the wreath on Hermann's brow.”

The great merits of Hermann, we speak with profound respect and great timidity, consist in his acuteness as a verbal critic, his nice perception of the minute distinctions in grammar, his sound judgment, (founded on his great acquisitions,) in showing the method of amending Greek grammar, but above all in his extraordinary metrical skill. This last is the source of many of his

* Goethe was born August 28th, 1749.

happiest critical emendations, and his countrymen with one voice acknowledge his supremacy in this department. No man has shown such felicity in applying a profound knowledge of ancient metres to the purposes of critical emendation. In this he has surpassed, not Wolf only, but every one. But if inquiry were made respecting mythology, the pre-eminence of Hermann would be disputed; and in point of taste, genius, eloquent admiration of the ancients, freedom of mind in the discussion of difficult topics, elegance of manner in transferring the works of the ancients into his own language, in general, in comprehensiveness of mind, originality, inventive power, and variety of talent, we confess we believe the palm to belong to Wolf. Hermann has written no one essay equal to the elaborate Prolegomena to Homer of Wolf; nor has he even shown that kind of ability, which is displayed in the highest, we mean strictly in unequalled perfection, in Wolf's versions from Aristophanes. Wolf was often rash, and therefore sometimes wrong; but always appeared as a man of high endowments. In some respects he resembled Bentley; *audentissimus enim ille quod periculum non formidaret*; he was often mistaken from hasty confidence; *sed πειτο μὲν μὲν μεγαλωστί*. Yet Wolf would have been indignant, had any one dared to deny him the victory in all his combats.

In childhood, Hermann's* propensity to the study of metres was discoverable. At a time when the poems of Gellert and the sacred hymns of religious service were the only metrical compositions known to him, he would commit to memory, and delighted to declaim aloud, such verses as were remarkably sonorous, or of singular structure. A schoolboy happened to leave within his reach a miserable edition of Horace, (Hermann himself neither owned a copy of the bard, nor had at that time knowledge to understand him;) even then the future lawgiver in metrical rules made himself somewhat familiar with the structure of Latin verse, and with great delight gave his mind up to the deceptive influence of sweet sounds.

When Reitz† published his critical edition of the *Rudens* of Plautus, Hermann, then the pupil of Reitz, was the corrector of the press. The pupil judged of the verse promptly by his ear: the master always counted the feet on his fingers. When young Hermann proposed an emendation, the veteran was obliged to bid him, "speak slower, I pray you, slower;" and gravely counting the several parts, would finally adopt the amendment.

One word more of Hermann. When he was learning Greek, his masters compelled him to use the pronunciation of Reuchlin.

* Godofredi Hermannii Elementa Doctrinæ Metricæ. See the dedication of the book to Blümner, page xiv.

† Ibid. p. xiii.

His subsequent judgment condemns it as at war with the graces of numbers; and even then, when a boy, for his private edification, he put together a mode of pronouncing, nearly resembling that of Erasmus, and when out of school would have his solitary joy in scanning the Greek poets according to his notions of the harmony of verse.

It may perhaps seem surprising, but it is nevertheless true, that Hermann has sometimes played a part in public life, as a member of the assembly of states in the kingdom of Saxony.

Wolf would have been glad of an opportunity of appearing in public life. He liked social distinction quite as much as literary supremacy. But his private character was full of such faults, as with us seem least consistent with literary eminence. He was imperturbably good-natured, and infinitely vain. He would often repeat what he esteemed his own good sayings, and was always ready to speak of himself with entire openness and amiable garrulity. Münchhausen asked him his opinion of Heyne. He answered, "Heyne is the greatest minister among the philologists, and the greatest philologist among the ministers." He would allude to his own letters to the Göttingen editor of Homer: "Have you ever read my letters to Heyne? They are like a Greek tragedy: just five of them, like the five acts; I assure you, you will find in them a beginning, a middle, and an end." A colleague at Halle had published an edition of Homer. Wolf apparently took no notice of it; but one day inviting him with other friends to his house, he asked the unfortunate editor to cut up a large cake. He did so, and found the leaves of his edition of Homer at the bottom. The arrogant Wolf had sent them to the confectioner on purpose. One day at the opera, of which he was extravagantly fond, a lady with a large bonnet sat directly before Wolf. He was long uneasy; at last the decorations of the stage changed and exhibited a large fire. Wolf could restrain himself no longer, but cried out, "Madam, I admire the ample dimensions of your bonnet; it covers the conflagration of a city." He would debate, whether it was well to eat suppers; his objection to them was, that it left him no capacity for eating at breakfast.—He must have been a sort of domestic tyrant. His domestic peace was disturbed, and he never used to speak of his wife. Of a daughter he spoke often, and his recollections of her childhood were among his pleasantest sensations.—He was excessively overbearing in his manner of speaking of his colleagues. He knew the anecdote of Bentley, who would not take off his hat to his associates, but only to the junior students; "for," said Bentley, "of the former nothing can be made; the latter may yet come to something." When the very learned Heindorff projected an edition of Plato, Wolf exclaimed, that the fellow was at best able to make an index.—Of Dissem, a very estimable Hellenist, the best in the

kingdom of Hanover, but a man of very infirm body, with small legs, he used to say, "of your Göttingen philologists, Dissen is the best ; but even his learning stands upon a weak footing." It is present to the mind of the readers of Cicero, that the Roman translated into his own dialect a long passage from one of Plato's dialogues. Wolf was always for being the first : he could brook no superior ; accordingly he rendered the whole dialogue into Latin, and challenged a comparison of his own version with that of Cicero.—Sometimes he would pretend, that he had matters of immense value in his manuscripts, and would propose to seal them up and have them kept as a deposit for a century or two, to see whether the exertions of several generations would carry men as far in their researches as he had gone.—And it was no unusual thing with him to complain, that it was very hard for him to write in the German, the Latin language was so much more familiar to him. This he has said twice in his German writings. And yet he piqued himself on his knowledge of his mother tongue. He was one of the kindest hearted men in the world. His time he gave most liberally to his pupils. He lent books from his very valuable library cheerfully ; and when these have been sold by some ungrateful vagabond to a vender of second-hand books, he has been repeatedly known to have repurchased his own books without losing his temper, and without becoming less liberal in his spirit. He used to say, that there was a malice of the head, and a malice of the heart. Of the last he declared he possessed nothing.—When a commission was sent to inquire into the condition of Halle, Wolf was at an entertainment with the ministerial inquisitor Hermes. Some one at table discussed the difference between the ancient bust, and that of modern sculpture. Wolf exclaimed : "The ancient Hermes stood by the way side with a head ; the modern stands in the way without a head."—On many topics Wolf had extravagant notions. He used to pretend to consider it a grievous evil, that the study of theology was made a profession by itself ; and Grotius was his example to prove the compatibility of theological erudition with the acquisitions of a statesman.—Finally, we cannot but allude to the story, which Russel, in his *Tour in Germany*, tells of Wolf as the founder of the University of Berlin. Mr. Russel could not have understood the old man's character. Wolf founded the Berlin University just as he excelled Cicero in writing Latin.

We have alluded to several eminent men of learning, who have recently died. Time would fail, were we to proceed in selecting from the thousands of German writers, the examples of peculiar ability or manners. Among the living there are many whose names could be repeated only with affectionate respect,

and who deserve commemoration, wherever philanthropy and hospitable kindness are the themes of discourse.

Germany, like every other land, has not been without its eccentric men. One of the most practical philosophers of England at the present time, dares not be alone in the dark; and fears even an allusion to death. The mathematician Kästner was all the time ridiculing his colleagues in office. A brother professor received a diploma of nobility; "Ah," said Kästner, "we rise on the ruins of our fellows; one ass has built his fame on the skin of another." A strange fancy seized a learned inhabitant at Bremen. Early in life he determined to commit suicide; but would not execute his purpose, till he should have prepared for his vindication. He accordingly consumed more than twenty years in writing an elaborate argument to prove, that "when a man finds himself in disagreeable company, he may of himself open the door and go out." The work being finished, he bequeathed his small fortune to two indifferent persons, on condition that they should print his treatise; then, on a pleasant holiday, he rowed in a skiff into the middle of the Weser, and in the presence of hundreds, who were enjoying the pastimes of a leisure day, gently plunged into the river and was seen no more. And there was one Kahler,—we believe we have the name right, but are not sure,—who made it the chief purpose of his existence as an author, to establish the propriety of polygamy; and, though himself a puny man, who needed nothing but a nurse, was yet ready to suffer martyrdom, and did in fact suffer a sort of exile, in behalf of the doctrine which his conscience urged him to maintain.

The literary character of Germany is seen most remarkably displayed in its universities. We need to understand the means by which a healthful emulation and activity are preserved among their public instructors. We must be content merely to refer to Mr. Dwight's account of these things. His description is too long for insertion here.

Of the prominent topics discussed by Mr. Dwight, the religious and the political aspect of Germany remain to be noticed. Yet of the political condition of that wide country it is impossible to give any just idea without an analysis far surpassing our limits. Of the kingdom of Prussia we think it may be said, that while its present extent has been obtained by unjust aggrandizements, its prosperity must yet seem desirable to the friends of Protestant Christianity, and the advocates for a balance of power. Its government is arbitrary; and yet no government on the continent is doing so much for the diffusion of common and of liberal education. Its king has imparted no constitution to the state, and yet rests the strength of his throne on the moral preferences and enlightened patriotism of his subjects.

These things are surely anomalies, yet they are strictly true. The nobles of Prussia are preferred in military appointments; but if they in return abandon trade, mechanic arts, commerce, and the professions, they certainly have the worst of the bargain. The king is respected because he is simple in his manners, economical in his expenditures, and of natural benevolence, and because he is identified with the struggles and glorious victories of the nation. The taxes are heavy; but the state squanders no money. The country is poor, but the universities and public institutions for science are munificently endowed. Among men of letters in Prussia, attachment to the government is universal, though the principles of liberty and public justice are discussed among them with unlimited freedom and great knowledge.

On the subject of constitutions in Germany, we would call the attention of our readers to one important fact. Every constitution which has been granted, secures to the nobility, as a co-ordinate branch of government, a positive influence, which they did not before possess. There are not wanting among the ardent lovers of freedom, those who prefer a regal government after the old forms, to a constitution on which an offensive aristocracy shall be irrevocably engrafted. The contest has often been a great deal more against feudal prerogatives, than against royal authority. In this manner many of the Bavarians, at present, would entirely prefer the old state of things to the operation of their present constitution.

The interests of the monarch, in Prussia, are on the side of his people. He is made politically stronger by the emancipation of the peasantry, by the increase of free proprietors, by the uniformity of taxation. Thus the interests of the crown and the people coalesce. The lovers of liberty in Germany have chiefly directed their attacks against the absurd pretensions and inherited rights of nobles. The policy of Prince Hardenburgh we have heard far more severely censured by nobles than by commoners. By commuting the hereditary services of the peasantry for a present demand, and closing at once the iniquitous partnership, he left the peasants in possession of less land but of more liberty. Ask a Prussian lawyer in what the privileges of the nobility consist, and he will answer you, that those privileges are almost entirely done away. Certain offices about the king's person are filled by those of noble birth, but otherwise a citizen may attain to any post or distinction, as well as a nobleman. Certain estates are free from the land tax; but these estates may be bought and sold, and a commoner can now become the purchaser. The exemption attaches to the land, and not to the owner.

The religious history of Germany, for the last fifty years, would seem to have been designed to furnish an illustration of

the weakness of human wisdom, and the strength of divine purposes. Infidelity had ever before been the part either of scoffers or philosophers. It had been engendered by frivolous vanity, which turned things holy into a jest; or it had been the abortion of some speculative free thinking, which made of a practical atheism the basis of morality, and magnified the nature of scepticism into a sort of wisdom of superior natures. But now mankind were destined to have a third; it was *exegetical* infidelity; the most absurd, and we speak advisedly when we say the most credulous, of all. Whatever learning throws light upon the oracles of religious truth, must be received and treasured with a gratitude commensurate with the importance of the subject; but when the interpreter, passing from his proper province, seeks to find in the simple story of the evangelists the exaggerated accounts of credulous admirers, when he so far forgets the true end of criticism, as to explain the wonderful deeds narrated of the founder of our religions as actual transactions, yet presupposing no supernatural power; when he describes Jesus as a skillful physician, whose extraordinary success was magnified into proofs of miraculous agency, he then leaves the firm land of criticism, and launches into the wildest absurdities which a credulous man can devise. Were we at this time in search of illustrations by which to exhibit to the world extraordinary instances of unsoundness of judgment, as displayed in the pursuit of a favourite theory, we know not whence we could derive better, or, for human nature, more humbling illustrations, than from the writings of German interpreters of the Scriptures. Paulus, one of the leaders in this business, declared of himself, that nature never intended him for a theologian, and that he had mistaken his calling. We believe him fully.

This form of infidelity is to our minds the most disgusting in which it has ever appeared. The annihilation of a divine religion by a philosophical deduction of universal principles, which are pretended to be derived from the same high source, has something far less revolting. The sceptic, who prefers the revelation of God's works to the revelations of his word, may still have some lofty claims to respect. But a host of interpreters, assailing divine truth with grammars and dictionaries, explaining away a miracle by a Hebraism, and giving a dead commentary for a living truth, are, as a class of writers, the least directly useful, and the least respectable. If the New Testament is no more than they take it for, it does not merit the attention which they give to it, but should be thrown aside among things that deserve to be lost.

And, indeed, it has been announced in German lecture-rooms, that Christianity was fast passing away, and had but a few years to survive. But the prophets and their systems of philosophy

have passed away, as do all the fashions of this world, while the strength of Christian truths still remains unwasted, and promising to endure for ever. It was not reserved for philologists and oriental scholars to overturn the foundations of the religious faith of Christendom, or to win a victory which would leave the world a blank, happiness an unattainable object, and action but a perpetual struggle to cheat the restless soul out of a consciousness of its wretchedness. One such mind as Pascal's, one such spirit as Jeremy Taylor's, one such example as Heber's, is of more value to the world than all the philological minuteness of an Eichhorn, or all the circumstantial explanations of a Paulus.

But it is time to close. We have borne testimony to the accuracy of Mr. Dwight. We think his book one of the best volumes of travels that have appeared in the United States. In his letters on religion he is prolix; and his disparagement of some of our own institutions is too unqualified; still, it may have been dictated by a patriotic spirit, and may be reconciled with the ardent attachment which he otherwise manifests to his country. He would be among the first to acknowledge the excellency of our schools of medicine, the profound learning of our bar, the efficiency and eloquence of our clergy. In neither of those classes need we shun a reasonable comparison with any nation. We have not the men of learning of the Germans, nor they our statesmen; we have not their law professors, nor they our advocates; we have not their libraries, the best aid in pursuing knowledge, nor they our liberties, which save us from the dominion of established usage. The comities of life are more widely diffused in the United States than in Germany. General intelligence is decidedly more common. The neatness of our farm-houses, the air of comfort and health in every dwelling, far surpass what would be found among those of a corresponding order of society in Germany. As yet America has no university; our undergraduates are but as their gymnasiasts; which, however, of the German schools can, not in philology only, but on the whole, be put in competition with our older colleges? There is not in all Germany as good a military school as West Point, nor a place of instruction preparatory to a professional education, where the general culture of mind and manners is better provided for, than for the undergraduates of some of our best institutions. They have not a writer of fiction of our sex, that can be put in competition with Cooper; and we know not the German lady who has written better novels than the author-ess of *Redwood*. There is not in the long list of their prose writers one, (Goethe only excepted, who is in truth of the former generation,) there is not one of their active prose writers who employs the German with the grace with which our own Irving writes the English; no pulpit orator in all Germany

holds his audience so completely in his power, or, we will add, understands the nature and excellence of pulpit oratory as well as some of our American divines: the social and political state of Germany offers no opportunity for such displays of talent as are exhibited in the keen, but somewhat unrelenting irony of one of our public speakers, or that union of clear discrimination, undeviating purpose, and brilliant imagination, which impart an irresistible influence to the eloquence of another. We have much, very much to learn from the old world; there is in Germany a vast deal which we might introduce with decided advantage; above all, the organization of universities, the liberal endowment of public libraries, the noble passion for encouraging every branch of learning, and obtaining a universality of culture, by taking an interest in all that concerns the human race. But we can richly repay any benefits that may be received. Germany may learn, from the example of the United States, how to combine religious toleration with religious zeal, to maintain the sanctity of possession amidst general equality, to render impotent the efforts of arbitrary caprice, and, at the same time, to preserve the strict maintenance of established authority. Whatever benefits America may receive, she will not remain in debt. Thank God! she never has been in debt to Europe. From the moment that the pilgrims of Plymouth laid the foundations of their civil compact, from the moment that Baltimore and Penn. for the first time in the annals of mankind, proclaimed the vast principles of religious toleration to a few white men that sought peaceful habitations amidst the forests, our fathers became not outcasts, but teachers; not exiles, but founders of states; not the recipients of bounty, but pioneers in the cause of political reform throughout the world.

ART. X.—*Sketches of Naval Life, with notices of men, manners, and scenery, on the shores of the Mediterranean, in a series of letters from the Brandywine and Constitution Frigates.* By A CIVILIAN. New-Haven: H. Howe: 1829.

Two duodecimo volumes in boards, with the ominous title of "Sketches of Naval Life," are at first sight rather appalling; for in these days, the press pours forth with such profusion, what purport to be the reminiscences of the state-room and the tent, that the world might almost believe arms are really yielding to the toga, in places where, students as we profess ourselves, we

are perfectly willing the former should maintain their sway. What with "Recollections" of this campaign, and "Sketches" of that cruise—what with "Novels" of which three-fourths of the incidents are extracted from official despatches, hashed up, and seasoned with a few glowing descriptions true or false, and half a dozen old anecdotes—what with "Memoirs," the interest of which, such as it may be, is made to consist in an overwrought account of a few naval battles, where the hero has chanced to act the illustrious part of a captain of a thirty-two pounder, or a rifleman in the maintop, and is a perfect master of the necessary slang—what with these, and many other manufactures of equal merit and veracity, our book-shops and circulating libraries really teem with a quantity of trash, which adds little either to the glories or the genius of the service, by land or sea.

It is such productions, probably concocted for the most part for the home market, by those useful gentlemen whose cruises seldom extend beyond their booksellers' shops, and whose knowledge of a fortress is derived from an accurate calculation of the height of their own garrets, that make us hesitate to encounter volumes on the same topics, which may really possess merits entitling them to notice.

Of the latter class certainly is the present work. It is the journal of Mr. George Jones, a gentleman of New-Haven, who on the eighteenth of August 1825, embarked on board the frigate *Brandywine*, from which he subsequently passed to the *Constitution*, and, after a cruise of nearly three years in the Mediterranean, returned to Boston on the fourth of July 1828. His office was not of a warlike nature, it was that of school-master, and occasionally of chaplain, though this, strictly speaking, is now confined to regular clergymen, and his services were only bestowed, because the clerical functions seemed more suitable to his situation and habits, than to those of the gallant officers by whom he was surrounded. He appears from his book to be a gentleman of the most amiable character; some errors of grammar and more of style, indicate a want of attention rather than of education; and his modesty and freedom from pretension reconcile us to a deficiency of classical research, which is apparent in his remarks on countries that have been illustrated by the industry, taste and genius of Chandler, Stuart and Clarke.

Mr. Jones, however, has the advantage of being a most indefatigable observer; nothing is too trifling for his observation; he was determined to see every thing that was to be seen; and consequently he has collected a variety of particulars, seemingly so notorious that they would scarcely be deemed worthy of particular notice by most men, but which really are novel and curious, and we believe will afford amusement to his readers. He appears to have done faithfully, which is not always the case, what he ad-

vised one of his friends to do when setting out on a similar cruise; "keep your eyes and ears always open; there is no kind of information, however trivial, that is to be despised; and if I could know without trouble how the highest stone on Chimborazo lies, and what is its shape, I should say let me know it, and possibly I might turn the knowledge to account some time or other in my life; now there is a vast deal of information, greatly more useful than this, which may be obtained without trouble; it only requires that a person use his eyes and his ears."

The first object whereon Mr. Jones used his eyes and his ears, was, very naturally, the vessel in which he sailed; and we know no work whatever, in which is to be found a more graphic and minute account of a ship of war than these volumes. Mrs. Trunnion herself could not have gazed with more absolute wonder on the regular system of tacking by which her bridegroom made the church, or on the nautical arrangement of cots and hammocks in the nuptial chamber, than did our author on the various parts of the frigate from bowsprit to taffrail, fresh as he was from the land, planted suddenly in a new world, with every thing around him strange in its use, construction and name.

It was some time before he could accustom himself to his small and dark cabin, to the constant noise of the men, and the rolling of the vessel—

"I will give you," he says, "my first night. Our room 'below the midshipmen' was not ready for us, and I was put in the steerage, where I soon got acquainted with Dr. F., a new comer like myself. We walked the deck, and looked and wandered till nine, when we threw our mattresses on some chests and tried to sleep. How he succeeded I know not, but I tried a long time to no purpose; the marines were swinging and talking on one side; the lieutenants were up reading and joking one another; at my feet were the midshipmen, some strewed on the floor, some in their hammocks, some talking, and some hunting for their beds; and near my head, when these noises would sink a little, I heard the dashing of the waters and the roar of winds. At last I got asleep, but was soon awaked again. The guard must be changed; the midshipmen must be sent above, and their clothes must first be hunted for; and this, together with the talk and laughter of those just from duty, kept me awake awhile longer."

Habit, however, quickly rendered him familiar with annoyances, which in truth are only such at first, and his good humour, easy temper, and disposition to accommodate himself to circumstances, soon made him an excellent sailor, so far as encountering the privations and bearing the hardships of a sea voyage are concerned. We shall extract some portions of the account he gives of the management of the frigate, and some of the incidents connected with the naval service, which he has detailed with considerable spirit.

The captain is an officer so high in dignity, that he takes no part whatever in the active regulation of the vessel; he communicates his orders on such points to the first lieutenant when necessary,

reserving himself for more general duties, and for those occasions which the modern international system has rendered of not unfrequent occurrence—indeed the questions of blockade, of armed interference, of constructive piracy, and others of like nature, seem to require in a commander of the present day, the discretion, knowledge and diplomatic tact of a statesman, rather than the mere courage and skill of a seaman. In a frigate of the first class there are six lieutenants, of whom the first has the actual superintendence of the ship, and each of the others in turn keeps watch under him, that is, has the command of the deck, and at sea sails the ship, sees that the men have their meals at the proper hours, reports to the captain any unusual incidents, and in fact has a general supervision. Next in rank are the sailing master, who inspects the ship's stores, rigging, sails and anchors, keeps the reckoning, and reports the position of the vessel; the purser, who, as his name implies, transacts all the financial concerns, and in addition keeps a kind of shop for supplying the men with clothes, and articles necessary for their comfort; the marine officers; the surgeon and chaplain; and the midshipmen, to whom are assigned the various subordinate stations of superintendence and command.

These are the superior officers of the vessel; but there are, in addition to them, persons selected from the crew, who have especial duties intrusted to them, and pay in proportion. They are described at length by our author, and his account has been already copied so generally into the newspapers and journals, as to be probably familiar to most of our readers. The crew of a first rate frigate consists of about sixty marines and three hundred and eighty sailors, and it is one of the most difficult of the duties of the first lieutenant, to distribute the latter, at the beginning of a voyage, into the classes for which they are fitted.

Our readers will be amused with an account of the manner in which the time and movements of so large a number of men, confined in so small a space, are distributed and arranged.

"At daylight the drums are ordered up for the reveillé; but the slumbers of the sailors are first broken, as it is meet they should be in such a place, by the reports of guns. They are the night guns of the sentries, which are fired off at the first tap of the drum: the reveillé succeeds; and by the time this is over, the boatswain with his mates are stationed on the gun deck, close by the main hatch: he gives a long pipe, which they answer by similar ones: a long one succeeds, repeated also: and then is the cry, 'all hands, ahoy,' echoed by the mates in deep and lengthened tones. Then comes another long pipe; and their brazen voices are heard, 'all hands up hammocks, ahoy.' The men spring from their hammocks, lash and carry them on deck, and stow them away in their nettings: twelve minutes are allowed for this. The boatswain reports the main deck clear to the lieutenant of the watch; and a similar report is made from the officer of the birth deck. The starboard watch now spread over the spar deck: the larboard over the next below; while the birth deck is occupied by the cooks: the holy-stones are produced; water is pumped or drawn at the bows and passed aft, and a general scouring of the decks takes place.

"At six bells—but I have forgotten: you do not know what six bells mean. The twenty-four hours are divided into six equal parts: the sentry at the cabin door has charge of an half-hour glass or time-piece, and reports every half hour to the quartermaster on deck, who sees that the bell is immediately struck. He reports, however, not the hour, but the number of bells; and thus we count time on board. Half past twelve, is one bell; one o'clock, two bells; and, in this manner, we proceed, increasing by one every half hour, till we come, at the expiration of the watch, to eight; after which we commence again. Six bells in the morning, then, are seven o'clock; and at six in summer, and eight in winter, the men are piped to breakfast, with the same ceremonies that were used in calling them from their hammocks. One hour is allowed them for breakfast; at the expiration of which time all hands are called, and they go about their work. Then also at drum roll the ensign is run up, the guards in undress are succeeded by those in uniform, and the band is ordered to the quarter-deck. We have a company of about twenty, most of them excellent musicians; and they help to wile away many an hour. The officers at this time make their appearance. Those in the steerage and cockpit are aroused by a midshipman from the watch at six bells; their hammock boys lash their beds, and stow them on deck; they have breakfast, and now come up to take the fresh air and promenade, while their rooms are holy-stoned and cleaned; at nine, we have school.

"Eight bells are now reported to the quartermaster, and by him to the officer of the deck, who answers, 'make it so,' and sends a midshipman to inform the captain that it is meridian. The bell is struck, and two long successive pipes from the boatswain and his mates are the signal that all work is to cease. The men pass down to the gun deck; the cooks ascend with pans, spoons, and their painted cloths, and hasty preparations are made for dinner; after which, as the drum rolls, all move aft towards the grog tub. Around this point of time concentrate half the meditations of the day; they stow away their tobacco quid, spit, wipe the mouth clean, so as to give every drop its effect, and at no other time do they look so happy. I often place myself at the tub to watch the rolling of the eyes, and the look of supreme gratification with which they swallow their half pint, for that is the measure to each; it is one gill of whiskey diluted with an equal quantity of water. A rope is drawn athwart-ships, near the tub; each as his name is called crosses and takes his allowance, which must be drunk on the spot. In some ships, they may carry it to their mess; but this often produces drunkenness, and our rule is the best. From this they pass to dinner. The whole operation is superintended by the officer of this deck, who must watch them closely; he is furnished by the surgeon with a sick list, on which are marked those who may be furnished with grog, and the quantity. This list is their great dread, and, to avoid it, they often bear their diseases in quiet, till they become serious ones. I recollect in the Brandywine one day, some men were brought from shore badly hurt; one had been knocked down by a Spanish soldier, and much bruised on the breast with his musket. One of my messmates was examining him, and he breathed with difficulty: 'But, Doctor,' he said, 'don't put me on the sick list, doctor; this is nothing.' Another time one came down with a broken finger; the surgeon was examining it, and the fellow was writhing his face into all kinds of curious shapes, when the drum rolled to grog: every muscle took a different twist—'there, now,' he cried, 'I shall lose my grog.' If the surgeon forgets to enter a sick man's name on the list, he will crawl to the tub, if it is in any way possible.

"The midshipmen dine at twelve; the cock-pit mess soon after, and the lieutenants at one; the last are called to dinner by the bugle. The decks are swept again, and at one o'clock all are again called to work. At eight bells they have supper, which is the same as breakfast; the sweepers are then called; all cleared up; and the remainder of the day is their own. They disperse around the ship, 'spin yarns,' joke, play chequers, read, have music on the fore-castle, or plait sentinels for their hats. The boys have their gladsome plays, and a general cheerfulness prevails. We have quarters in the evening. From these there is a general moving towards the upper deck, to which the music is now ordered. The drummers and fifers are paraded by the main-mast: 'beat the call,' is or-

dered; and some tapping on the drum calls the quartermaster to the halliards: the sun sets; and immediately the drums roll; at the third roll the colours are hauled down, and the night pendant substituted for the long one; marines in undress take place of those in uniform, and the band strikes up 'Hail Columbia.' How many kind and warm feelings are associated with those sounds! We have music for half an hour, at the expiration of which its harmony is exchanged for a boatswain's whistle, and their hoarse cry, 'all hands stand by your hammocks, ahoy.' Our promenade is now spoiled; the men come aft; the tackle of the stern and quarter boats is adjusted; and, at the order, all are drawn up to their places. The petty officers now mount the hammock cloths and uncover them; and, when ordered, toss out the hammocks; each man swings his hammock at his number, and most of them turn in immediately. A few collect in groups about the decks, and I have often been an interested listener to their 'long yarns' about witches and hobgoblins, battles and shipwrecks. I have heard some who would compare well with the fair narrator of the Arabian Nights; for many of their stories, like hers, are made as they go along. By eight bells all are asleep. Just before this hour in winter, and nine in summer, the drums are ordered up again; they beat; roll off as the bell is struck, and are succeeded by the bugles, with an admirable effect in a calm night. At the second roll the sentries fire their day muskets, and these are succeeded by loaded ones for the night."

The movements of the vessel are directed and made with as much regularity, simplicity and order, as are displayed in its internal arrangement; when she forms part of a squadron, all her motions are governed by the small signal flags which are exhibited from time to time by the commodore's vessel; as each is run up, the signal book is examined by the officer in command, the corresponding order is issued, the shrill whistle of the quartermaster or boatswain is heard, the shrouds are filled with fearless and active figures, and in a few minutes all again is quiet, and the vessel is sailing according to the orders that were issued. So when in port every operation is performed by the same simple rules—

"Will you have a specimen?" says our author; "we will suppose, then, a fine morning, after a wet day; and there are many such days here, I find. Suppose yourself looking at the ships, black, silent masses, without signs of life about them, except a sentinel or two pacing to and fro. All at once a few little flags are run up at the stern of the commodore's ship, as if by magic, for no one is seen to produce this effect. Soon after, a single one ascends in like manner, to the mast head of each of the other ships; and then all pass down again. A shrill whistle, and a cry are now heard; but still there is no motion, and no sign of any, except a hat here and there, appearing just above the bulwarks. So it remains a few minutes, and then as the trumpets sound, the shrouds become in a moment alive with men. They pass rapidly to the tops, and all is silence again. Another sound; and the rigging is darkened with men, new sets passing up, and those in the tops ascending to the highest spars; they throw themselves out upon the yards, and a busy scene ensues; but all settles again into inactivity. And then, at the words "let fall," the ships simultaneously, and in a moment, drop their thousand folds of canvass; the ensign is run up, and the pendant throws itself open to the breeze. What I have described, is loosing sails to dry, an operation we frequently have, and always a beautiful one."

The striking effect of the manœuvres is increased by the silence with which they are performed, and the strictness with which the men are kept at their posts on deck; until it be necessary to show themselves, not a man is allowed to raise his

hat above the bulwarks, or to look through the ports; none are seen except two or three of the principal officers issuing their orders; and the sudden changes of sail seem like magic. When, however, the yards are manned, or a compliment is to be paid to a passing object, the scene is the very reverse; all then is animation and bustle; the men are exhibited in their full numbers and to the greatest advantage.

"The summer uniform is white canvass shoes; white trowsers, frock (a shirt with blue collar, set off with white fancy work,) hat covered with white canvass, and blue belt with white stars. All hands are called on such occasions; at the order, they mount rapidly, and take station in the shrouds, so as to form three pyramids, rising above one another, to each mast; their faces are turned outward, and, at the order, all simultaneously take off their hats, wave them and cheer; the officers usually joining with them."

Nothing can be more striking, it must be confessed, than all this. It is the very perfection of order and of a careful distribution of time and labour; and though we cannot but acknowledge there are many hardships, it would seem also there are many attendant alleviations, in a sailor's life. If his task be laborious, his season of repose is certain and soon returns; he has no sharp, fresh-springing cares to annoy him with every succeeding hour; he retires to sound rest in his hammock after the labours of his watch, or he mixes in groups with his companions to tell or to listen to the narratives which have been collected in various adventures, among various climes and seas. These it is true are the bright sides of the picture, and shades are not wanting in this, as in all others where man is the subject of the scene. The circumstance which has most deeply impressed itself painfully upon us, in the perusal of these volumes, is the frequent practice and the apparent necessity of the odious custom of flogging. The number of times it was inflicted during the cruise appears to have been very considerable, though the well known humanity of the officers under whose authority it was administered, renders it certain that the system was adopted in its mildest form. We are not surprised at the feelings of Mr. Jones on being required for the first time to witness such an exhibition—

"Last Sunday," he says, "the cries of the boatswain and his mates were heard through the ship, 'all hands to witness punishment, ahoy,' and the men ascending to the spar deck, collected into a dark mass about the gangway. A midshipman was sent to notify the officers, and these were seen shortly after grouping on the quarter-deck, each with a cutlass or sword in hand. The marines were drawn up at the same place with fixed bayonets, and the culprits now appeared, under care of the master-at-arms. The charge was drunkenness; the rules for the government of the navy affecting their case were read, and they were ordered successively to the gang-way, where their backs were laid bare, their wrists tied to the bulwark, and 'half a dozen' inflicted with the cats. The cats are formed by attaching twelve small, but solid cords, to the end of a stick about a foot in length; they were laid on with skill and force, and made the poor fellows cry loudly for mercy. Each one was questioned closely as to the person from whom he procured the liquor, but none would tell, except one man,

and he implicated our mess-boy. Poor Anthony was called, and confessing, was ordered immediately to be tied up. I never saw a fellow so astonished; but before he had recovered sense enough to know whether his head or feet were uppermost, he was all ready, and the cats were applied; they say the sensation is just as if melted lead were poured on the back. All have to witness these things; I went below when it was over, threw myself on some camp stools, and, for the first time, heartily wished myself in America again."

No doubt the common sailors who are found in vessels of war are too often beings degraded by long habits of vice, little susceptible of those impressions which are calculated to touch the feelings or affect the moral principles, yet there must be and there are many who are alive to them, and it is the misfortune or the fault of the system that it makes no discrimination. Men are frequently, indeed generally, driven to the navy, in this country, from misfortune in other pursuits, from preference to a sea-faring life, from the certain subsistence and reward of labour which it holds out; they are not impressed or seized as conscripts, they are not the refuse of jails and prison-ships as in other countries; hence it is fair to suppose that a large proportion of them are persons on whom a moral punishment, or such a one as is not accompanied with personal degradation and agony, would have its effect. Do not let us forget that even in the English navy, supplied as it often is, by means which may be said to secure the worst and lowest of men, Lord Nelson was opposed to corporal punishments; and that excellent man Lord Collingwood, who was longer in active service than any other British admiral, who was celebrated for the superior discipline in which he kept his crews, who had seen the effects of a desperate mutiny, and who commanded at a time when the principles of insubordination were particularly prevalent, incessantly, by his practice as well as in his reports, opposed the prevailing system. Nor are our opinions the less strengthened by two occurrences which fell directly under the notice of our author.

"It should never be forgotten," he remarks, "that among these men are some of fine sensibilities; that these form the best part of the crew; that a flogging to such persons will be a serious injury for life; and that every man, however hardened, is still to himself more than all the world beside. I know the disgrace of public punishment is keenly felt; for I have had a man, a hard character too, come to me and weep while he talked about it. I will add a conversation with an old sailor, from which a useful hint may be drawn. 'Well, Russell' I said to him, one day, 'were you ever flogged?' 'Yes, Sir, once—aboard the Independence, and I deserved it long before: I got it at last, though.' 'Ah—how did it feel?' 'O, it burnt; they didn't flog me before all hands though. In some ships, the first lieutenant settles off in the morning, at the brig:—they whipped me there.' 'For drunkenness, I suppose.' 'Yes, Sir, I'd taken a drop too much;—I was quartermaster then; he broke me, and then let me have a dozen: I was restored, and he said, 'now get drunk again, and I'll let you have another dozen.' 'Well, did it cure you?' 'No, I got drunk next day on the head of it'—'and was flogged?' 'No, Sir,—the first lieutenant ordered a man to take me below: next day he sent for me to talk about it; and that hurt my feel'ns more than all the punishment in the world. Talk'n is sometimes more punishment than flogg'n. I never got drunk again in that ship: the flogg'n was nothing, but the talk'n put a stop to it.'"

We have thrown out these observations, as those which have occurred to us, on the perusal of such facts; we cannot but believe that it is a topic worthy of the consideration of enlightened and philanthropic statesmen, and while we are as strongly opposed as any persons can be, to tampering with discipline or established regulations on slight grounds of apparent benevolence, we do think, that at this period it is the duty of our government to attend to every point, however slight, which may serve to place our navy on a broad basis of popularity, of public confidence, of manly spirit; the day may come when its increased size will render its vigorous maintenance a subject of no slight difficulty, and it is now the time well to consider what will tend to make it a field of desirable ambition, not merely to officers alone, but to those who are to man it.

Before leaving the subject of the navy, we cannot omit noticing with approbation the improvements which have been introduced, of late years, in the system of instruction and promotion. The very fact of our author's appointment as schoolmaster is highly creditable; it affords to the midshipmen an opportunity of pursuing, in the many leisure hours they have at sea, those studies which are necessary for their future reputation and success; it lays a foundation for higher attainments and higher objects of ambition than those of mere courage and skill in seamanship; and when united with the excellent plan of frequent examinations and promotion according to merit, will tend to give to our navy a character for intelligence not to be found, in general, in that of any other nation. We trust this will also lead to a reform in the scientific department; and that there will not be much longer ground to complain of a want of the necessary instruments for making observations in natural and experimental science. We took occasion in a former number, when alluding to the discoveries and researches of some of the officers of the British navy, to express the hope that the time was approaching, when our government would foster the genius and enterprise of our own officers in similar pursuits:—there is a wide and interesting field before them, they are prepared and anxious to enter upon it, and the administration that shall first open it to them, will secure to itself a well merited fame, which will endure when the reputation derived from the politics of the day has entirely vanished.

The Brandywine frigate, in which our author embarked, left the Chesapeake bay on the ninth of September 1825, proceeded immediately to Havre de Grace, where General Lafayette landed, and then sailed directly for Cowes, where she was detained a fortnight to undergo some necessary repairs. There was no opportunity, however, to see more of England than the shores of the Isle of Wight, the neighbouring town of Portsmouth, and the harbour of the latter with its large fleet.

"Among the seventy-fours, here an 'obscura turba,' the Victory, Lord Nelson's ship in the battle of Trafalgar, was pointed out to us, and we took the first opportunity to visit it. It is now too old for active service, and is used as a receiving ship, but seems to be kept for little else than show. We found it in excellent order, every part nice and clean. They have marked the spot where Nelson received his death wound, by a brass plate, on which is inscribed his short but memorable speech before the battle, 'England expects every man to do his duty.' In a small state room of the cockpit, we were shown the spot where he died; he embarked at Portsmouth for his last cruise, and a lofty monument to his memory has been erected a few miles from the city. Our conductor pointed to a small state room, opening into the cabin, and told us that there he had kept his coffin. It is a fact, that for some years previous to his death, he had always carried his coffin with him. Captain, since Admiral Hallowell, had it made from the wreck of the *L'Orient*, the French admiral's ship, which blew up at the battle of Aboukir, and probably in a freak of good humour presented it to his lordship. Nelson accepted it, and had it conveyed to the Vanguard, then his flag ship, where the astonishment of the sailors, when they found it was the admiral's coffin, may well be imagined. 'Look out for hot work boys,' was the cry, 'the admiral has shipped his coffin: we may set about making our wills.' He had it placed upright, with the lid on, against the bulkhead of his cabin, just back of his seat at dinner; but was at length prevailed on, by the intreaties of an old servant, to suffer it to be carried below. When he removed to the *Foudroyant*, it was carried with him, and placed on the gratings of the quarter deck, where it remained several days. One day, on coming out, he found his officers around, looking at it: 'you may look at it, gentlemen,' he said, 'as long as you please, but depend on it, none of you shall have it.'"

After leaving Portsmouth, they proceeded immediately to Gibraltar, where they found the American squadron at anchor in the bay, Commodore Rodgers in the North Carolina seventy-four having the command. Mr. Jones saw, as may be supposed, much to wonder at in this celebrated fortress. It is difficult to obtain admission, but his character, as a person attached to the American navy, proved a sufficient passport, and he was allowed to examine all the fortifications; these are for the most part cut out of the solid limestone rock, and embrace innumerable chambers and galleries for cannon, and the whole are defended by a garrison of six thousand men in time of peace, which has been increased during war to thirty thousand, with seven years' provisions. The town itself being a free port, and situated at so important a point, presents an object not less striking than the fortress. Our author has graphically described its appearance, as the approach of evening and the closing of the gates oblige the busy crowds to terminate their daily labours—

"The scene around becomes a busy one: the gate is crowded with people, hurrying back and forward; the Moor stalks hastily on, wrapped up in his white bernoise; the Spaniard in velvet, and Sombrero decked with beads, calls and clamours for his boat; the Jew, with downcast look, silent, yet observing, glides like an adder among them: sailors and officers, and men of all nations, are mixed in confused masses, with strange and disorderly sounds. And now, two long calls from a bugle within the fortifications, give new impulses to every motion. Little boats shoot up, and, taking their burdens, dance away on the waves. In the long line anchored near, awnings are drawn over, and fires lighted; giving to the rough scene almost a home character. Military are now seen on the

wharf, and the sounds are subsiding, except single, long calls, from those whose friends have neglected or forgotten them. The drawbridge is loosened, and its tackle adjusted : the bugle sounds again : the last stragglers are hurried off, and the boats all leave, except those from men of war. The military retire, and the wharf is left bare and silent. All now watch the signal gun, far above : it blazes at last, its thunder is echoed in low and grumbling sounds among the Spanish hills, and Gibraltar is shut against the world, till the morrow."

Towards the close of November the squadron proceeded to Port Mahon in the island of Minorca, where they wintered, and where Mr. Jones was transferred to the frigate *Constitution*. There was little in the place to attract or reward curiosity, and the only object on the island which seems to have claimed his notice, was a number of those barrows or cairns which are found in all countries, and appear to be the sepulchres of a very ancient race.

On the tenth of April the spring had considerably advanced, and the breezes were fresh and balmy. The crews beheld with pleasure the signal on board the Commodore's vessel "to unmoor ship," and the whole squadron was soon under way for the summer's cruise. They made a transient visit at Algiers, which seems to have satisfied entirely the curiosity of all who went on shore; for according to our author's account, they returned execrating the place. Indeed, if a complete contrast to every thing which they were in the habit of seeing at home, was a sufficient ground for contempt on the part of our patriotic tars, it must be confessed they had, according to the author's statements, quite a fair excuse—

"What would you think," he says, "of a blacksmith, sitting cross-legged before his anvil, hammering out the red-hot iron? We saw many such spectacles, and many more as singular as these. You feel, indeed, as if you had suddenly fallen among the Antipodes, so contrary is every thing in the place to what you have heretofore been accustomed to see. We shave the beard, and let the hair grow on our head : they shave the head, and let the beard grow : we uncover the head, as a sign of respect, and they the feet ; silks, about the head we consider effeminate, while, here, the men use them most : a handsome lady, with us, must be delicate in form, and corsets are used to produce what nature may have denied ; here, the beauties are all corpulent, and fold on fold of muslin is used, to add gracefulness to the form. Suppose I draw a picture of an Algerine beauty ; for their ladies are not confined at home so much as I expected, and we saw a number of them in the streets. Over an immense bulk of muslin, rises something like a head and neck ; though what proportions they bear to each other you cannot tell. Looking to the part where should be the head, you see something roundish, covered all over with muslins : in front, is a small projection, where is what you conclude to be the nose. Just above this, is a small break in the folds, and in it you see two eyes, pretty enough, apparently : then, above, comes the muslin again ; and above all, rises a machine of silver or tin, cut into filigree work, and in shape like the one our house-wives use to grate carrots on. It is covered loosely with a piece of thin muslin, or gauze, which hangs down dangling behind. The dress is all white ; and they appear like ghosts, in the dusky streets, huge, waddling ghosts, however."

From Algiers, the squadron proceeded to Tunis, where Mr. Jones had the honour of imitating Marius by seating himself

on the ruins of Carthage, or at least on fragments of marbles and ruined buildings which pass for such. They then bore away for the Archipelago, among the islands and along the shores of which are the principal scenes of our author's observations, during the remainder of his absence from America. The Constitution being separated from the rest of the squadron, was employed in cruising about from place to place, so that, in the course of eighteen months, there were few spots of interest in those narrow seas, which she did not visit. We shall not follow these desultory movements, but endeavour to arrange somewhat more in order, our author's remarks on the various parts of this truly interesting part of the East.

Smyrna is the principal port of Asiatic Turkey, and indeed that through which the Levant trade is chiefly conducted. Its harbour is an excellent one now, as it was in the time of Alexander the Great, and French, English, Austrian, and Dutch vessels of war, were lying at anchor within it. The trade is chiefly conducted in the bazars, which, according to our author, are in a Turkish town always sociable and agreeable places. They are in the widest street, usually clean and covered, either with boards, or grape vines trailed so as to produce a fine chequered shade. Along this street are the stores and fancy shops, not shut like ours, but always open in front. These are small, usually eight or nine feet each way, with the floor elevated about three feet from the ground: at night they are shut by folding horizontal doors, that work on hinges, and are supported during the day in a position parallel with the ground: the floor is carpeted, and there sits the master, usually employed in some light occupation.

Mr. Jones found much to admire in the individual character of the Turks; he did not think them surly or brutal as we are apt to imagine them; they are taciturn, but polite, and, like all people indeed, accessible when properly approached; "a good humoured smile," he remarks, "with a spice of dignity in it, and a salutation a little after their own manner, never fails to make them kind and affable in return. I chat as well as I can; praise their goods when they are fine, and have never been rudely treated yet." In their administration of justice, though arbitrary, the Turks are prompt, and succeed effectually in preserving the peace of the community.

"Amid such a collection, comprising men of all nations, habits, interests and religions, one would think that riots and disturbances would be frequent; but it is not so. Probably, the very fact that the Pasha is law, jury, and judge, contributes greatly to this. Men know not how far they may go with safety: they know, too, that punishment comes quick and untrammelled by law, and they find it best to steer clear of danger; whereas, in other countries, they come boldly up to the line, yet are not touched, merely, because they do not cross it: here, no one knows exactly where it is. We had an exhibition of their mode of doing business, to-day. A dark-hearted Greek had taken offence at two of his countrymen, threatened them with vengeance, and turned Moslem to enjoy it

with impunity. He murdered both : a woman passing at the time, was seized with the pains of child-birth, and herself and child both perished. He was carried before the Pasha, and pleaded his rights as Moslem, declaring that the Christian dogs had upbraided him as a renegade. 'Go to,'—was the quick answer—'a man like you is neither Moslem nor Christian—away with him.' It was their Bairam then, a holy time with them : it ended this morning, and, to-day, I saw his dead body in the street, the back upward, and his head, face up, between his thighs. This was before the house where the murder was committed. I stood to see how the body was treated : few gave it more than a passing glance; but now and then one would stop to spit on it, or give it a kick. Another execution took place about three months since."

In their deportment, the Turks unite much gracefulness with a certain dignity of manner ; it is very seldom that they are awkward or embarrassed in their carriage ; their salutation is a bow, at the same time placing the hand upon the heart, then on the lips, and then on the forehead, to signify, probably, love, sincerity, and humility. In their dealings they are remarkably honest and upright, affording in this respect a strong contrast to the Greeks—

"When an officer comes off, and shows a purchase of doubtful character, the first question asked, is—'Did you get it of a Turk?' 'No.' 'Well then, you are cheated.' I deal with them with confidence : they are the only persons, almost, with whom I can deal without distrust, except, of course, the higher Frank merchants ; and I go to a Turk, too, to be righted, when I think others have cheated me. One of them thought, one day, I was trying to impose on him ; I had just had a doubloon changed, for small Turkish coin, where I knew I should receive only true money ; for much of it is counterfeit. The Turk suspected me, and fixing his eyes keenly, right on mine, he said, 'bono ?' I answered *bono* without flinching : he repeated the question twice, and then took it, apparently, without a doubt."

There are unquestionably dark shades in the Turkish character, but they are national, rather than individual ; when excited by religious or political frenzy, their ferocity and cruelty have no bounds, and the massacres of Scio and Ipsara are pictures too horrible to be contemplated in this age. We feel too but little compassion for a nation which, seated so long in the fairest portions of Europe and Asia, has made so few advances in the arts of civilized life, while all around have been profiting by the increasing improvements that time gradually produces.

In his personal intercourse with the Turks in official situations, our author had never reason to be dissatisfied with their treatment ; he found them civil and prompt ; he gives the following sketch of a visit which he made to a Ulema, to procure a *tescareh* or passport for Constantinople ;

"The consul sent his drogoman, a venerable Armenian, to procure this for me : we threaded several narrow and retired streets ; he halted at last, and drew on a black cloth robe, open in front, which he had been carrying on his arm, 'the robe of ceremony,' as he called it. Soon after, we came to the house of the Ulema, or minister of the law, a plain building without any attempt at ornament. He was seated on a divan, in a small chamber, with some japanned boxes by his side. The drogoman dropped on one knee before him, kissed the border of his robe, and being invited, seated himself on a cushion on the floor ; I was offered a seat on the divan. The Turks always smooth their paper before

using it, with a piece of bone or horn; it is purchased so in the shops, where I have frequently seen them employed in the operation; he produced a piece of this, and using his left hand as a desk, (a universal practice,) wrote my Tescareh, giving me now and then a glance, from which I discovered that he was describing my person and features. They write, as you probably know, from right to left. When this was done, he hollowed the palm of his left hand a little, struck it smartly with the fingers of the other, and, at the sound, an attendant instantly appeared, to whom it was given to be sealed. No compensation was received: the drogoman kneeled again, kissed his robe, and, after we departed, congratulated himself on the ease with which he obtained such favours."

The costumes of the various classes of the Turks, as well as of the people of various nations who are constantly met with, are exceedingly picturesque, both from their variety and their character. The Tartar guide or courier whom Mr. Jones accompanied from Smyrna to Constantinople, had a hat about eighteen inches high, looking just like a stove pipe stuck endwise on the head, except that it was white: a small border of black swelled out at the upper edge, and a handkerchief was wrapped around the lower one. His face was set off by a pair of fierce and well curled mustachios. His dress was a jacket lined inside with fur; a sash with a bright attaghan for its accompaniment, and a pair of heavy jack-boots reaching above his knees. A pair of horseman's pistols in the holster completed his equipment. On the Atmeidan, or public walk of Constantinople, our author was much struck with the splendour of the Turkish costume. "Among the crowd," he says, "are frequently seen the domestics of the Sultan's household in fantastic yet tasteful dresses, of which there is an endless variety. Scarlet is the prevailing colour: there is one I have often met with; it is a scarlet gown, open in front and fastened with a sash: the cap is a high tube covered with scarlet cloth, which falls also in loose folds, about eighteen inches down the back. There is room for great variety and display of taste in the Turkish costume, and I think they are frequently happy in its exercise." The dress of the Armenians differs considerably from that of the Turks, and shows at once their Eastern origin; it consists of a kind of chemise, and of long drawers, usually red, over which is thrown a long full robe, usually of parti-coloured silk and cotton, fastened to the body by a sash. Over this is a loose open robe of cloth, with long sleeves; their hat is an inverted frustrum of a cone, ornamented with scarlet cloth; and their lips are blackened by mustachios.

Neither the climate, habits, nor character of the Turks, lead them to seek active amusements. Their chief pleasures are of a domestic and quiet kind. They love to sit upon their carpets, smoking their pipes and drinking iced sherbet, when not occupied by the pursuits of business or trade. The only game Mr. Jones saw was the *djerid*, which is indeed an animated sport. The company forms itself into two parties: each individual of which being provided with a *djerid*, or straight stick about four feet in length,

whirls it at his antagonist, who either avoids it or catches and throws it back upon him. All this is done on horseback, and of course requires considerable skill. It is, however, rapidly going out of fashion. The only species of public exhibition, is that of the Turning and Howling Dervishes. The former do not vary very greatly from the Shakers near Lebanon, and their performances are in some degree religious. After preliminary music and singing, nine dervishes follow their superior in a slow march round the room, bowing to a coloured sheep-skin on the floor; they then begin to turn themselves round; their arms are gradually extended, their dress flies out, and their whirl becomes one of inconceivable rapidity. This they continue with short intervals of rest for nearly an hour, until they are completely exhausted. The Howling Dervishes offer somewhat more variety in their exhibitions, though it must be confessed those which our author saw, displayed very little of that skill for which the eastern jugglers are so celebrated. They commenced their operations by shouting and dancing round the room; this was succeeded by a very young and sick child being laid on the floor, and the principal dervish stepping on its knees, and resting there the whole weight of his body, without apparently causing it any pain; he afterwards stood with equal impunity on several men who were brought in, grunting and howling all the time. Wild music then struck up, the groaning became more violent, and several of the dervishes drove into their skin sharp spikes, with heavy balls attached to them. Mr. Jones convinced himself of the reality of the wounds from actual inspection.

A strange custom existing in the metropolis is the respect paid to dogs. According to our author, they divide the city into districts, and each set must confine itself to its particular part;

"One seemed to have wandered into a strange section; its owners hunted out the intruder; his fellows came to his rescue, and, as we passed them, while they stood in two lines, showing their teeth at one another, we had some apprehension that we should become common prey. They have a strong resemblance to a wolf in their shape, and are gaunt and fierce looking. Formerly they were troublesome to strangers. An English gentleman I am acquainted with, found it expedient, when he first came among them, to gain the good will of those in his district by largesses of bread. They know him, and follow him now regularly to the next baker's shop, where they still receive their bribe to be civil. But this animal seems also to have felt the change going on here in all things, and we have never been molested by them. They are very numerous, and I have frequently been awakened at night by their extensive and protracted howling. Their toleration forms another anomaly in the character of this singular people; for, the dog is considered by the Turks as an unclean animal, and no one may harbour one in his house: still, though they may be beaten off with a cane, if they make an attack, no one is allowed to wound them. The Grand Vizier of Achmet I., had courage enough to have the city cleared of them; he had them all carried to the Asiatic shore, and would have put them to death, but the Mufti put a stop to it, by declaring that every dog has a soul."

The vehicles of the Turks are of the rudest kind; their carts

consist of a wooden frame, on which a large wicker basket, open at one end, is placed; underneath, at each side, are two pegs, and between these passes the axle, with a withe below, to confine it to its place; the wheels are circular pieces of solid plank, fastened to the axle, which turns round. The arabat or pleasure carriage is somewhat better than this; it is a small light wagon, without springs or seats, though gaily ornamented with paint and gilding, and those for ladies are surrounded with fine lattice work; mats are placed in the bottom, on which the passengers sit; and they are slowly drawn along by two oxen, over which are suspended curved sticks, with variegated tassels dangling from them to keep off the flies. The Turks feel less the necessity of more convenient vehicles, from the universal use of camels, which furnish a better mode of conveyance than any carriage: they travel in long lines, the head of each attached by a rope to the saddle of the one before; a donkey precedes the whole as a guide, and travelling as they do mostly by night, their bells tinkling as they pace along, they form a striking eastern scene.

When at Smyrna, our author took advantage of the departure of a courier for Constantinople, and having obtained leave of absence, set out with him for the capital. They left the sea-board, and striking northward through Asia Minor, visited the city of Magnesia, beautifully seated at the base of a range of picturesque mountains, surrounded by vineyards and fine trees, and glittering with innumerable minarets. Passing the battle ground of Antiochus and the Romans, and crossing the Hermus which no longer rolls over golden sands, they reached the first night Aksar, which stands on the site of the ancient Thyatira. Mr. Jones gives an amusing picture of the fatigues of his journey, for the courier was not disposed to allow him much time for sleep or rest on the way. One evening when he had been quietly eating his supper, in the confident expectation of a good night's repose, he was summoned, to his surprise and dismay, to mount forthwith.

"Our supper was no sooner over, than fresh horses were brought out, and our baggage laid on. 'What,' I inquired, 'do we not stop here to night?' 'No.' 'Where then?' 'Five hours from this.'—So we mounted, and 'Hyte,'* was again the cry. It was now an hour after dark; on we went, over hill and stream. Two hours after starting, I began to think I was getting sleepy: it was a horrible thought. Have you ever had to ride three hours, half asleep, on a trotting horse? If you have not, you will laugh at my strong expressions.—laugh away,—and I wish you the experience of it as a punishment. I had felt a touch of it in the morning. You first try to banish the thought, as if with it you could banish the thing itself. But it won't do: on it comes, stronger and stronger, and fears ripen into certainty. And now that the enemy is upon you, you resolve to meet him bravely, and bear up against him. You might as well resolve to drain the ocean; your very resolution is mixed with vague, strange fancies, that show its weakness: you determine to shake them off, and to do it, seize on still wilder

* Turkish, for 'push on.'

ones: you are ashamed of yourself: you begin to sing, but, in a little time, find with mortification that you are silent, when you thought yourself still singing: whistling does no better. Curious figures now begin to be blended with the landscape: ugly faces stare upon you from the thickets: trees turn into bounding stags: strange forms, in black and white, are riding by your side, and holding converse with you,—and all without exciting wonder or alarm. Still, you are not asleep;—it would be madness to sleep on a trotting horse: your eyes wide open,—you know they are: but your horse takes a hard step; you catch yourself falling, and find you have been dozing all the time. And your company, which you thought close by your side, are away ahead bawling for you. You gallop up, and the exercise rouses you for a moment;—but it comes again, and worse than before. You look for a caravansera light, in hopes of driving it off, by fixing your attention on some certain object: lights start up on the landscape and disappear,—the creation of your own heated brain. The house, perhaps, may be in sight;—you look, and trees turn into houses, with windows and chimneys and roof, and again into trees. You hear the insects chirping in the bushes, and wonder they don't go to sleep: you look up at the stars shining brightly upon you, and in the foolishness of your thoughts, catch yourself wondering why they don't go to sleep. In short, the whole world can produce nothing half so sweet as sleep."

The country, as he rode along, looked fertile, but the population was not numerous; here and there were seen a farm house, and cultivated spots, but generally it was deserted; around the villages was a belt of inclosed land, but no more appeared to be reclaimed than was necessary to afford a bare support to the inhabitants. After a fatiguing journey of four days, our author reached Mondania, on the shore of the sea of Marmora, and there embarking in a small boat, safely reached Constantinople the following morning. Hearing on his arrival, that the Sultan was to be seen at the mosque, he had himself, without a moment's delay, registered, as a foreigner is bound to do, and then set out to look at his highness. He quickly made his way among the crowd, with the persevering activity and inquisitiveness which mark his character; and notwithstanding sundry rebuffs from the guards, and repeated "punching in the side" from a sable subaltern, contrived to maintain his position in a station where he could see what was going on.

"When the services were ended, there was a bustle through the court, a marshalling of guards, horses, officers, and attendants; but his highness preferred returning by water, and another disposition was necessary. The Chiaoux, or Constables, drew my attention chiefly: they were about thirty in number, and were dressed in green silk robes, fastened round by a sash: on their heads was a cap, from which rose a plume, in shape like an expanded peacock's tail, only not quite so large: it was composed of white heron's plumes, interspersed tastefully with others of green. These were drawn up on each side, on the quay, twenty yards distant from the boat: the intermediate space was occupied by a double line of soldiers without arms. Some distance back were armed troops and courtiers. A carpet was laid to the boat: all was now ready, and a gun at the Seraglio told that the Sultan had stepped from the mosque.

"Sultan Mahmoud I should judge to be about fifty years of age: his person is about the middle size, square-shouldered, and heavy, but not corpulent; his face was pale, and deeply wrinkled, and seemed to express deep thought and care. Except this, I could not discern any thing remarkable in his features. His dress was of blue cloth, and was exactly similar to that of any rich Turk, except the culpac, or head-dress. This was formed like that of the wealthier

class, in shape resembling the crown of our hats, but of blue cloth, deeply plaited on the sides, and with a rich white shawl folded round its lower edge. It had in front a large sprig of diamonds, over which was a beautiful tuft of bird of paradise feathers. This is the Grand Signior. After he had seated himself in his barge, a covered turban, the 'turban of state,' was brought by an officer into the court, where we stood, and waved before the crowd, all of whom made obeisance to it, except ourselves."

During the ten days which our author passed in Constantinople, he was actively engaged in seeing all that he could of that extraordinary city, and we regret that we have not space for many extracts from this portion of his volumes. He was much disappointed in the splendour and beauty of St. Sophia, which he briefly describes, and thought it much inferior to the mosque of Sultan Achmet :

"This is about two hundred yards from St. Sophia, and stands on one side of the Atmeidan, from which it is separated by a handsome white railing of fancy work. It is very large, and entirely of white marble; its colonnades are enriched with pillars of the most costly materials; it has a handsome swelling dome; six minarets, each with three galleries; and a row of fountains below in its whole extent. The court around it is extensive, and planted with large sycamores. I have frequently loitered in this court. Its trees are filled with doves; for this bird, like the stork, is never molested among the Turks: its cooings are a pleasant accompaniment to the gurgling of water from the fountains, and the sighing of the breeze in the sycamores; and then, above all, comes the soft voice of the Muezzin, from the gallery of the minaret, 'God is Great! There is no other God but God! Come to Prayer! I summon you with a clear voice.' He passes around the minaret, repeating his call four times: the Turkish voice is always soft, and the effect of the Muezzin's cry from the minaret is very fine."

The Atmeidan, or public square, is the Hippodrome of the ancient city, and is a level rectangular area about two hundred and fifty yards in length and as many in breadth. In it are the celebrated Egyptian obelisk erected by the emperor Theodosius; a square monument of stone work ninety feet high; and the famous Delphic column of bronze formed by three twisted serpents.

There is little elegance in the private houses of Constantinople; they are generally but of two stories, the second projecting several feet over the streets, and the windows barred with thick lattice work. There are no lamps at night, and fires are very frequent. The numerous fountains, however, are pretty, being generally of white marble, and having a number of bright brass cups disposed around them for the benefit of passers. The environs are beautiful; the Valley of Sweet Waters is a favourite resort, about three miles from the city, where the Sultan has a kiosk or summer house, ornamented with gilding, and richly furnished with cushions and silks. All along the shores of the Bosphorus, is a succession of villages and palaces, while the country above them swells into gentle hills, and sinks into valleys clothed with woods, vineyards, and gardens.

Returning to the Archipelago, you pass the rocky island of Marmora, from which the sea derives its name, and which is it-

self so called from its large quarries. These were extensively wrought by the ancients, who obtained from them nearly all the marbles of the Troad. There are in the vicinity of the Mediterranean, four species of celebrated marbles, those of Marmora, Paros, Pentelicus, and Carrara. The first is unfit for sculpture, but substantial and good for building. The second was greatly esteemed by the ancients, and many of the finest of their statues and bas reliefs were made from it; it is of a dazzling whiteness and purity at first, but is apt to grow yellow with age. The Pentelican is of coarser grain, and frequently traversed by coloured veins, but it preserves its whiteness and solidity beyond any other. The Carraran marble is remarkable for its transparent appearance, but is of very irregular and uncertain quality, and much of it fit only for architecture; it is, however, that used in preference to all others by statuaries of the present day.

The Dardanelles, with Sestos and Abydos, and the large cannon, have been often described, and presented nothing new to our author. The Troad was the scene of an excursion with some of the officers of the Constitution; they did not however flatter themselves with having discovered any ruins of long-lost Troy. From an eminence, however, they looked down on the plain where it must have stood, and where the assembled hosts of Agamemnon lay so long encamped.

"How much I wish," says the author, "I could place the whole view before you. Far on my left, lay spread the wide Egean: from its bright waves rose Imbro, a high island, with fantastic outline; and, above this, could be distinguished the blue summits of Samothrace. Further south, some mounds rose high from the ridge on which I stood; and at their side was the peak of Tenedos, from its distance scarcely to be distinguished from them. Before me, at a distance of six or seven miles, was a silvery streak in the landscape—the Hellespont: the sun was shining bright on its waters, and was reflected from the white castle on its opposite side. Nearer was the *Plain of Troy*: down its centre was a green line, marking the course of a stream—the Scamander: just before me was scattered a profusion of marble ruins; these had, at least, borne the name of Trojan: closer still, was a clump of stately trees, and among them were two fountains; perhaps the ΔΟΙΑΙ ΠΗΓΑΙ of Homer! I was soon among the ruins, and walked, or rather ran among them, with a mixture of high-wrought and indescribable feelings.

"The fountains are south of the ruins, and close by the range of hills which I have frequently noticed. There are two, only a few feet from each other, each throwing up a considerable body of water at once from the ground. One is surrounded with marble steps; and the spreading trees above them, with the lively green of the underwood that accompanies their streams, makes this one of the most beautiful spots on the Troad. Their water empties itself into the Mendere, the Turkish name of what I believe is now pretty well determined to be the Scamander: this river flows through the plain, half a mile from Bounarbashi, and is discharged, through a marsh, into the Dardanelles, not far from the mouth of these straits. The water of both the springs I found of agreeable coolness; but it is said to be hot in winter. There is another fountain a short distance below, and of these two sources, the natives say, one is hot while the other is cold; but the thermometer gives the same temperature to both. Doctor Clarke found them sixty-two degrees of Fahrenheit, in winter, while the atmosphere gave forty-seven: Hobhouse was there in the spring, and thought

them only tepid, 'not so warm as to be unpleasant to the taste.' To day, the upper was cool as any water I have ever drunk: the lower I did not visit, as a large number of women were washing clothes by it. The district just below has a delightful freshness, and appears to be full of springs; it is called by the Turks Kirk Geuse, or *Forty Eyes*, and Bounarbashy, in their language, signifies the *head of the springs*. Le Chevalier calls these fountains the sources of the Scamander; he could not have found a more beautiful spot for his city on the whole Troad. The plain itself seems made for fame. Its position, you will see, is admirable, and nothing can exceed its richness."

During the cruise, there were few of the innumerable islands of the *Ægean* that were not visited, and though Mr. Jones, as we have already remarked, is not sufficiently familiar with classical literature to impart to them the charm which arises from happy recollection, illustration and allusion, yet most readers will probably be pleased to have scenes recalled to their memories, which were fresh in their earlier years, and may not have faded entirely from their thoughts.

Tenedos, so famous in ancient story, now presents nothing to detain a traveller; the only town on the island is a wretched looking place, the streets narrow, the houses out of repair, and every thing around wearing a desolate and uncomfortable appearance. Mitylene, the ancient Lesbos, is far different; verdant fields and olive groves yet welcome the traveller to shores made sacred by Alcæus and Sappho; and the town which exists among the ancient ruins, still contains an active population of fifteen thousand people. Ipsara, a bare rock, whose name is scarcely recorded in earlier times, has derived in our own day a dreadful celebrity from the cruel scenes which have bathed its rugged precipices in blood. From the activity of its inhabitants, and the convenience of its situation, its port had become the rendezvous of many of the Grecian merchants, and their wealth was a temptation too strong for the Turks to resist, when the revolution broke out.

"One night they succeeded in landing, through the treachery of a man from another island; and the morning showed all the heights covered with them. The fight was very bloody, but, on the part of the islanders, hopeless. 'We ran,' said a young lad, a nephew of Canaris, in describing to me the fate of his mother and two brothers, one six, and the other four years old, 'we ran for the harbour, but George stopped at the shore, and I have never seen him since. He is now a slave at Constantinople. My mother, with Constantine in her arms, and myself, got to the Caiques; but they were all fast, and besides filled with women. They cried to her, 'throw the child in the water; you cannot save it, and you will both perish if you do not throw it overboard;' but she would not; and the last I heard of her was, that she was shot through the head by a Turk. A little boat was passing; I swam for it; they took me up, and we got to another island; but we suffered horribly by the way. I went from one island to another, looking for my friends, and met people every where doing the same. One day I saw a woman look hard at me, and I stopped, but we did not know one another: she burst into tears at last, and threw her arms about me, and I found it was my aunt."

"Most of the inhabitants were killed: some collected into a fort; and when the Turks had gathered around, blew it up: a large number were made slaves,

and of these many have been redeemed, or otherwise liberated, by Commodore Hamilton. Those who escaped dispersed over the islands, then settled at Tino, then at Napoli de Malvasia; and finally, have found a resting place in Egina."

Scio, which is a little to the south-east of Ipsara, suffered from an attack still more ferocious and desolating—an attack so dreadful in its conduct and results, as to be vividly impressed upon our recollections, as one of the most memorable events of our times. When Mr. Jones saw this beautiful island, it was desolate and deserted; the houses were roofless and blackened ruins; the streets of the towns were filled with rubbish, and impassable; the churches were profaned; the grave yards were torn up; and though nature still smiled upon the hills, and among the valleys, there were few human creatures to represent the race, who, in earlier days, boasted that they had taught mankind the culture of the vine, that the descendants of Homer long lived among them, and that they excelled all the neighbouring islanders in their exploits on the waves.

Proceeding down the Archipelago we are soon in the midst of the Cyclades—still the "nitentes Cyclades," as in the days of Horace—

"You can have no idea of the splendid scene towards sunset. Around us, and within sight, were Nicaria, Mycone, Delos, Naxia, Paros, Antiparos, Siphno, Serpho, Zyra, Thermo, and Joura, besides numerous rocky islets. We were but a few miles from Delos; Tino, with its sixty-five villages, was still nearer; many of them on mountain brow, or amid green fields, were glittering in the evening sun. Amid this vast amphitheatre of islands, our ship lay motionless: our band was on deck: some sail were in the distance: there was a mellowness of feeling perceptible in the softened manner, when people spoke to one another, and in the silence; for men ceased their rough jokes, and gathered to the ship's sides, to gaze on the scene. The whole western sky was brightening into a light red: this changed imperceptibly to a purple, that was reflected from every rock and mountain. A golden path shot across the water: the purple, now thrown over the sky, and sea, and land, gradually deepened;—and then, amid this splendid colouring of his own creation, the sun went slowly and gloriously down."

Our readers will hardly suppose that the active researches of Mr. Jones would omit the celebrated grotto of Antiparos, while among the Cyclades. As soon as the vessel came to anchor at the neighbouring island, he formed a party of the officers, and, holding himself the station of purser, highly necessary and important on such occasions, they made the best of their way, by means of boats and donkeys, to the far-famed cavern. This has been so frequently and so well described, that we need scarcely plead want of room for not recording minutely the adventures of the party. Suffice it to say, that with the aid of ropes, ladders, and torches, they explored all the recesses which their predecessors had explored before them; admired, as they did, the dazzling brightness and beauty of the spar; fancied they discovered striking resemblances to various things in its fantastic shapes; and found themselves with excellent appetites when they again arrived at the light of day.

After crossing the Archipelago, the first point of the mainland of Greece which came in sight, was the southern promontory of Attica—a cape whose shores were high, steep, and woody, but apparently quite deserted.

“Our attention was directed to a snow-white object overhanging the cape: it stood on its verge, with huge dark rocks below: as we approached, its dimensions seemed to enlarge, its parts stood out distinct in the clear blue sky, and we had before us the celebrated temple of Minerva, on Cape Colonna. How well the ancients knew how to choose position. I have not room to describe that of the temple; but if you will take your map, and give to every mountain in the view, a soft tinge of golden yellow, purple or light blue, you may, perhaps, have some idea of it. The ascent to the ruins is steep from the land side, in all directions; so that the temple formed a striking object, as seen from every point. Twelve columns, with their entablatures, are still standing; nine fronting the south: two, with a pilaster, towards the north, and another, forming part of a line parallel with the first: they are fluted doric, three feet in diameter, and about twenty in height, without any base. It is of Pentelican marble, and perfectly white, though ages have spent their fury upon it. I found on the pilaster, the names of ‘Byron’ and ‘J. C. Hobhouse,’ with the date, ‘January 23d, 1810.’ The cape was anciently called Sunium; and gave the name of Sunias to Minerva: Plato, we are informed, taught here awhile. Around the bay I spoke of, are remains of an ancient town, the very foundations of its houses of marble: I traced them some distance into the interior, but should judge that, although a rich, it had not been a very extensive one.”

The Constitution sailed up the gulf of Attica, and anchored off the ancient port of Piræus. Our author followed the course of the long walls which once connected the harbour with the city, and of which the remains are in many places still visible, until he reached Athens itself. He there employed his time with the utmost diligence, roaming from one place to another, and tracing the ruins of every famous edifice. Of these he gives a very brief account; indeed the researches of other well known travellers, render any thing farther quite unnecessary. The city had just capitulated to the Turks, after an obstinate siege, and the houses were nearly all in ruins and deserted. Nothing, in truth, could be more complete than the desolation; a soldier here and there, and a few men selling lemons in the bazar, were the only living objects to be seen, except in the citadel.

Mr. Jones made completely the circuit of the bay. Passing through the narrow strait, separating the island of Salamis from the main, in which the famous naval battle with the Persians was fought, he visited the sacred city of Eleusis, where he found vast quantities of marble ruins, “doubtless remains of the great temple of Ceres.” Beyond this is Megara, black, and, like the other towns, now deserted by its modern inhabitants, and affording no interest but from recollections of the past. It was here that captain Patterson obtained the fine colossal statue to be seen at the Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia, to which he presented it on his return home. This was not gained without difficulty, on account of the superstition of the people; and a

Greek who had been present when it was delivered, declared that he had seen tears flowing down the cheeks of a saint in a neighbouring chapel, because of its removal. Lord Elgin and Dr. Clarke had both to encounter the same ridiculous superstition.

Corinth, at the time of our author's visit, was a highly important military post in the possession of the Greeks. The ancient ruins which he saw, do not appear to have been very extensive or interesting, but he was fortunate enough to be admitted into the citadel, the Acro-Corinthus of antiquity, a place now, as then, remarkable for its strength.

"The garrison was small, and though the country was open to them, they appeared to be already suffering from want. The country could furnish little, even for its famishing inhabitants. The plain was all bare, except a singed olive grove towards its western end; the city was a heap of ruins below, and the scene of utter desolation to which we had now become accustomed, was here exhibited once more. But the view is very grand: Wheeler calls it 'the most agreeable prospect the world can give.' The two rival gulfs, with their winding shores, the isthmus, the city and plain, are just at your feet. A mountainous country, with every hue, is on the west and south: on the north, Parnassus rises high and peaked above numberless mountains around it: Helicon and Cithæron are in sight. You turn eastward, and have the bright sea, with Salamis, Egina and numerous islets, and beyond these Hymettus, the plain of Athens and the Acropolis. We stopped frequently to admire the grand and magnificent features of the view, and all agreed that it was the finest we had seen in the country."

Proceeding southward, the island of Egina rises on the sight, but not now, as once, crowned with the lofty shrine of Panhellenian Jove. All that remains of its numerous temples are a few columns and fragments of marbles; though the desolation of the picture is somewhat relieved by the race of men who live among these ruins of former splendour, for they are remarkable for their industry and bravery. To the island of Egina succeeds that of Poros, ever to be remembered as the spot where Demosthenes expired; and beyond it is Hydra, a barren rock, which the enterprise and activity of its inhabitants have placed first among the seaports of Greece.

It is impossible to follow our author as he thus wanders from one ruined city to another, each reviving in its turn some recollection of our former studies, without being forcibly reminded of a beautiful passage in a letter of Sulpicius to Cicero, where he endeavours to console him on the death of his child. "In my return out of Asia," he says, "as I was sailing from Ægina towards Megara, I amused myself with contemplating the circumjacent countries. Behind me lay Ægina, before me Megara, on my right was Piræus, and on my left Corinth. These cities, once so flourishing and magnificent, now presented nothing to my view but a sad spectacle of desolation. Alas! I said to myself, shall such a short lived creature as man, complain when one of his species falls, either by the hand of violence or by the com-

mon course of nature, whilst in this narrow compass so many great and glorious cities, formed for a much longer duration, thus lie extended in ruins?"

The only part of the Peloponnesus which Mr. Jones visited was the plain of Argos, of which he gives a brief account. Neither the ruins of that city, nor of Mycenæ, are extensive. He saw the marsh of Lerna, famous as the scene of one of the labours of Hercules. The modern town of Argos was, until the present war, a place of considerable importance, and contained eight thousand inhabitants.

"It was beautifully situated, and, with its venerable castle above, was a fine object from every part of its extensive plain: but the whirlwind of Turkish war swept over it, and left it a mass of ruins. It is now rising again, and though but a few streets have been built up, is thronged with an active population. A striking object among them, was an old blind man, led about by a boy with a guitar. He was singing to the crowds, and received a few paras in return: I stopped among them; they led him to my horse; and as he sung in soft Greek, about Greece and the Greeks, with such men about him as I have described, I thought of Homer, and almost felt myself realizing the visions I have had over the pages of the *Iliad*."

After leaving Greece, Mr. Jones obtained permission from the commander of the *Constitution* to visit Italy. He sailed from Barcelona in a small Italian brig to Genoa, and proceeded through Pisa and Florence to Rome. We have not space to accompany him in his tour over this classic region, nor in his rambles through the Eternal City, which he examined with his customary activity and diligence. Thence he returned by way of Marseilles to Mahon, and shortly after the frigate left the Mediterranean for America. He has filled his journal during the voyage home, which was unfruitful of adventure, with copious remarks on various subjects relating to the navy. They are undoubtedly worthy of attention, as the observations of a sagacious and inquiring person, who had an opportunity of actually examining the matters of which he treats, and who, from his civic character, may be supposed to look upon them with feelings perfectly unbiassed. To discuss them in the manner they deserve, would extend too much the limits of this article, which we have preferred confining to that portion of his work, likely to afford most amusement to our readers, as well as to give the best view of his talents and researches as a traveller.

On the fourth of July 1828, he landed on the long wharf at Boston, the vessel being welcomed with three hearty cheers by the crowds there assembled, amid the thunder of artillery from the Navy Yard, and the music of a volunteer corps, playing a tune to which their hearts all responded—"Home, sweet home."

ART. XI.—*Specimens of American Poetry, with Critical and Biographical Notices; in three volumes.* By SAMUEL KETTEL. Boston: 1829.

HAVING had occasion to look into the lives and works of several of the native American Poets, we long entertained the wish to see a collection of extracts from them, formed with more knowledge and favour than could be expected in a foreign compiler. This desire was increased, when we examined the imperfect or insufficient volume of selections which the son of Mr. Roscoe published at Liverpool—in a friendly spirit, but with inadequate preparation. It never happened to us, however, to hope for some twelve hundred closely printed pages of *specimens*; because we never supposed it possible to glean suitable materials for so many, or half the number; and we considered the *choice* as particularly important, with reference to the literary credit of America. Inasmuch as Europe had seen very little American verse, and the British writers had represented this land as one not merely barren of genius and fancy, but fatal to those powers, like mephitic air to animal life, we rather dreaded a general, heavy draught, lest the bad or indifferent productions should exceed the good, and the whole mass serve, therefore, rather to confirm than dissipate prejudice; or, perchance, provoke Anacreon Moore to recall his generous recantation. The great collections of the works of the British Poets, include a large quantity of rubbish; and even the ordinary anthologies and series of excerpts, such as those edited by Dodsley, Aikin, Knox, Campbell, Hazlitt, are charged in part with ingredients nearly equal to “poppy, mandragora,” or any of “the drowsy syrups of the world.” Not one of the British editors seems to have entertained the salutary sentiment which Pope expressed in one of his letters to Steele—that “he was afraid of nothing so much as to impose any thing on the public which was unworthy of its acceptance.”

We have plodded through Mr. Kettell's three volumes of *Specimens*, and are fain to confess that we now repent of our wishes, stated above; and that the fears with which they were dashed have been sadly realized. Under the peculiar literary relations of the United States with Great Britain, judgment and tact were especially to be required in the selector; a nice, even fastidious, eclectick spirit; the utmost caution in lauding what might be questionable in point of merit, and very guarded temperance in comparisons between the best of our bards and the old British masters of the lyre. It terrified us to think, that the dull quaintness, and grotesque fustian of the Cotton Mathers, Roger Wolcotts, and Michael Wigglesworths, might be brought forth in loads,

and an array of American contemporary versifiers adduced, with all seriousness and emphasis, as the rivals, if not the superiors, of Pope and Burns, and every living favourite of the muse in Great Britain. But we did not apprehend, waking or dreaming, that the specimen-gatherer would have thrown out a drag-net, and swept into his hortus siccus every thing that could be caught with a discoverable paternity—every magazine or newspaper set of stanzas, fugitive and juvenile pieces, even the single attempts in rhyme of modest and otherwise distinguished gentlemen and ladies, who may not, or could not, aspire to be involved in any resurrection or nomenclature of poets whatsoever.

Mr. Kettell has undertaken, "upon mature consideration," to record "every one" who, "down to the present day," has written any verse "with credit" in his opinion. His "tolerably accurate list of American poets"—whose "works were scattered as diversely as the leaves of the sybil, and in part so completely forgotten, that he was indebted in many cases to accident for their discovery;"—this list is at least equal in length to any similar catalogue provided for any of the old countries of the globe: neither the British, French, nor German Parnassus is more crowded; and certainly no temple of poetic fame was ever so oddly peopled. We find bards, whose existence as such was hardly suspected—in governors, lawyers, revenue-officers, editors, printers, schoolmasters and mistresses without number. Attending to the scope of inquiry adopted for this work, we should not have been surprised to find President Jackson in it, with an oblation or two to Clio or Calliope; although, most inexplicably, there is no mention nor effusion of his predecessor, John Q. Adams, who has woven much fine verse, of a texture far superior to three-fourths of the preferred ingredients. Notwithstanding that our own doings in metre are obscure and anonymous—very anonymous, as the Irish gentleman said of the letter—we could not, when we had read Mr. Kettell's account of his theory and practice of research, and his tables of contents, but feel a little jealous and resentful that *we* were omitted; and we were only consoled and pacified by the consideration that we could ourselves have supplied him with some scores of specimens and names, *pares et similes*, which likewise escaped his memorable perquisitions. If he had ever been subjected, in one of the middle states, to the task, or rather exalted to the honour of sitting in judgment upon prize-compositions for the opening of theatres, or had acted, for one or two lustres, as the editor of a literary journal or common newspaper, he never, we think,—with all the force of his persuasion concerning the utility and glory of the enterprise, and the generous and patriotic indulgence of the American public—would have summoned

courage to venture upon the business of "exploring minutely, without guide or direction, the whole collection of American literature," for the purpose which he has announced and scantily executed.

Assuming that he meant to be impartial between all the wits of New-England, and the other divisions of the Union, to whom could be traced stanzas, equal in claims to his notice, upon his own principles of admission,—we feel sure that he would have recoiled in dismay and despair from the host of competitors, and have suffered an apoplectic surfeit before he had swallowed a twentieth part of their *crambe repetita*, if his appetite for common-place, imitative namby-pamby, and "rumbling robustious nonsense," could possibly be glutted. We have applied to his purpose, the phrase *scantily executed*, not meaning *sparingly*,—for he has been even prodigal of his resources within certain geographical limits,—but in allusion to quantity and quality over the surface of the whole American republic of letters. We should hardly dare to say, how many volumes, pamphlets, and scrap-book pieces of verse, we have had successively on our table since the year 1820, coming from the south and the west, with pretensions not inferior, in our humble opinion, to those which could be sustained for any considerable proportion of what he has dug up and transplanted, as justly eligible under his comprehensive scheme of regard and adoption. We sincerely commiserated some of the veteran virtuosi, whom we visited through curiosity, in Europe, in their garrets, surrounded by the fruits of their long and arduous labours,—by what were, or they supposed to be, precious antiquities in the shapes of mutilated sculpture, broken pottery, and rusty metallic remains, of no intrinsic value, no susceptibility of common use. Similar or stronger emotions of pity have we felt for our zealous editor, as we contemplated him, with our mind's eye, searching and poring over the interminable, uncouth, rough-hewn "lays of the pilgrim fathers," devoutly believing that they had been "held in unwarrantable disesteem by their descendants," and fondly expecting to show that they are "monuments of genius,"—"testimonials of talent, and cultivation, highly creditable to the country." Reading some works, says Bayle, is like the journey of a caravan over the deserts of Arabia, which often goes twenty or thirty leagues together, without finding a single fruit-tree or fountain. Exaggeration aside, we declare that we would rather travel over a hundred or more miles of the road called in Canada and the West *corduroy*, than in "the dry desert of a thousand lines," such as those of Cotton Mather, much as we respect the venerable name in its two-fold sanctity, of one who "wrote readily in seven languages, and was the author of three hundred and eighty-three publications."

To proceed in a graver mood—we dispute the doctrine of the

editor's preface, in which the verse of the pilgrim fathers is likened to the early poetry of Europe, as connected with the general history of letters, the development of the moral and intellectual character of a people, and the illustration of national spirit and manners. From the mode in which they are cited, it might be almost presumed that he believed them to have flourished at the same era with the *minnesingers* and *trouvères* to whom he refers; but, however this may be, he must at least have forgotten that most of them wrote after Spenser, Shakspeare, Jonson, Fletcher, Massinger, Ford, Waller, Denham, Milton had written; and that several of them were contemporaries of Dryden, Addison, Swift, and Pope,—of the Augustan age in England, when the language was used with more purity, clearness, force, harmony, and elegance, than it is at the present time. All that their poetry, so called, illustrates or proves, is, that they were half a century behindhand in the verse which, to employ our editor's phrase, they *attempted*; that they never studied the master-works of England, or that they abjured them as profane. It may serve to show the cast of their thoughts and feelings, and the ambition or devotion of their leisure hours; but it certainly reflects as little light as credit upon "the social and mental improvement of a people," and is far from "affording an insight into the spirit and temper of the times," such as we get by means of the prose remains of the pilgrim fathers, and the public and biographical annals of the communities which they ruled or patterned. The early poetry of Europe does indeed belong to the history of her languages and literature; it exerted a distinct and continued influence on national spirit, manners, and improvement; and forms therefore a necessary constituent in collections and specimens: it was radical, primary, direct, whereas the lays of the New-England fathers were merely incidental, laggard, disconnected; they made, in fact, no lasting or general impression in any quarter. The number of the curious in this country who wish to know what was attempted in verse or prose, good or bad, by the first generation of settlers, is moreover quite small when compared with that of the lovers or literary investigators of pristine efforts in Europe.

It is almost pleasant to remark how Mr. Kettell, after talking so earnestly of the monuments of genius and learning, and highly creditable testimonials, left by preceding generations,—of the most gifted spirits of the soil and so forth—expresses himself when he comes to introduce his extracts from "the early poetical literature of the colonies." He tells us then, that the early attempts "must certainly be considered rude and feeble, when compared with the contemporaneous productions of Europe." He calls them imperfect endeavours in the rhyming art, imperfect performances of casual moments; he avoids, because

he could not hazard, praise of what he quotes, except in two or three instances which barely deserved it. One of the longest extracts of the first period, is from a lately discovered poem, dated 1675, by Benjamin Thompson of Boston, ycleped "the learned schoolmaster and physician," and, according to our editor, the *first native American poet*. The composition is entitled New-England's Crisis, and the prologue consists of a lament on the increase of luxurious habits in the country! We shall lay before our readers a number of the lines of this primitive *laudator temporis acti*.

"The times wherein old Pompion was a saint,
When men fared hardly yet without complaint,
On vilest cates; the dainty Indian maize
Was eat with clump-shells out of wooden trays,
Under thatch'd butts without the cry of rent,
And the best sawce to every dish, content.
When flesh was food and hairy skins made coats,
And men as wel as birds had chirping notes.
When Cinnels were accounted noble bloud;
Among the tribes of common herbage food.
Of Ceres' bounty form'd was many a knack,
Enough to fill poor Robin's Almanack.
These golden times (too fortunate to hold,
Were quickly sin'd away for love of gold.
'T was then among the bushes, not the street,
If one in place did an inferior meet,
'Good morrow brother, is there aught you want?
'Take freely of me, what I have you ha'nt.'
Plain Tom and Dick would pass as currant now,
As ever since 'Your Servant Sir,' and bow.
Deep-skirted doublets, puritanick capes,
Which now would render men like upright apes,
Was comlier wear, our wiser fathers thought,
Than the cast fashions from all Europe brought.
'T was in those dayes an honest grace would hold
Till an hot pudding grew at heart a cold.
And men had better stomachs at religion,
Than I to capon, turkey-cock, or pigeon;
When honest sisters met to pray, not prate,
About their own and not their neighbour's state.
During Plain Dealing's reign, that worthy stud
Of the ancient planters' race before the flood,
Then times were good, merchants car'd not a rush
For other fare than Jonakin and Mush.
Although men far'd and lodged very hard,
Yet innocence was better than a guard.
'T was long before spiders and worms had drawn
Their dungy webs, or hid with cheating lawne
New-England's beautyes, which still seem'd to me
Illustrious in their own simplicity.
'T was ere the neighbouring Virgin-Land had broke
The hogsheds of her worse than hellish smok.
'T was ere the Islands sent their presents in,
Which but to use was counted next to sin.
'T was ere a barge had made so rich a freight
As chocolate, dust-gold and bitts of eight.
Ere wines from France and Moscovadoe to,

Without the which the drink will scarcely doe.
 From western isles ere fruits and delicacies
 Did rot maids' teeth and spoil their handsome faces.
 Or ere these times did chance, the noise of war
 Was from our towns and hearts removed far.
 No bugbear comets in the chrystal air
 Did drive our Christian planters to despair.
 No sooner Pagan malice peeped forth
 But valour snib'd it. Then were men of worth
 Who by their prayers slew thousands, angel-like ;
 Their weapons are unseen with which they strike.
 Then had the churches rest ; as yet the coales
 Were covered up in most contentious souls :
 Freeness in judgment, union in affection,
 Dear love, sound truth, they were our grand protection.
 Then were the times in which our counsellors sate,
 These gave prognosticks of our future fate.
 If these be longer liv'd our hopes increase,
 These wars will usher in a longer peace.
 But if New-England's love die in its youth,
 The grave will open next for blessed truth."

This, to be sure, was a dreadful course of degeneracy in fifty years from the landing ; and Mr. Kettell seems to have caught the spirit of the learned but querulous Benjamin, to judge from the following sentimental exordium to his biographical notice of Cotton Mather :—

"It is a pleasant exercise of the imagination, to wander back to the days of primitive simplicity, the annals of which are included in the early history of New-England. To those who have mingled with the society of the present age, and have been amused and not bewildered by its pleasures ; who have looked at its glittering outside, without being so dazzled as to require an unnatural splendour to excite their attention, the contemplation of this simplicity, merely in its contrast with modern refinement, will afford no small gratification."

Don Quixote is still more eloquent and enthusiastic in his descendant about the golden epoch when men fed upon acorns. The traits of character, history, and habits, which the editor introduces into the life of Mather, are not at all calculated to render us more discontent with the artificial society, "glittering outside, and unnatural splendour," of modernized Boston and liberalized New-England. But our business is with the poetry ; and of Mather's, the editor observes—"the poetic specimens that we have selected from his works, are distinguished by little else than the hardness of their style, and the want of that indescribable quality in which we recognise the spontaneous ebullitions of a mind smit with the love of song." After this, we cannot be expected to furnish more than a brief sample, which shall be taken from a eulogy on the Rev. William Thompson :—

"When reverend Knowles and he sail'd hand in hand,
 To Christ espousing the Virginian land,
 Upon a ledge of craggy rocks near stav'd,
 His Bible in his bosom thrusting sav'd ;
 The Bible, the best of cordial of his heart,
 'Come floods, come flames, (cried he) we'll never part.'

A constellation of great converts there,
Shone round him, and his heavenly glory were.
Gookins was one of these ; by Thompson's pains,
Christ and New-England, a dear Gookins gains.

"With a rare skill in hearts, this doctor could
Steal into them words that should do them good.
His balsams, from the tree of life distill'd,
Hearts cleans'd and heal'd, and with rich comforts fill'd.
But here's the wo ! balsams which others cur'd,
Would in his own turn hardly be endured."

Mr. Kettell is not much more encouraging as to the ebullitions of the next worthy in his catalogue,—Roger Wolcott, of Connecticut, of whose poetry a small volume was published at New-London in 1725. "His writings," says Mr. Kettell, "must be acknowledged to be of that homely and unpolished kind which was of the day, and display as little delicacy in the selection of the images, and as slight a degree of fastidiousness in the introduction of figures and language, as the most earthly-minded mortal could desire." His style and *verve* may be judged of by the annexed passage of a poem of fifteen hundred lines, wherein is related a miracle performed by one of the companions of John Winthrop, on his return from Old England with the charter of Connecticut:—

"The winds awhile
Are courteous, and conduct them on the way,
To near the midst of the Atlantic sea,
When suddenly their pleasant gales they change
For dismal storms that on the ocean range.
For faithless Æolus, meditating harms,
Breaks up the peace, and priding much in arms,
Unbars the great artillery of heaven,
And at the fatal signal by him given,
The cloudy chariots threatening take the plains ;
Drawn by wing'd steeds, hard pressing on their reins.
These vast battalions, in dire aspect rais'd,
Start from the barriers—night with lightning blaz'd.
Whilst clashing wheels resounding thunder cracks,
Struck mortals deaf, and heaven astonish'd shakes.

"Here the ship captain, in the midnight watch,
Stamps on the deck, and thunders up the hatch ;
And to the mariners aloud he cries,
'Now all from safe recumbency arise :
All hands aloft, and stand well to your tack,
Engendering storms have cloth'd the sky with black,
Big tempests threaten to undo the world :
Down topsail, let the mainsail soon be furl'd :
Haste to the foresail, there take up a reef :
'Tis time boys, now, if ever, to be brief ;
Aloof for life ; let's try to stem the tide,
The ship 's much water, thus we may not ride :
Stand roomer then, let's run before the sea,
That so the ship may feel her steerage way :
Steady at helm !' Swiftly along she scuds,
Before the wind, and cuts the foaming suds.
Sometimes aloft she lifts her prow so high,

As if she'd run her bowsprit through the sky;
Then from the summit ebbs and hurries down,
As if her way were to the centre shown.

"Meanwhile our founders in the cabin sat,
Reflecting on their true and sad estate;
Whilst holy Warham's sacred lips did treat
About God's promises and mercies great.

"Still more gigantic births spring from the clouds,
Which tore the tatter'd canvass from the shrouds,
And dreadful balls of lightning fill the air,
Shot from the hand of the great Thunderer.

"And now a mighty sea the ship o'ertakes,
Which falling on the deck, the bulk-head breaks;
The sailors cling to ropes, and frightened cry,
'The ship is foundered, we die! we die!'

"Those in the cabin heard the sailors screech;
All rise, and reverend Warham do beseech,
That he would now lift up to heaven a cry
For preservation in extremity.

He with a faith sure bottom'd on the word
Of Him that was of sea and winds the Lord,
His eyes lifts up to Heaven, his hands extends,
And fervent prayers for deliverance sends.
The winds abate, the threatening waves appease,
And a sweet calm sits regent on the seas,
They bless the name of their deliverer,
Who now they found a God that heareth prayer."

To Wolcott succeeds *Michael Wigglesworth*, of the middle of the seventeenth century. Mr. Kettell describes his poetry as follows:—

"When the weakness of his lungs disqualified him for preaching, he would strive, with his pen, to render truth attractive by investing her with the garb of poesy. Let not the modern reader turn with disgust from the perusal of his moral sentiments. Repugnant as they may be to our tastes, and grotesque as they appear in an age of refinement, they contributed nevertheless mainly to the formation of that character for unbending integrity and firmness of resolve, for which we almost venerate the old men who laid the foundations of our republic. Neither let the lover of the sacred nine despise the muse of our author. Homely and coarse of speech as she is, her voice probably sunk into the *hearts* of those who listened to her rude melody, leaving there an impression deeper than any which the numbers of a Byron, a Southey, or a Moore may ever produce.

"*'The Day of Doom,'* is the title of Mr. Wigglesworth's largest poem. It went through six editions in this country, and was republished in London. It comprises a version, after the manner of Sternhold and Hopkins, of all the Scripture texts relative to the final judgment of man, and contains two hundred and twenty-four stanzas, of eight lines each."

We shall pass over Benjamin Colman—whose "poetic remains are few," and who went thrice to the altar before the close of his ministry, each time with a *widow*—in order to reach at once a lady, Mrs. Turell, an excellent wife, but left by the editor without panegyric as a poet. We must not betray her mediocrity, and therefore quit her for the Rev. John Adams, who died in 1740, and to whom Mr. Kettell is not more kind than to most of his predecessors. It is observed in the biographical sketch—"the productions in the volume of Mr. Adams have an

internal evidence of the author's fervent piety, but we search in vain for those flights of the imagination, and characteristics of sublimity, spoken of in the introductory remarks of a too partial friend. These poems, however, give as good evidence of a cultivated mind, as any other written in that period" (far into the eighteenth century.) Fervent piety, and a cultivated mind,—excellent possessions in themselves—still do not suffice for the procreation of genuine poetry. Testimony has already been borne in this journal, (No. 4. Article Early American poetry,) to the general deserts of the bard whose reputation at home, in his own day, transcended any which has been since enjoyed on our continent. A splendid immortality was assured to him in strains the most confident and pompous. "His character" exclaimed a Boston eulogist, "deserves to be written in gold on monuments of marble, or rather to appear and shine forth from some genius of uncommon sublimity and equal to his own. But sufficient are his immortal writings to perpetuate his memory." Nevertheless, a second edition of his volume was never demanded, and we, and Mr. Kettell after us, may assert the merit of having removed from it the dismal pall of ancient oblivion. We could not venture to place his translations from Horace, by the side of some of those which have been published in England. We may note by the way that the early worshippers of the muse in the provinces, were as lavish of their compliments to each other, as the idols of the recent Della Crusca and Lake schools. John Norton stiled Ann Bradstreet "the mirror of her age and glory of her sex," and declared that Virgil, if he had heard her poetry, would have again condemned his own works to the fire. Cotton Mather celebrated Ezekiel Rogers as the rival of the famed Maro, and the Rev. Nathaniel Pitcher, (of whose poetry, according to Mr. Kettell, "nothing need be said,") was compared to Pindar, Horace and Casimir. John Wilson, "the Paul of New-England," was deemed "the greatest anagrammatizer" since the days of Lycophron.

With the Rev. John Adams, seems to end the department of the pilgrim fathers in this collection of specimens. Mr. Kettell has omitted some who are cited in the article of our journal to which we referred above, and who deserved commemoration more than several of his personages whose poetic remains might literally be comprised in a nutshell. Let us take one sample.

"We know not whether JOHN HAWKINS, of Boston, has left any other specimen of his metre behind him, but we will introduce here his

EPICHRAM ON PROVIDENCE.

"Lord are not ravens daily fed by thee !
And wilt thou clothe the lilies and not me ?
Begone distrust, I shall have clothes and bread
While lilies flourish and the birds are fed."

As far as they were pure and upright men, indefatigable pastors or teachers, classical and oriental scholars, learned divines, and erudite writers, and as far as they contributed to found or fashion the admirable republic of New-England, we cherish lively esteem for the pilgrim fathers and their immediate disciples: in the first article of our first number, we paid tribute, and endeavoured to render justice to their characters and prose works; but we cannot recognise them as a race of poets, to whose effusions any particular honour or consequence is due, regarding either intrinsic value or wide-spread effects. It is the error and misfortune of Mr. Kettell to have vaunted them in the outset as poetical geniuses—gifted spirits,—and their lays as operative in the improvement or development of the national mind and character. Far from being able to exemplify these allegations, he has impaired them by his own strictures and avowals. It is enough to have his statement, that the favourite bard of the day was *du Bartas*, whose “chief work was a poem on the creation, *stuffed with absurdities*,” and that the compositions of the Rev. Mr. Adams equalled the best of the New-England poetry. In proportion to the currency and popularity of the pilgrim verse, must have been its injurious influence upon the national taste. That could only be refined when the home manufacture was supplanted by those British models, which the fathers could not relish, or scrupled to read. We are rather disposed to complain of them for being so distant in the rear of the mother country, whose poetical idiom was advancing to perfection, and whose accumulating *chefs d’œuvre* of genius and skill were within their reach. It is to be wished that Mr. Kettell had remembered Atterbury’s direction to Pope, when consulted about a preface—“Print it—always provided there is nothing said there that you may have occasion to unsay hereafter.”

James Ralph is next in the first volume of specimens. His name is notorious from the attention which Franklin bestows upon him in his Memoirs, and the lines in the Dunciad, by which Pope devoted him to everlasting contempt.

“Silence, ye wolves! while Ralph to Cynthia howls,
And makes night hideous; Answer him ye owls.”

Considering the character which Franklin and Pope’s commentators draw of Ralph, we should not have found resolution to introduce him into a body of American poets, merely because “there is something of a poetical spirit about him.” He wrote and died in England. Of the other Philadelphians, Thomas Godfrey and Nathaniel Evans, we have less cause to be ashamed, but altogether not great reason to be proud. Godfrey’s tragedy, the *Prince of Parthia*, is affirmed to be the first attempt at dramatic composition which was made in America; and our

editor thinks that Evans's Ode on the Prospect of Peace is "decidedly the most finished and elegant production which the literature of our country could exhibit at that date," (1761.) The pre-eminence, thus decreed, authorizes us to copy at least a part of this long ode. We adopt the first third.

"When elemental conflicts rage,
 And heaven is wrapp'd in tempests dire,
 When storms with storms dread combat wage,
 And thunders roll etherial fire ;—
 Returning zephyr's odorous race,
 And radiant Sol's all cheering face,
 The trembling mortals most desire.

"When Eurus, charged with livid clouds,
 Scours o'er old ocean's wild domain,
 And Boreas rends the vessel's shrouds,
 And o'er her swells the raging main ;
 If lighter breezes should succeed,
 And Iris sweet, of varied hue,
 Lift o'er the main her beamy head,
 What raptures fill the marine crew !
 Thus, when Bellona (ruthless maid !)
 Her empire through the world has spread,
 And death his flag has proud display'd
 O'er legions that in battle bled ;—
 If peace, bedeck'd with olive robe,
 (Resplendent nymph, sweet guest of heaven)
 Transfuse her balm around the globe,
 A theme of joy to man is given.

Then wake, O muse ! thy sweetest lays—
 Returning peace demands thy praise ;
 And while the notes in varied cadence sound,
 Eye thou the Theban swan that soars o'er heav'nly ground.

If thou from Albion's sea-girt shore,
 Advent'rous muse, wilt deign to rove,
 Inclined remotest realms to explore
 And soothe the savage soul to love ;
 Hither wave thy wandering pinion,
 Here be fixed thy last dominion.

Warbling in 'Sylvania's grove,
 Bright-eyed Euphrosyne ! attend.
 If genial peace can aught avail,
 With all thy graceful charms descend,
 And o'er the youthful lyre prevail.

Bounteous peace with lavish hand,
 To every shore thy blessings strew,
 O veil the blood polluted land,
 And all thy grateful joys renew.

Thy blissful pregnant reign restore,
 And calm the breasts of angry kings ;
 Thy horn of Amalthean store
 Ope, and expand thy golden wings ;
 Till trade secure her treasure beams,
 And science reassumes her shades ;
 Till shepherds quaff untainted streams,
 And hinds enjoy their native glades ;
 Till the glad muses strike the lyre,
 And virtuous social deeds inspire ;
 Till the loud drum no more shall bid to arms prepare,
 Nor brazen trumpets breathe the horrid din of war.

"Auspicious power, whose salutary ray
 Form'd this new world, and rear'd her infant fame,
 Extend anew thy mitigating sway,
 And quell the hero's battle-breathing flame.
 Ye fragrant myrtles, ope your peaceful bowers,
 And charm the warrior with your pleasing scenes,
 Shield him with woodbine's aromatic flowers,
 And for his sopha spread your velvet greens.
 For him the flute mellifluous shall blow
 In Lydian music, sounding soft and low,
 And blooming beauty, with attractive art,
 Shall sweetly melt the tumults of his heart;
 The nectar'd bowl, with rosy garlands twined,
 Shall waft his sorrows to the vagrant wind,
 While the victorious laurel of renown,
 In verdant wreaths his manly brows shall crown.

We overleap Osborn, whose "whaling song" was once "on the tongue of every Cape Cod sailor," and the punning Dr. Byles, who ends an elegy on the death of Governor Belcher's lady, with these lines—

"Meantime my name to thine allied shall stand,
 Still our warm friendship, mutual flames extend;
 The muse shall so survive from age to age,
 And Belcher's name protect his Byles's page."

A most cacophonous finale. The specimens of Governor Livingston of New-Jersey, and Dr. Benjamin Church of Boston, have a classical tincture and elegant polish, worthy of their distinction in prose. They were truly accomplished writers, the one as faithful and serviceable, as the other was dangerous and recreant to the revolutionary cause. *Franklin* is put on Parnassus, by virtue of his bagatelle in rhyme entitled *Paper*. We descend rapidly to a surviving bard—no other than *John Trumbull*, of whom we learn with particular interest, that in 1825 he removed from his native state, Connecticut, to Detroit, where he has since continued to reside with his daughter. Few men alive, who have employed their pens directly for the public weal, deserve more of public gratitude and veneration than the author of *M'Fingal*. Mr. Kettell does not exaggerate, when he states that this burlesque poem has had greater celebrity than any other single inspiration of the American muse. It was written at the request of some members of the American Congress, in 1775, with a view to aid the struggle for independence which had just then begun. Its immediate design was to bring into contempt and derision the British and their tory friends. The wit of Trumbull proved "a better reinforcement than regiments." More than thirty editions of the ingenious and merciless satire were published. Trumbull was, perhaps, the best and most efficient of all Butler's imitators, however inferior in powers to the prodigy of poetical and erudite wits. He served the cause of the puritans against the royalists, on this side of the Atlantic, as his great ori-

ginal did that of the royalists against the puritans on the other, when "civil dudgeon" had brought a crowned head to the block. We must refer the reader to Dryden and Johnson, for the character and chances of that species of composition of which *Hudibras* will ever remain the matchless standard. Mr. Kettell gives a commendable account of the design, story, and potency of M'Fingal, but he falls into the most absurd whine about satirical poetry, that we recollect to have encountered in all our bibliomaniacal career.

"We may admit with Johnson, that *Hudibras* has made Butler immortal, but we wish with Dryden, that he had written a different work. We feel it to be in some sense a prostitution of poetry, to busy it with the faults and follies of men. The free and chosen haunts of the muse are in the lofty mountains, along the margin of the silver rivulet, through silent valleys, in solitary woods, on the sea-shore, in the blue sky, on the sailing cloud. Here she communes with nature, and discourses of loveliness and beauty. It is not willingly, but by compulsion, that she leaves these scenes for the crowded haunts of men, to deal with vice and deformity. The change is almost fatal to her charms. In the narrow streets of the city we hardly recognise the enchantress. Her white wing becomes soiled and drooping; her brow furrowed with indignation; her lip curled in scorn; a quiver of poisoned arrows is at her back; a whip of scorpions in her hand. The silver music of her voice is gone; her inspired language is exchanged for the vulgar speech of men; her fancy is filled with images of deformity! Who that has been her companion in the lone mountain, by the wild waterfall, and in the trackless wood; when weary, has reposed on beds of wild roses, when thirsty, has kissed the lip of a virgin fountain, that ever before has flowed untouched in its secret bower—who, that has lived and communed with her thus, would wish to see her degraded to the business of a satirist and scourge?"

Dryden never really wished that Butler had written a different work. He only expressed the regret that "our excellent *Hudibras*" did not choose the heroic metre, as "more proper for manly satire." It is wonderful that Johnson, who had perused his rich *Discourse on the Origin and Progress of Satire*, and particularly the passage relating to Butler, could have suggested the idea of such a wish. The most extraordinary of all Boston notions, is that of the degradation and prostitution of poetry, by employing it to expose and correct human follies and vices,—or, in other words, giving it the nature and ends of the most instructive, comprehensive, engaging, and efficacious, moral philosophy. Our editor would confine it to the description of picturesque and lonely scenery; repudiating, we may presume, Horace, Juvenal, Persius, Boileau, Dryden, and Pope, the immortal brotherhood of six, as they are styled in the *Pursuits of Literature*; and he would condemn, no doubt, the eminent English prelate, who, as Dryden relates, "recommended Persius and the tenth satire of Juvenal, in his pastoral letter, to the serious perusal and practice of the divines in his diocese, as the best commonplaces for their sermons, as the store-houses and magazines of moral virtues, whence they might draw out as they should have occasion, all manner of assistance for the accomplishment of a virtuous life, which the

Stoics have assigned for the great end and perfection of mankind." We must be allowed to bring the authority of Lord Byron, who wrote much descriptive verse, and deeply studied every species, against our fastidious editor. In his very able reply to Bowles, concerning Pope, he says:—

"In my mind the highest of all poetry is *ethical poetry*, as the highest of all earthly objects must be moral truth. If ethics made a philosopher (Socrates,) the first of men, and have not been disdained as an adjunct to his gospel by the Deity himself, are we to be told that ethical poetry, or didactic poetry, whose object is to make men wiser and better, is not the very first order of poetry? It requires more wisdom, more mind, more power, than all the forests that ever were walked for their description, and all the epics that ever were founded upon fields of battle. It is the fashion of the day to lay great stress upon what they call, 'imagination,' and 'invention,' the two commonest of qualities; an Irish peasant, with a little whiskey in his head, will imagine more than will furnish forth a modern poem."

We have an additional reason for giving attention to this topic, in the language which Mr. Kettell afterwards holds in favour of Mr. Pierpont, author of the *Airs of Palestine*. We can hardly trust our eyes, but we believe that we see before us, in the 249th page of the 2d volume of the Specimens, this paragraph—

"Mr. Pierpont has been spoken of as a faithful scholar of the school of Pope, in regard we suppose to the mechanical structure of his verse; for in the essentials of poetry, we apprehend the qualities of these writers, have too little in common to warrant us in coupling them together. In the polish and flow of his numbers, he may be classed, if it be necessary to point out a master, with that author; but his lines are free from the monotony of cadence which prevails to such a degree in the versification of Pope; while in vivid and beautiful imagery, and richness of language, he claims to be ranked in an order widely distinct from the bard of Twickenham."

Pope monotonous in his cadence! Mr. Pierpont superior to him in the *essentials* of poetry! the bard of Twickenham of an order widely distinct—i. e. greatly inferior, in imagery and language! Mr. Pierpont himself can hardly pardon the prepossession or nationality of his blind admirer, and would, gladly, we apprehend, exchange his *Airs of Palestine* for the *Messiah* alone, keeping out of view the Epistle of Eloisa, the Rape of the Lock, the Essays on Criticism and Man, the Temple of Fame.—We must again have recourse to Byron, whose evidence is the conviction of judgment and knowledge, against his own example and practice.

"Pope is the most *perfect* of our poets, and the purest of our moralists. Of his powers in the *passions*, in description, in the mock heroic, I leave others to descant; I take him on his strong ground, as an *ethical* poet; in the former none excel, in the mock heroic and the ethical none equal him; and in my mind the latter is the highest of all poetry, because it does that in verse which the greatest of men have wished to accomplish in prose.

"I shall not presume to say that Pope is as high a poet as Shakspeare and Milton, though his enemy, Warton, places him immediately under them. I would no more say this, than I would assert in the mosque, (once Saint Sophia's,) that Socrates was a greater man than Mahomet. But if I say that he is very near them, it is no more than has been asserted of Burns, who is supposed

'To rival all but Shakspeare's name below.'

I say nothing against this opinion. But of what 'order,' according to the poetical aristocracy, are Burns's poems? There are his *opus magnum*, 'Tam O'Shanter,' a *tale*; the 'Cotter's Saturday Night,' a descriptive sketch; some others in the same style: the rest are songs. So much for the *rank* of his *productions*; the *rank* of *Burns* is the very first of his art. Of Pope I have expressed my opinions elsewhere, as also of the effect which the present attempts at poetry have had upon our literature. If any great national or natural convulsion could or should overwhelm your country, in such sort as to sweep Great Britain from the kingdoms of the earth, and leave only that, after all the most living of human things, a *dead language*, to be studied and read, and imitated by the wise of future and far generations upon foreign shores; if your literature should become the learning of mankind, divested of party cabals, temporary fashions, and national pride and prejudice; an Englishman, anxious that the posterity of strangers should know that there had been such a thing as a British Epic and Tragedy, might wish for the preservation of Shakspeare and Milton; but the surviving world would snatch Pope from the wreck, and let the rest sink with the people. He is the moral poet of all civilization; and, as such, let us hope that he will one day be the national poet of mankind. He is the only poet that never shocks; the only poet whose *faultlessness* has been made his reproach. Cast your eye over his productions; consider their extent, and contemplate their variety:—pastoral, passion, mock heroic, translation, satire, ethics,—all excellent, and often perfect. If his great charm be his *melody*, how comes it that foreigners adore him even in their diluted translation?

"The attention of the poetical populace of the present day to obtain an ostracism against Pope, is as easily accounted for, as the Athenian's shell against Aristides; they are tired of hearing him always called the 'Just.' They are also fighting for life; for if he maintains his station, they will reach their own falling. They have raised a mosque by the side of a Grecian temple of the purest architecture; and, more barbarous than the barbarians from whose practice I have borrowed the figure, they are not contented with their own grotesque edifice, unless they destroy the prior and purely beautiful fabric which preceded, and which shames them and theirs for ever and ever. I shall be told that amongst those I *have* been, (or it may be still *am*,) conspicuous—true, and I am ashamed of it. I *have* been amongst the builders of this Babel, attended by a confusion of tongues, but *never* amongst the envious destroyers of the classic temple of our predecessor. I have loved and honoured the fame and name of that illustrious and unrivalled man, far more than my own paltry renown, and the trashy jingle of the crowd of 'schools' and upstarts, who pretend to rival, or even surpass him. Sooner than a single leaf should be torn from his laurel, it were better that all which these men, and that I, as one of their set, have ever written, should,

"Line trunks, clothe spice, or, fluttering in a row,
Besfringe the rails of Bedlam or Soho!"

There are those who will believe this, and those who will not. You, Sir, know how far I am sincere, and whether my opinion, not only in the short work intended for publication, and in private letters which can never be published, has or has not been the same. I look upon this as the declining age of English poetry; no regard for others, no selfish feeling, can prevent me from seeing this, and expressing the truth. There can be no worse sign for the taste of the times than the depreciation of Pope."

We rejoice in this opportunity to record in our page sentiments so just, imposing and honourable, and we trust that they have been often quoted in American publications. With regard to vivid imagery, Johnson remarks even of the *Essay on Man*, that "it affords an egregious instance of the predominance of genius, the *dazzling splendour of imagery*, and the seductive powers of eloquence." It is rigorous, perhaps, to bring such

fearful odds against the editor of the Specimens, but we cannot refrain from citing this additional passage from the great critic's Life of Pope,—as to monotony of cadence.

"Poetical expression includes sound as well as meaning. 'Music,' says Dryden, 'is inarticulate poetry;' among the excellencies of Pope, therefore, must be mentioned the melody of his metre. By perusing the works of Dryden, he discovered the most perfect fabric of English verse, and habituated himself to that only which he found the best; in consequence of which restraint, his poetry has been censured as too uniformly musical, and as glutting the ear with unvaried sweetness. I suspect this objection to be the *cant* of those who judge by principles rather than perception; and who would even themselves have less pleasure in his works, if he had tried to relieve attention by studied discords, or affected to break his line or vary his pauses."

Mathias is of opinion, that what was wanting to the immortal master, Dryden, found its consummation in the genius, knowledge, correct taste, and condensation of thought and expression, which distinguish Pope. Roscoe contends that his superlative merit is in the purity and correctness, as well as the copiousness and energy of his diction. We had always taken it for granted, that in mere *richness of language*, no work in English literature surpassed the translation of the Iliad. Mr. Kettell, not satisfied with exalting a contemporary American poet above "the bard of Twickenham," has created a rival for the idolized bard of Scotland. He observes of John S. C. Brainard, of Connecticut:—"his productions are stamped with an originality, boldness, force and pathos, illustrative of genius, *not perhaps inferior to that of Burns, and certainly much resembling it in kind.*" Unfortunately, the Specimens do not uphold this pretension, and many of his readers may think, with Byron, that the rank of poor Burns, as a poet, is the very first of his art. So of Mr. Hillhouse, also of Connecticut, he says—"We are not certain that any one among the great masters of English verse of the present day, would have come off with equal success from the bold attempt upon which he has ventured in his last performance, *Hadad.*" Mr. Hillhouse deserves much credit for his versification and sentiment, but the English judges will not, we apprehend, allow his poems, "founded on scriptural themes," or his powers, precedence over those of Milman, for instance. Mr. Kettell pronounces, that the poems of *Dwight* generally, "rise in merit, far above the average level of that mass of compositions, which constitutes as a body the poetry of the English language;" he classes Mrs. Sigourney with Mrs. Hemans; and he is deeply smitten with the ranting, lawless, madbrained muse of John Neal, of Maine, "whose finest passages," he avers, "have seldom been excelled." He seems to have been as much perplexed in describing the strains of this gentleman, as the common reader is in attempting to catch their sense. It appears that Mr. Neal has published, in verse and prose, what would exceed fifty vo-

lumes duodecimo, as they are printed in England; that his best novel was the work of odd hours, and executed in less than *a month*; that his romances are like nothing of the kind ever before seen, and baffle the powers of criticism; that he is confused, incoherent, misty, dreamy, puffy, and exuberantly and wildly figurative in his poems. His own judgment upon his poetry is significant and candid enough. "It is poetry, or it is the most outrageous nonsense; one or the other it must be."—We have never read his fervent, extemporaneous, unique, non-descript novels, and taking the latter clause of his own pithy alternative, we shall postpone the perusal of his verse, as long as we can command a volume of Pope, or even of Scott. He is understood to allow his imagination and pen to run riot together, and then the workings of the muse resemble the plungings of a kite broken loose amid the clouds in a strong gale. We have grown dizzy by merely glancing at two or three pages, of which the annexed lines about an eagle convey a faint idea.

"A Bird that is first to worship the sun,
When he gallops in flame—'till the cloud tides run
In billows of fire—as his course is done :
Above where the fountain is gushing in light ;
Above where the torrent is forth in its might—
Like an imprisoned blaze that is bursting from night !
Or a lion that springs—with a roar—from his lair !
Bounding off—all in foam—from the echoing height—
Like a rank of young war-horses—terribly bright,
Their manes all erect !—and their hoofs in the air !
The earth shaking under them—trumpets on high—
And banners unfurling away in the sky—
With the neighing of steeds ! and the streaming of hair
Above where the silvery flashing is seen—
The striping of waters, that skip o'er the green,
And soft, spongy moss, where the fairies have been,
Bending lovely and bright in the young Morning's eye
Like ribands of flame—or the bow of the sky :
Above that dark torrent—above the bright stream—
The gay ruddy fount, with the changeable gleam,
Where the lustre of heaven eternally plays—
The voice may be heard—of the thunderer's bird,
Calling out to her god in a clear, wild scream,
As she mounts to his throne, and unfolds in his beam."

In the biographical notice of Percival, Mr. Kettell animadverts with plain sense upon the irregularities and carelessnesses which deform that true poet's compositions.

"Instead of giving us, like other poets, the finished work, he gives the first rough draft ; as if Phidias should have ceased labouring on his statues, as soon as the marble assumed a human semblance. It is the last touches which create perfection. It is in them that immortality lies. It is they that remove the last corruptible particles, and leave the mass indestructible. Without them, Virgil, Pope, and Milton, would have gone down to forgetfulness, and Demosthenes and Bossuet have been remembered only by tradition. But Dr. Percival, through impatience of labour, or some false notions, declines the necessary toil, and takes his chance of immortality in company with imperfection."

While treating of John Neal, our editor seems to have forgotten those sound maxims, and mentions him as "*gifted* with an almost magical facility of composition." The real case of such dashing scribblers is, that they pour out all the conceits which a distempered fancy can yield, and recklessly or desperately cast the crude mass to the world. When a man has acquired a certain fund of phrases, and a mechanical facility in throwing them into metre of one sort or other, and when he has become so bold as to publish what he himself suspects to be *outrageous nonsense*, he may "execute" as many books, in any given time, as he can physically indite or dictate. He then must be wholly destitute of imagination, talents, and knowledge, if some sentences, some pictures, some metaphors, some observations, do not fall from him, which are good in themselves, or fitted to strike ordinary minds as original and excellent—as proofs of genius or sagacity.

With a view to essential value and durable fame, the necessity of preparatory studies, self-distrust, and indefatigable elaboration, cannot be too earnestly recommended to the writers of this country, who are prone to confidence and haste, and apt to be ambitious of momentary success alone. Mr. Kettell alludes, we believe, in one instance, to Dryden's Ode on St. Cecilia's Day as evidence that a perfect and imperishable work may be accomplished at a heat. Malone, in his Life of the Poet, shows that he actually began to write near three months before the day, and that it occupied him fully *a fortnight*, instead of being "struck off at once and completed at one sitting." In his dedication of his tragedy of Amboyna, Dryden himself remarks, "though it succeeded on the stage, it will scarcely bear a serious perusal, it being contrived and written in *a month*."—He lacked leisure or industry for the *limæ labor*; and if he had enjoyed, or could have taken more time, and employed the file and the judgments of others, more frequently, in the correction of his works in general, he would not have been so much less read and enjoyed in after ages than Pope. The example and lessons of the great models of every country confirm the idea which he repeatedly inculcates, of the indispensableness of patient, anxious, and minute revision. Some of the French translators of the classics allowed themselves twenty years to perfect their works,—"*bestowing all the brightest intervals, and the most sprightly hours, to the business of polishing and finishing.*" In commenting on the line of Pope—

"True ease in writing comes from art, not chance ;"—

Warton carefully relates that Virgil took more pains than Lucan, though the style of the former appears so natural; that Guarini and Ariosto spent much time in making their poems seemingly so easy; that the writings of Voiture, of Sarassin, La Fontaine, —and he might have added, Rousseau, were *laboured*, with re-

peated alterations and many rasures, into the facility for which they are so famous; that Rochefoucault's Maxims were corrected and new written more than thirty times; that the Provincial Letters of Pascal were submitted, for the style, to the judgment of twelve members of the Port Royal. It has too often occurred that geniuses of the highest class knew not how to *prune their luxuriances*; but they, with their redeeming qualities, could better afford to indulge their humour, than the less gifted competitors for renown. A misfortune it is, frequently witnessed, to mistake strong inclination and a mere knack of rhyme for poetical talent. Those who do not waste months or years indispensable for competence, still suffer by the disappointment of their inordinate hopes; and such as, for the sake of song, make it too late to apply to professions by which they might thrive, or neglect pursuits necessary for livelihood, undergo a much more serious kind of evil. In Europe, the absolute victims to a conceit of poetical powers, or an invincible propensity to indifferent metre, have been very numerous; and they are not few in the United States.

Mediocrity in poets, though so long since denounced by Horace as intolerable to gods and men, is exceedingly common. Dryden says, in one of his addresses—"if you were a bad, or *what is worse*, an indifferent poet, &c." This phrase may appear a little solecistical, but it would be adopted by nearly all the leading critics and bards in the world. Milton most bitterly contemned, and harshly proscribed, the common writers of miscellaneous poems. "Poetas equidem verè dictos, et diligo et colo, et audiendo sæpe delector: istos vero versicularum nugivendos quis non oderit? quo genere nihil stultius, aut vanius, &c." Nevertheless, here are three volumes,—the contents of two of which at least are at or below the level,—that we are called upon by Mr. Kettell to welcome as "highly honourable to the land of our birth." He has not hesitated to admit casual efforts of persons who had not attained their majority. Pope, indeed, lisped in numbers, and before he reached the twenty-fifth year of his age, "he had written"—to repeat Roscoe's language,—“he had written and published almost all the works on which, as pieces of originality, genius, and imagination, his reputation and rank as a poet essentially depended.” But Pope was a phenomenon, making an exception to the rule which may be laid down as general, that no gentleman nor lady in his or her teens is fit to write verses *for the public*. Dryden's demands are scarcely exorbitant—"A man should be learned in several sciences, and should have a reasonable philosophical, and in some measure a mathematical head, to be a complete and excellent poet; and besides this, should have experience in all sorts of humours and manners of men: should be thoroughly skilled in conversation, and should have a great knowledge of mankind in

general." The facility of our editor is unprecedented, and will be but faintly known by the following few examples culled here and there,—

"Mrs. Bleecker's poetry is not of that high order, which would sustain itself under any very bold attempt; but the events of her life (in the wilderness) confer a degree of interest upon the few productions which she has left behind her."

Then follow ten or eleven pages.

"Joseph Hutton—his writings seldom rise above mediocrity, but many of his productions are *agreeable*." Specimens. "Frederick S. Hill—However lightly he (the author) may be disposed to think of his hasty effusions, we deem them worthy of an honourable place in our collection." "George Richards—He printed a poem called the Declaration of Independence, into which he has contrived to introduce the name of every individual who signed the Declaration. We shall extract the first part." "Thomas Dawes—He was a judge of the Supreme court in Boston. He wrote some pieces of occasional poetry in the early part of his life."

Follows a specimen, beginning thus—

"Through heaven's high courts the trump eternal roars
Lift up your *heads* ye everlasting *doors*,
And wait the God of Gods!" &c.

"William Ray belonged to the frigate Philadelphia, and was captured by the Tripolitans. His poems cannot be allowed any high praise, but a claim upon our attention is put forth in their favour, after a manner not to be resisted, in the closing couplet of the writer's exordium—

'When you are captured by a Turk
Sit down and write a better work.'—

"Enoch Lincoln, the present governor of the state of Maine.—He is the author of the Village, a poem. As the author disdains the use of the common stock of embellishments which belong to verse, this production has, perhaps, little which, were we to refine our criticism, would pass for *downright* poetry. But it has a fund of good sense and direct obvious meaning, which compensates for the want of more showy qualities."

Follows an extract of nearly eleven pages!

"Mr. Gilman—He is understood to be the author of Memoirs of a New-England Village Choir, a *prose* work of great merit."

Follows a most absurd piece of rhyme of three or four pages, called, "History of a Ray of Light." The Ray says—

"Ah! ne'er shall I forget the eventful day
When to this planet first I sped my way:
To many a *twinkling* thro' my heart gave birth
As near and nearer I approached the earth," &c.

In some cases, the reader can discover no reason for the introduction of the Specimens, except because the author was a printer, a teacher, an editor, or that the verses had appeared in some periodical publication, or had been included in some small volume, or were delivered at some college: in a number of cases, Mr. Kettell does not venture to characterize the poetry at all; and in a few, at least, we might hold him liable to be classed with those—

"Who judge of authors' names, not works, and then
Nor praise nor blame the writings, but the men."

He manifests special favour, by commendation and designation, to the bards, sons or daughters, of New-England. For those of the hither region, he has not exerted the same zeal of inquiry. St. George Tucker, the late eminent judge of Virginia, the editor of *Blackstone*, of whom every American lawyer has heard, is despatched thus;—"The Hon. St. George Tucker was, we *think*, a Virginian." Again—"Joseph Hopkinson;—we have no knowledge of this author. The popular national air which follows, (*Hail Columbia*), appeared first, *we believe*, in Philadelphia." Very few men living out of Boston, are better or more advantageously known to most of the distinguished members of that community, than the son of that eminent writer, the deceased Francis Hopkinson, of whose poetry Mr. Kettell has given a specimen. We are so malicious as to leave the editor to add to those laborious researches which he emblazons in his preface, by ascertaining definitively how long Joseph Hopkinson flourished at the bar as a most eloquent advocate and principal counsellor; what part he took at Washington in the defence of Judge Chase and Commodore Stewart; how many years he represented the city of Philadelphia in Congress, with signal ability and influence; how he fills the bench of the District Court of the United States in the same city; what prose compositions he has published; where, and how, positively, *Hail Columbia* first appeared, and what circumstances caused or accompanied its birth; all which is worth determining for the second edition of the *Specimens*, or some new biographical and bibliographical dictionary. We can divine no better reason for his remissness in these instances, than the fear of experiencing the same treatment as that which he relates with naiveté in his notice of Philip Freneau.

"We had always been accustomed to hear this gentleman spoken of as deceased, and a late writer in one of our most distinguished literary journals has classed him among the departed poets. But on making inquiries respecting him, a few months since, we learned that he was still living, near Middletown Point, in New-Jersey. We hope he regrets the very splenetic tone of the letter which he took the trouble to write about us on the occasion."

This venerable poet,—who stands to the country in nearly the same relation as Trumbull, for his revolutionary strains,—was unwilling, we may suppose, to be disturbed in his peaceful retreat, or distrusted the designs or ability of the inquirer.

"Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis."

With regard to the biographical accounts in this collection, Mr. Kettell does not strictly follow the example of Campbell in his volumes of *British Specimens*. The latter is purposely and properly laconic in his notices. In a compilation of all the works of the poets, it is suitable to furnish biographies as complete as can be obtained; in a book of *Specimens*, it is superelevation and encroachment to introduce much of the general

biography of writers, so well known, for instance, as Barlow and Dwight. If the poetry quoted happens to be excellent, then the reader may be supposed to desire and need particular information concerning the author, when such information is not elsewhere extant or at hand. But that presumption is not admissible when the specimen proves incompetency, or indicates no more than a common knack at versification. We insist that *so so* poetry ought not to be acknowledged as current or put in circulation. Our editor uses the phrase *respectable talent*, as a sort of mantle, like charity. We could scarcely expect from him impartiality or rigid discrimination in the biographical and *critical* notices of the living poets,—acquaintance, perhaps in cherished sodality. *Vivorum ut magna admiratio ita censura difficilis*. Panegyric, however, is much more easy than criticism. It is settled that “friendship will allow a man to christen an imperfection by the name of some neighbour virtue.” Horace has taught the generous device :—

“Vellem in amicitia sic erraremus, et isti
Errori nomen virtus posuisset honestum.”

The excessive admiration, generosity, or indulgence of our editor are extended, indeed, even to authors whose names he has not been able to learn. Thus he avouches of *Chrystalina*, “a Fairy Tale by an American,” that “it would be difficult to produce *from the whole body of English literature*, any thing of the same kind superior to the passages of bold and magnificent description with which this anonymous production abounds”!

Let it not be concluded that we undervalue, or would decry the faculties and productions of such poets as Percival, Bryant, Hillhouse, Pierpont, Sands, Paulding, Willis, Eckard, and a few others who have had real “visitations of the muse,” and in whom we can recognise more or less vigour of genius, nicety of taste, and excellence of culture. We only deprecate and resist the attempt to exalt them to the height of the great British classics, whom they themselves have never pretended to emulate. They are as successful in most of their compositions, as the living popular poets of Great Britain in their occasional efforts; but we should not dare to assert that as an array, in themselves, or by their works, they equal the list of the Campbells, Moores, Scotts, Southeys, Rodgers’, Coleridges, Sothebys, Wilsons, Proctors, Baillies, Mitfords, Milmans, Hemans’, and the rest. No poems, no books, which have been hitherto published in our country, are to be taken as the true or due exponents of the ratio of American intellectual power and advancement. These should be estimated by our political institutions, social condition, general intelligence, the merits of our learned professions, our progress in the useful arts, and the extension of enlightened freedom and productive civilization over the immense surface of our

territory. We ought not to be judged by a scanty and imperfect literature ; for the deficiencies of which can be assigned satisfactory reasons, compatible with the assumption that we are equal to the Europeans in natural endowments, and may one day rival them in literary exploits.

Mr. Kettell, who is no conjurer, as our readers must by this time have discovered, exhorts one of his favourites, Mr. Dana, to persevere with his pen, because "what he has already done may be said to have effected much towards giving an *independence* to the literature of his country." In his Introduction, besides, he suggests that "the cultivation of literary talent has been retarded by the state of *dependence* as to literature in which we have continued, to the writers of Great Britain." We reject the advice and the suggestion as worse than problematical. Literary improvement and production have no affinity with the manufacture of cotton and woollen, or any other material, which depends upon machinery, and mechanical aptness and skill. For the former, the mind must constantly be replenished with information, the taste refined by close study of the best models, and the principle of emulation stimulated under the excitement of fancy and the enthusiasm of admiration for excellence. In all these respects, we still absolutely require the aid of the foreign books. Dependent we are, and must continue to be for some time; and so far from having been *retarded* generally by British literature, we owe to it the present comparative ripeness of our knowledge and taste. It educates us and prepares us for authorship, as propitious accident, or impulse, or change of circumstances may determine the season. With regard to poetry in particular, our countrymen would possibly be more meritorious and distinguished *in the end*, if they took the resolution of confining themselves to the perusal of the British galaxy, discarding their indigenous stock, together with nearly all the British verse of the present century. We utter this, not as a wish, or piece of counsel, or in disparagement of contemporary bards, American or British, but as a speculative opinion, illustrative of the superiority which we attribute to the genius, the judgment, the sense, philosophy, topics, numbers, style, finish, of the most illustrious of their predecessors. Mr. Kettell calls the worthies of his miscellany "the master-spirits of our literature." The title is more flattering than just, and might be disputed by various orders of candidates—writers of reviews, editors of newspapers, professors in colleges, publishing lawyers, doctors, members of congress who deliver and print magnificent orations, governors of states who issue long messages, the compilers of school-books, and perhaps the Tract Societies.

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ART. I.—THE PUBLIC DOMAIN OF THE UNITED STATES.

- 1.—*Report of a Select Committee, of the House of Representatives, at the Second Session of the Twentieth Congress, on a Motion to distribute the Proceeds of the Sales of Public Lands among the several States, in proportion to their population.*
- 2.—*Reports of the several Land Officers, pursuant to a Resolution of the Senate of the United States, passed the 25th day of April, 1828.*

WHEN we consider the unexampled rapidity with which the western states have acquired population and importance, we are surprised, not only at that fact, but at the inadequate ideas which have heretofore prevailed as to the magnitude and resources of that country. We are a travelling and a calculating people, and it seems strange that those who visited the western wilds in early times, should not have foreseen the events which have since transpired. That they did make golden reports we are aware; but contrary to all experience, those reports have fallen short of the truth, and all that has been dreamt and prophesied in relation to this region, by its most sanguine admirers, has been more than realized. When a few hunters, encamped in the forests of Kentucky, heard the report of the battle of Lexington, and gave that name to the spot where they reposed, how little could they have imagined, that within the duration of one human life, a town of excelling beauty, and a population remarkable for its cultivation, would spring to maturity in those shades—or that in the

wilderness beyond them, a population would grow up within the same period, superior in number to that which was then contending for independence! These things could not have entered the head of any but a poet, or a madman. And when more intelligent men, with better opportunities, explored this region, after the germes of its greatness had begun to expand, even they had but faint conceptions of its destiny. We will endeavour to assign a few of the causes why this country was thus underrated, and why it has outstripped the largest calculations which were made in its favour.

Forty years ago, it was known that the western lands were fertile, and watered by fine rivers, and settlements were made on the eastern side of the Ohio and Mississippi. But the inhabitants were exposed to the hostile attacks of the Indians, who occupied the whole region to the west and north, except a few spots held by the French. The hostile dispositions of the Indian tribes, and their superiority of numbers, rendered it dangerous to explore any part of the country in which they hunted, and impracticable to visit large portions of it. It was therefore but partially explored, and immense districts, which are now considered in all respects the most desirable, were then totally unknown. As the Indians retired, that country came into notice, as a fine landscape is disclosed by the gradual rising of a curtain. The parts that were settled were continually subject to invasion, and the inhabitants dreadfully harassed. The most shocking enormities were perpetrated; neither life nor property was safe; cattle were driven off, houses burned, fields ravaged, women and children murdered. Such atrocities no longer occur; the powerful arm of our government, and the mild influence of its pacific institutions, are felt from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, and on the remotest frontier the dwelling of the pioneer is sacred. The murder of a white man by an Indian is now of rare occurrence, perhaps as rare as the murder of white men by each other; and the massacre of a family is no longer apprehended. This happy change has taken place since the last war with Great Britain; and we may attribute the rapid growth of the western country within the last fifteen years, partly to the security with which it has been explored and made known, and the safety enjoyed by the people, who have thus been enabled to spread over the surface in every direction.

The country was at first difficult of access; indeed, for all the beneficial purposes of commerce it was almost inaccessible. The port of New-Orleans, and the country at the mouth of the Mississippi, were held by Spain, by whom our right to navigate that river was denied. Had the latter privilege been conceded to us, the possession by a foreign power, of the only port of entry, and place of deposit, which was accessible to the western

people, must have rendered the trade in that direction precarious, by subjecting it to expensive duties, and frequent interruptions. Setting these difficulties aside, New-Orleans was not then as it is now, a large commercial city ; it was a small town, without capital or enterprise, and reported to be so fatally unhealthy, that its future growth was considered as entirely improbable. And lastly, the navigation from that place, to our northern ports, on the Atlantic coast, was, as it still remains to a considerable extent, dangerous and expensive.

The communication through our own interior was quite as unpromising. The Allegheny ridge formed a barrier, which was then almost impassable. The width of this chain is seldom less than sixty miles ; and it presents in its whole extent a series of mountains, cliffs, and chasms, as wild and hideous in their appearance, as they seem insurmountable in their character. No practical man of that day, imagined the remote probability of constructing a good road through this district. To climb its precipices, to hew down its rocks, to throw bridges over its gulphs, to pass its headlong torrents,—in short, to enable the traveller to journey with ease and rapidity over this Alpine region, has been the recent work of genius and enterprise, and the result of a spirit peculiar to our own times.

The purchase of Louisiana, the free navigation of the Mississippi, the increased importance of the New-Orleans market, the improvements in the coasting navigation, the New-York canal, and the turnpikes which cross the mountains at various points, may be set down as among the causes which have led to the rapid growth of this country ; and it may be added, that many of these events were as unforeseen as they have been eminently great and advantageous. Some of them have all the brilliancy of splendid achievement, and all of them have contributed to increase the wealth, and elevate the character of the nation.

The introduction of steam-boats upon the western waters, deserves a separate mention, because it has contributed more than any other single cause, perhaps more than all other causes which have grown out of human skill, combined, to advance the prosperity of the West. The striking natural features of this country are, its magnitude—its fertility—its mineral wealth—the number and extent of its rivers. The peculiar adaptation of the country to commercial purposes, is evident. The richness of the soil, and the abundance of all the useful minerals, combine to render agricultural labours easy, cheap, and greatly productive. The amount of produce raised for consumption, and for export, is great ; and the people are therefore not only able, but liberally disposed, to purchase foreign products. They do, in fact, live more freely, and purchase more amply, than the farmers of any other country. The amount, therefore, of commer-

cial capital employed, as compared with the amount of population, is great; and the vast superficial extent of the country over which these operations may be extended with safety and facility, and whose products may be exchanged, concentrated, or distributed, is unexampled. There is nothing in the topography of any other country, to compare with the western rivers. The Mississippi and her tributaries may be navigated in various directions, to the distance of two thousand miles from the ocean; and every portion of this immense valley is intersected by these natural canals. In these respects nature has been prodigal; it was left to human skill and energy, to turn her gifts to the best advantage, and never was the intellect of man more usefully employed than in the discovery and successful introduction of steam navigation. It was all that the western country wanted. The rapidity with which new channels of trade are now developed is astonishing. Four years ago, few steam-boats ascended the Mississippi farther than St. Louis; now there are six steam-boats plying regularly between that place and Galena, a town in the north-west corner of Illinois, and *five hundred* miles north of St. Louis, while other boats occasionally ascend two hundred miles further, to the Falls of St. Anthony. We can all recollect when an expedition of discovery to the latter place was quite an exploit.

After all, the greatest cause of prosperity in the West, is the wide extent of good lands open to the reception of emigrants, and the flourishing state of agriculture. The farmers live well and have elbow-room. The public lands are broad and valuable; affording ample room for millions in addition to those who now occupy the country, while they constitute an immense fund of national wealth. It is to these lands that we propose to turn our attention.

The *public domain*, as it is called, consists of all the lands belonging to the general government, as contradistinguished from the unimproved lands belonging to the individual states or private owners. They have recently occupied much of the attention of Congress, and there is reason to believe that the legislation of that body in respect to them, is likely to assume hereafter a higher importance, and a more delicate character than it even now presents. It is only necessary to notice the fact, that in all of what are called the western states, the Union is proprietary of the vacant lands, in order to suggest the intricate relations which are likely to grow up between the general and state governments. To those who view these questions in their probable effect upon *state rights*, the subject assumes a fearful interest; but we do not profess to be among those, or to entertain any doubt that the well-balanced powers of the general government on the one hand, and of the respective states on the

other, will be maintained in their original integrity, as long as our confederacy shall endure. Nor is it our intention, in the remarks which we shall make, to advocate any local interest, or advance the dogmas of any political sect ; our object is simply to *state the subject*, by presenting a few of its most prominent details, with such information relative to the actual condition of the country, as may properly be connected with it.

In the western states, this subject has for several years furnished a topic of animated public discussion. In that country, it is a matter of vital interest, and is every day growing in influence, and expanding in magnitude ; and the time is fast approaching, when political aspirants, whatever may be their principles in other respects, will be required to be orthodox upon this all-absorbing question. Yet the politicians of the West are by no means unanimous ; and although the popular voice has given currency to a few leading propositions, the minds of intelligent men are much divided as to the proper course of policy to be pursued by the general government, in the disposition of the public domain.

By a calculation submitted to Congress at its last session, by one of its committees, and founded on facts which seem conclusive, it appears probable that in 1830 the population of the United States will be *thirteen* millions, of which the new states will contain *one third*, and that in 1860 the population will be *thirty-two* millions, of which *fourteen* millions will be contained in the Atlantic states, and *eighteen* millions in the western states. Thus the inhabitants of the Atlantic states having now the majority in Congress, are legislating upon the interests of those, who, in less than thirty years, will acquire the right and power to exercise a controlling influence in the national legislature, and who from a dependent condition will have arisen to complete sovereignty. Where the population of a country is thus rapidly increasing—where that increase tends inevitably to a transfer of power from one section of the Union to another—and where the anticipated change is so near at hand, that individuals of the present generation may live to witness its accomplishment, every measure which bears upon the subject becomes deeply interesting. Of such measures, those which relate to the ownership and sale of the public lands seem to have the most direct operation upon the growth of the new states and territories, a large majority of the emigrants to such countries being agriculturists, who would not settle upon the soil in any other condition than as its proprietors.

It will be readily seen, that this is precisely the kind of subject which is calculated to awaken sectional feelings, and upon which, therefore, a great diversity of opinion may prevail. That it does prevail, is becoming every day more evident ; and the

public domain is now viewed in different lights by different politicians. Some consider it as a source of revenue, to be disposed of to the best advantage for the national treasury; others contend that it should be put to sale in the manner best calculated to promote emigration to that quarter; a third class, and the most numerous, are willing to make a liberal compromise between the two former opinions; while a fourth deny the right of the United States to the fee simple of any lands lying within the limits of a sovereign state.

The subject therefore naturally divides itself into two branches of inquiry;—1. As to the title of the United States to the public lands; and—2. As to the policy pursued in its disposal.

1. At the formation of the Federal Government, all the vacant lands belonged to the states respectively within whose limits they were situated; for as that government consisted of a confederacy of states, each of which retained its proprietary rights, the United States acquired by the union no property in the soil. The uninhabited wilds lying to the west, and as yet not clearly defined by any established boundaries, were claimed by the adjacent states, and portions of them by foreign nations under conflicting claims, but all subject to the paramount Indian title. The title therefore of the United States to that country is derived:—1. From treaties with foreign nations;—2. From treaties with the Indian tribes; and—3. From treaties with individual states, members of the Union.

The treaties with foreign nations, by which territory has been acquired, are those of 1783 and 1794 with Great Britain, of 1795 and 1820 with Spain, and of 1803 with France. It is sufficient to state of these treaties, that by them we acquired Louisiana and the Floridas, and extinguished all claims of foreign nations to the immense regions lying west of the several states, and extending to the Pacific Ocean.

The lands east of the Mississippi, and contained within the boundaries designated by the treaty with Great Britain of 1783, were claimed by individual states, and the title of the United States to that territory is derived from cessions made by those states.

These cessions embrace three distinct tracts of country.—

1. The whole territory north of the river Ohio, and west of Pennsylvania, extending northwardly to the northern boundary of the United States, and westwardly to the Mississippi, was claimed by Virginia, and that state was in possession of the French settlements of Vincennes and Kaskaskia, which she had occupied and defended during the Revolutionary war. The states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New-York, claimed portions of the same territory. The United States, by cessions from those four states, acquired an indisputable title to the whole.

This tract comprises the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and the territory of Michigan.

2. North Carolina ceded to the United States all her vacant lands lying west of the Allegheny mountains within the breadth of her charter. This territory comprises the state of Tennessee.

3. South Carolina and Georgia ceded their titles to that tract of country which now composes the states of Alabama and Mississippi.

The United States having thus become the sole proprietary of what have since been called the public lands, the nation was rescued from evils of the most threatening and embarrassing aspect. The claims of foreign nations, adverse to our own, to the expanded regions lying west of the several states, and extending to the Pacific, were extinguished—the boundaries of the then frontier states were defined, and they were prevented from growing to an inordinate size, and acquiring an undue preponderance in the government—the interfering claims of several states to the same territory were silenced—but above all, the general government, in acquiring the sole jurisdiction over the vacant lands, was enabled to establish a uniform system for their settlement, and the erection of new states. The disinterested policy of the states which made these liberal cessions, cannot be too highly applauded; Virginia, in particular, displayed a magnanimity which entitles her to the lasting gratitude of the American people.

The cession from Virginia is the most important, not only on account of the magnitude of the country ceded, but in regard to the conditions imposed on the United States respecting its future disposition. It is provided in that treaty, “that all the lands within the territory so ceded to the United States, and not reserved for special purposes, shall be considered as a common fund for the use and benefit of such of the United States as have become, or shall become, members of the confederation or federal alliance of said states, Virginia inclusive, according to their usual respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure, and shall be faithfully and *bona fide* disposed of for that purpose, and for no other use or purpose whatsoever.” It is also provided, that “the said territory shall be divided into distinct republican states, not more than five nor less than three, as the situation of that country and future circumstances may require; which states shall hereafter become members of the Federal Union, and have the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence, as the original states.”

The treaties with the Indian tribes, for the extinguishment of their title to different tracts of country, have been numerous. Those tribes are recognised, in many respects, as independent nations. They are governed by their own laws, and are acknow-

ledged to have the right to sell their lands, or to occupy them, at their own option. The United States claims the right of pre-emption, and forbids the sale of Indian lands to other nations, or to individuals. But in no instance have those lands been surveyed, or offered for sale, antecedently to their purchase from the Indians, nor has any compulsion ever been used to extort from the latter any portion of their territory. In several instances, the same land has been purchased from different tribes, so liberal has this government been in its policy, and so careful to avoid even the appearance of injustice.

As a considerable part of the country which is now held by the United States as public lands, had been successively subject to several foreign powers, portions of it were claimed by inhabitants and others, either by right of occupancy, or by titles said to be derived from those several governments, or from the local authorities acting under them. To investigate such claims, boards of commissioners have been appointed by different acts of Congress, in the several territories, whose powers and duties have varied according to the nature of the claims to be examined before them; some having power to decide finally, while others were only authorized to investigate and report their opinion. But the intention of the government seems uniformly to have been to guard against imposition—to confirm all *bona fide* claims derived from a legitimate authority, even when the title had not been completed—to allow claims founded on equitable principles—and to secure in their possessions all actual settlers who were found on the land when the United States took possession of the country where it was situated, although they had only a right by occupancy.

So far, then, as a title by purchase can be gained, that title has been acquired by the Federal Republic. She has extinguished every title which could be set up as adverse to her own; namely, those of foreign nations, those of the Indian tribes, and those of such states of the Union as possessed or alleged them; and she has relinquished to individuals every acre to which the shadow of a right could be shown either in law or equity.

The validity of those purchases, or of the rights acquired under them, has never been disputed; but since the acquisition of that territory, portions of it have been erected into separate states, which have been admitted into the Union, and it has been contended in Congress, and elsewhere, that by the act of admitting a state into the Union, the Union forfeits claim to the vacant lands within the boundaries of such state. It is contended, that, under the laws of nations, “the *sovereignty of a state* includes the right to exercise supreme and exclusive control over all the lands within it:” That “the *freedom of a state*, is the right to do whatever may be done by any nation; and particularly

includes the right to dispose of all public lands within its limits, according to its own will and pleasure ;" and that *sovereignty* and *freedom* are inseparable from the condition of an independent state. It is urged, that the original states possess supreme and exclusive control over the lands within *their* limits, and that the new states being by compact invested with "the *same* rights of freedom, sovereignty, and independence, with the *other* states," the right to dispose of the soil, is among the attributes of sovereignty thus guarantied to them. It is contended that the Federal Government cannot hold lands within the limits of a state, because that power has not been expressly given by the Constitution, except in the case of "places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts," &c. ; and that the power of disposing of the soil, not being given, is reserved to the states respectively. That section of the Constitution which declares that "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules respecting the territory, or other property belonging to the United States, and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state," is said to be "clearly adapted to the territorial rights of the United States, *beyond the limits or boundaries of any of the states*, and to their chattel interests," and therefore not applicable to this question.

The objections thus raised are ingenious, and the immense magnitude of the rights and value of the property involved, give them a serious and imposing aspect. Without intending to take any side in the argument, we will state some of the points which are urged in opposition to those objections.

The cessions by Virginia and the other states, were made antecedently to the adoption of the Federal Constitution ; and having been ratified in the manner prescribed by the articles of confederation, the title vested in the United States was valid, for the purposes expressed in the several deeds of cession. The Federal Constitution having been subsequently adopted, the clause giving to Congress the "power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory, &c.," must have had reference to the territory and other property *then held*, and of course, vested in Congress the power to "dispose of" the lands in question, and to make "all needful rules and regulations" respecting them. When, therefore, the people inhabiting those territories applied for the erection of state governments, and for admission into the Union, it was competent to Congress, having power to legislate on the subject matter, to make conditions reserving her own proprietary rights. Such conditions were made with all the new states, as will be seen by inspecting their several constitutions. Those constitutions were submitted

to Congress for its ratification, and, of course, have the binding effect of compacts, as between the parties. In all of those constitutions, the proprietary character of the United States is distinctly recognised; and in all of them, large quantities of land are transferred by the United States to the states respectively, for specific purposes, and equivalents reserved to be paid to the United States in return. Subsequently to their admission into the Union, all of those states have been applicants to Congress for *donations* of land lying within their respective limits, and all of them have received large quantities of such land. It may be remarked also, that the laws of nations have no binding effect as between the members of a confederacy, or as between a confederated nation and either of its members, when such laws come into contact with the internal policy, laws, or compacts of such nation. Every nation has a right to regulate its own affairs, and to govern or to make compacts with its own members, without respect to the laws of nations, which could in such cases be appealed to, only where foreign nations, or others not parties to the laws or compacts so made, should be affected by them. Whatever, then, might have been the situation of those lands, under the laws of nations, if no legislation had taken place in our conventions and legislatures respecting them; a far different case is presented, when, by solemn acts, by express laws, and by tacit acquiescence, the proprietary rights of the parties have been clearly settled and often recognised.

It is to be understood, that the United States can assume no sovereignty over any of the new states, or over her lands within such state, other than such as is strictly proprietary. Her title gives her no civil jurisdiction. She can claim no taxes, demand no duties, exact no obedience, other than she may lawfully exact from the citizens of all other states. She simply holds her property, with the right to sell and convey the same at her own pleasure, and with the power to make needful rules and regulations for its disposition. The freedom, sovereignty, and independence of the new states, are therefore not infringed; and if it be admitted that the right to dispose of the soil within its limits be incident to the sovereignty of a state, it is replied, that such right applies only to waste, unoccupied, or vacant land, and that our states cannot claim such a power over lands, which, before their admission into the Union, were held in fee simple by the United States, or by individuals. It is not denied that the title of the United States, as originally acquired, was a good one; that those who purchased from her, lands within the limits of a state, previously to the erection of that state, hold titles equally valid; and that those titles cannot now be modified, narrowed, or destroyed, by any state legislation. Suppose, then, that previous to the admission of any one of the new states into the Union, the

United States had sold to an individual, all her land remaining undisposed of within the limits of the state so about to be admitted, would not that sale have been valid? would not the title of the purchaser of a thousand or a million of tracts, have been as indefeasible as that of the buyer of a single tract? would the admission of the state into the Union, have affected the property of any such purchaser? If these propositions be answered in the manner in which we suppose they must be, it is difficult to perceive why or how the United States, having the privilege to sell or to retain her own undisputed property, should, by electing to hold it, be thereby placed in a worse situation than her grantee would have occupied had her election been different.

It is further urged, that the territory alluded to, was purchased with the treasure of the United States, that it has been protected, surveyed, and brought into market at the expense of the nation, and that by the express stipulations of the cessions from the several states, that territory was set apart "*as a common fund for the use and benefit of*" all the states, "according to their usual respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure." There was, therefore, a consideration given for the lands, and a use specifically reserved; the states subsequently admitted, became parties to this as well as to all other public treaties, compacts, and laws of the Union; and they accepted the territory allotted to them respectively for the exercise of their state sovereignty, subject to its encumbrances.

Other arguments have been used in reference to this subject, which we think it needless to repeat. Some of them are founded on considerations of expediency rather than of right; and many of them appeal to sectional prejudices, and local interests, which we have studiously abstained from bringing into view; preferring to narrow down our abstract into a naked statement of such prominent facts and suggestions, as may draw the attention of the scholar and the statesman to the inquiry, and suggest to him its leading features. We proceed, therefore, to consider,

2. *The policy adopted by the United States in the disposal of the public domain.*

All the lands within each district, are surveyed before any part is offered for sale; being actually divided into *townships* of six miles square, and each of these sub-divided into thirty-six *sections* of one mile square, containing six hundred and forty acres each. All the dividing lines run according to the cardinal points, and cross each other at right angles, except where fractional sections are formed by large streams, or by an Indian boundary line. These sections are again divided into *quarter* and *half-quarter sections*, of which the lines are not actually surveyed, but the corners, boundaries, and contents, are ascertained by fixed rules prescribed by law. This branch of busi-

ness is conducted under two principal surveyors, who appoint their own deputies. The sections in each township are numbered from 1 to 36, the townships are placed in *ranges*, and also numbered. The surveys are founded upon a series of true meridians; the *first principal meridian* is in Ohio, the second in Indiana, the third in Illinois, &c. each forming the base of a series of surveys, of which the lines are made to correspond so that the whole country is at last divided into squares of one mile each, and townships of six miles each, and these sub-divisions arranged with mathematical truth into parallel ranges.

This system is as simple, as it is on several accounts particularly happy. Disputes in relation to boundaries can seldom occur where the dividing lines can be at all times corrected by the cardinal points; where the same line being continued throughout a whole region, is not dependent upon visible marks or corners, but can be readily ascertained at any moment by calculation and measurement; and where one point, being ascertained, furnishes the basis for an indefinite number of surveys around it. Such lines, too, are easily preserved, and not readily forgotten.

A vast deal of accurate and useful information is furnished to the public through the medium of this system. The whole surface of the country is actually surveyed and measured. The courses of rivers and smaller streams are accurately ascertained and measured through all their meanders. Many of the peculiarities of the country are discovered, and its resources pointed out in the course of this minute exploration; and a mass of well authenticated facts are registered at the proper department at Washington, such as the topographer and geographer can find in relation to no other country.

After the land has been surveyed, districts are laid off, in each of which a land office is established, and on a day appointed by the President, the whole of the land is offered at public sale to the highest bidder; but not allowed to be sold below a certain *minimum* price. Such tracts as are not sold at that time, may at any time afterwards be purchased at the *minimum* price, at private sale.

From all sales, one *thirty-sixth* part of the land, being one entire section in each township, is reserved and given in perpetuity for the support of schools in the township; the section No. 16, which is nearly central in each township, is designated for that purpose. In each of the new states and territories, one entire township, containing 23,040 acres, has been reserved and given in perpetuity to the state when formed, for the support of seminaries of learning of the higher class. Five per cent. on the amount of the sales of land within each state, is reserved; three-fifths of which is to be expended by Congress in making roads leading to the state, and two-fifths to be expended by such state

in the encouragement of learning. All salt springs and lead mines are reserved and leased by the government, but many of these have since been given to the states respectively. The lands reserved for schools and seminaries of learning, have never been considered as gratuitous grants to the states receiving them; each of those states having made ample remuneration to the general government. Illinois, for example, agreed that all lands sold by the United States, within that state, should remain exempt from taxation for five years after such sale, and that lands granted for military services, should remain exempt from taxation for three years, if held so long by the patentees. The taxes thus given up by that state, will have amounted, when all the land in her limits shall be sold, to near a million of dollars.

Until recently, the price demanded by the government for its land, was two dollars per acre, of which one fourth was paid at the time of purchase, and the remainder in three annual instalments; a discount of eight per cent. being allowed to the purchaser, if the whole was paid promptly. This arrangement, however liberally intended, was found to be productive of great mischief. The relation of debtor and creditor, can never be safely created between a government and its citizens. If the citizen is creditor, his demands are as exorbitant, as his power to enforce payment is inefficient, and the claim which should be made to the justice, becomes an appeal to the generosity of the debtor. If the government is creditor, the moral obligation to pay is lightly felt, and the legal obligation leniently enforced. The debtor expects indulgence, and makes his contract under that expectation. He enters into an engagement with less circumspection than he would use if dealing with an individual, under the belief that he will not find in the government a rigid creditor; and under the same belief neglects to make any strenuous exertion to comply with his contract. The offering of the public lands for sale, therefore, on a credit, was, as experience showed it to be, unwise. Large purchases were made by individuals, who had not the means of payment. Persons who had only money enough to pay the first instalment on one or more tracts, made their contracts accordingly, disbursing their whole capital in making the prompt payment required at the time of entry, and depending on future contingencies for the power to discharge the other three-fourths of their engagements. This was done, in most cases, without the least intention to defraud, the risk of loss being entirely on the side of the purchaser, and the allurements to make the venture such as few men have sufficient resolution to withstand. A rapid increase in the value of lands was generally anticipated, and many expected to meet their engagements by selling a portion of the land at an enhanced price, and thus securing the portion retained; some were enticed by a de-

sire to secure choice tracts, and others by a belief that they could raise the sums required within the appointed time, by the sale of produce. A few, by industry or by good fortune, realized these anticipations; but a great majority of the purchasers, at the expiration of the term limited for the payment of the last instalment, found their lands subject to forfeiture for non-payment. Instead of rising, the price of land had fallen, in consequence of the vast quantities thrown into market; and the increase in the amount of produce raised, so far exceeded the increase of demand for consumption, that the farmer was unable to realize any considerable profit from that source. Money was scarce, the country was new, without capitalists, moneyed institutions, or manufactures, and with little commerce, and while the sale of lands, and the importation of foreign goods, required to supply the wants of the people, constituted an immense and eternal drain of the circulating medium across the mountains, the industry of the population was not yet brought into action, nor the resources of the country developed to a sufficient extent to afford the means of bringing the money back. It was, in short, a population of buyers. The demand for money induced the establishment of local banks, whose notes were at first eagerly taken, but soon depreciated, having the usual effect of driving better money out of circulation, without substituting any valuable medium in its place. Bank debts were added to land debts.

The whole population trembled upon the brink of ruin; and had the Federal Government proved a rigid creditor, this extensive and beautiful country must have presented a vast scene of desolation. The purchasers of land had become settlers; they had built houses, and opened fields upon the soil, the legal title to which remained in the government. A few could have saved their homes, by the disposal of their other property; the many could not purchase the roof that sheltered them, at any sacrifice which they might have been willing to make. Yet, it is not to be inferred that the people were destitute, or desperately poor; far from it—they were substantial farmers, surrounded with all the means of comfort and happiness—except *money*. To have driven such a people to extremes, would have been ungenerous and fatally unwise, for now that the crisis has passed, we may say without offence or danger, that there is no calculating the extent of the private misery, and the public convulsion, which such a policy would have inevitably produced. The enlightened statesman who at that period presided over the Treasury department, saw, and properly estimated the wants and feelings of that part of the community, together with the relative duty of the government. A system of relief was devised, which, by extending the time of payment, and authorizing purchasers to secure a portion of their lands by relinquishing the remainder to the govern-

ment, has, in the course of eight years, extinguished a large portion of those debts, and will, if judiciously continued, enable the people eventually to discharge the whole.

This subject affords a theme of proud felicitation to the American patriot, as it exhibits the strongest evidence of the permanency of our institutions. It is not easy to imagine a subject so well calculated to exasperate the public mind as this. It is dangerous to threaten a high spirited people with expulsion from their homes, and the law which forfeited the lands of the western people upon the non-performance of their contracts, held out this alternative. But under these appalling circumstances, not a shadow of disaffection was exhibited in the West; the people neither threatened nor murmured, but looked up to their government for relief, with a confidence which remained unshaken to the last. They retained their loyalty and their temper, petitioned Congress in an independent tone, and waited the result with manly firmness. From the debates on this subject in Congress, no one would have guessed the magnitude of the interests at stake, or the powerful and intense feelings of anxiety enlisted in the discussion. The deportment of all the parties was as temperate as the decision was just and judicious.

Upon granting relief to the land purchasers, the credit system was abolished; and lands are now sold by the government at one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, payable in cash. This plan has had a more wholesome operation; and the only difficulty which now exists, has reference to the price of land. To this, two objections have been made: 1st, that the same price is demanded for all lands, without respect to the endless diversity of value occasioned by the differences of soil and situation: and 2d, that the price is in all cases too high.

That the first is a valid objection, is indisputable; but it is not easy to suggest a remedy less objectionable. To divide the land into classes, varying in their actual value, as well as in price, would perhaps be impracticable. Under such a system, there must be an actual inspection of each separate tract, the cost of which would often exceed the value of the land, and would seldom fall far short of it. The persons appointed to make such valuation must be numerous, and each would have a separate standard of his own, by which to estimate the advantages and disadvantages of soil, climate, position, &c. which the various tracts of land would present. An endless scene of confusion would ensue. There would be diversities of price, without any corresponding diversities of actual value. An imaginary value would be given to one tract, while another would be unreasonably depreciated. The person who wished to purchase would think that an exorbitant price had been attached to the spot selected by him; while the man who had already bought, would

conceive that his own lands were reduced in value by the low estimate affixed to those adjoining him ; some would think that emigration into the neighbourhood was checked by having the lands *under* rated and brought into discredit, while others would imagine that it was prevented by high prices. Above all, to the multitude of agents intrusted with this delicate task, there would be opened a field of speculation so vast, so tempting, and so fraught with injury to the government and to individuals, that no supposed advantages to be derived from such a scheme could compensate for its dangers. Another plan proposed is, to reduce periodically the price of the lands that have been culled. Thus, at the opening of a district, the lands should be sold at one dollar ; after a term of three or five years that price should be reduced to seventy-five cents ; at the expiration of another term, another reduction should occur in the price, and so on. It is supposed that the choice lands would sell during the first term ; that during the second term they would be again culled, and the best of those remaining unsold would be taken at the reduced price ; and that in each successive term, a portion would sell, until the whole should be disposed of at prices somewhat proportionate to the value. The objection made to this plan is, that it would impede the sales of land, by holding out an inducement to persons proposing to purchase to wait from term to term for the reduction of price. We do not think this objection well founded. Such delay on the part of purchasers would occur to a certain extent, but not to an extent to be compared with the advantages anticipated by this change. The farmer who had selected one hundred and sixty acres of choice land, would not for three or five years run the daily risk of losing it, to save forty dollars. The probability therefore is, that although in the first term the sales might be to a very small extent decreased, they would in the second and third terms be greatly swelled, and that on the whole, the lands would be sold more quickly and to better advantage than under the present system.

In support of the opinion that the present price of the public lands is too high, many reasons might be adduced. Admitting the fact, that the Federal Republic had the undisputed title to these lands, it does not follow that she has the right to dispose of them upon her own terms, or that she has a right to prevent their settlement by the imposition of unreasonable terms. Holding them in her national character, they are held to the use of the people of the United States, and for the purpose of being settled and erected into states. With regard to a large portion of this country, the erection of states is a condition express, and with respect to the remainder the same condition is implied. Congress, therefore, is bound to throw the land into market upon reasonable terms ; and while it is her duty not to entice

population from other sections of the Union, it is equally her duty not to retard emigration to this. The national legislature should not be a mercenary vender of property *for gain*. The public land should be sold at its exact value; that is, at the price which the people are *willing* and *able* to give for it. That the present price is higher than the people can afford to give, might be shown without much difficulty. Let us take, for example, the state of Illinois, which is situated in a temperate latitude, has a healthy climate, is surrounded with navigable streams, and has more arable land within its boundaries, than any other state in the Union. It has no manufactories, little trade, few towns, and none of these of the larger class, and but few professional men. The people are agriculturists, all of whom would, if they were able, own one or more tracts of land, and all of whom ought, in good policy, to be encouraged in their desire to possess the soil they till. The whole quantity of land sold in this state, up to the 1st July 1828, was a little over one million of acres, which, divided into tracts of one hundred and sixty acres, will give seven thousand such tracts—we throw off the fractions. The number of votes *actually given* at the election in August in the same year, was nearly seventeen thousand; and supposing that one man in every eighteen did not vote, we may set down the number of persons entitled to suffrage at eighteen thousand. Those who know the habits and character of that people, will agree, that, leaving out the villages and the professional men, nearly all the rest of the voting population are *farmers upon their own account*, and are, or wish to be, freeholders. Supposing, then, that the land sold, had been equally distributed, the number of tracts ought to nearly correspond with the number of voters. Yet the difference is as 7 to 18; and when it is added, that many farmers own more than one quarter section, that there are men of property in the state who own a great many tracts, and that a good many are held by non-residents, it will be seen that less than one-third of the voters are freeholders. Yet, we assert the fact, that the great majority of those who are not freeholders, being two-thirds of this population, are farmers, who reside upon, and cultivate the land of the United States, ready and anxious to purchase if they were able, and with the full intention of purchasing whenever they shall become so. These men are not *squatters*, as they have been ignorantly called. The term *squatter* was applied, in its origin, to persons who settled upon the unimproved lands of individuals in the older states, with the design of acquiring titles by occupancy, or of profiting by defects in legal titles of the right owners. They took possession of the property of other men, with the avowed intention of holding it. The people who settle on public land in the West, violate no right, and intend no injury. There, a man settles on a tract

which he wishes to buy, enhances its value by his improvements, and should he not eventually become the purchaser, leaves it in a better state than he found it, for the reception of another occupant; and there is no instance on record, of any attempt on the part of such persons, to claim the fee simple, or defraud the government.

If the fact be, as we have stated, that there are communities in which two-thirds, being farmers, desire to become freeholders, but are unable to purchase land at the price demanded by the proprietary, ought not the proprietor, *being the government*, to reduce its price? We think it ought; believing as we do, that the government should not *hold up* its land—that it ought not to sell *for a profit*—that the land is held to the use of such as choose to settle it—that the people have a fair claim to it upon the payment of a *reasonable* price—and that a price is *not* reasonable which the people residing on, or near the land, and anxious to purchase, *will not*, or *cannot* give.

Another fact is worthy of attention. Fertile as the soil in the West is in general, there are extensive tracts which at present are unsaleable, and of no value. These are, immense prairies, destitute of timber and water—river bottoms, subject to inundation—and sterile tracts. In the state to which we have just alluded, and in some others, there are vast regions in which the open prairie is the predominating surface. The soil is generally fine; and water is found at a short distance below the surface; but timber is indispensable for fuel, for fencing, and for building, and without it these lands cannot be settled. But these prairies are annually decreasing in extent. Wherever settlements are made on their margins, and large herds of cattle put to graze upon them, the prairie grass is destroyed by being trampled down and closely eaten; the fires which sweep over these wilds in the autumn, being thus deprived of fuel, are kept off, and the young timber begins to grow. Extensive tracts of country, which sixteen years ago were open prairie, destitute of tree or shrub, are now covered with timber, which is beginning to be fit for use. This result is only produced, however, in the neighbourhood of thick settlements. Would it not be wise to accelerate such a process by artificial means, and to offer inducements which might even tempt settlers to venture into the open prairie, and to propagate timber by planting? The inundated river bottoms are only valuable for their timber, which is often fine, but the lands are rarely purchased on account of that single advantage, as they are generally distant from the arable prairie lands. The soil is frequently excellent, and sometimes very choice, but it will not sell until the country becomes densely settled, and a sufficient surplus wealth exists, to enable the inhabitant to embank and reclaim it. These bottoms are

not only valueless in themselves, but by their unhealthiness contribute to reduce the value of the adjacent lands. The climate of this region, the soil, the water, and the conformation of the country, are salubrious; the causes which produced bilious and febrile diseases, formerly, are mostly removed in all the dense settlements; the river bottoms alone, and the surrounding country, remaining a melancholy exception to the general and rapid improvement in this particular. If the government would give away such tracts, to any who would reclaim them, it would gain in the enhanced value of the adjacent lands, and the inhabitants be incalculably benefited in the removal of serious nuisances. As to the other class of unsaleable lands, the sterile—it is to be remarked, that a large portion of it is poor only in comparison with the fine lands of this region. Things which are offered for sale, are valued by comparison with other things of the same kind, and in reference to the eagerness of one party to sell, and of the other to buy. Thus valued, this land is worth nothing. No man will have it at the price demanded, when he can have better land for the same money. By comparison with other property of the same kind, it sinks into utter nothingness; it cannot acquire an adventitious value, from the eagerness to buy of a purchaser who has a boundless region before him, and it will only be brought into market by the anxiety of the owner of it, evinced in a reduction of the price so liberal as to tempt the cupidity of the buyer.

Another view of this question is not unworthy of consideration. Referring again, for example, to the state of Illinois, it will be seen that this state contains a little over thirty-five millions of acres of land, and that thirty millions of acres remain unsold in the hands of the United States; the balance of five millions including the whole amount of sales and grants, whether to the state or to individuals. The people of Illinois own one-seventh of the whole quantity, and the United States the other six-sevenths; yet the people of that state alone defray the expenses of their own government, while its benefits are enjoyed by the general government, to an extent, in some degree, proportional to the size of their domain. Every new county that is established, every court-house that is built, every road that is opened, every bridge that is erected, enhances the value of real estate; and of the land thus enhanced in value, the United States own six acres where one acre is owned by the state, or by the individuals who pay for the making of such public improvements. That the general government is daily receiving substantial benefits, resulting from the expenditure of the money and labour of the Western people, is evident; and it is worthy of inquiry, whether it be not bound, in justice, to discharge a debt thus created, and what should be the extent and character

of such remuneration. It is said that Congress has been wearied out by appeals to its generosity, on the part of the Western people. Is it not probable, that those appeals have rather been made to the *justice* of that body, and that there has been, in fact, an interchange of benefits, which have been mutually advantageous? The inquiry lies within a narrow compass. In all the Western states, (Kentucky excepted,) the general government owns land; to none of those states does it pay taxes. It has its ample share of all the benefits resulting from the local governments: the civil protection afforded by the latter, and the public improvements made by them, invite population, and by converting a wilderness into a civilized country, render those lands saleable, which otherwise would remain unproductive. Does not this state of things impose an obligation on the Union to aid in the carrying on of that process, by which, as the largest proprietary, it is the greatest gainer? And if the Western people ask for the discharge of that obligation by a reduction in the price of the lands sold to them, is not this a fair claim?

If we had room, we would be glad to speak of the lands owned by the Indians, beyond the limits of the several states and territories, and to inquire, whether it is not time to fix some boundary beyond which the white population shall not pass. Are the red people to be for ever driven to the west? Is their total annihilation solemnly decreed? We trust not. We think that a period has arrived, when a pause might be advantageously made in the extension of our frontier. In the States and Territories already organized, there is ample room for any increase of population that can be anticipated for a century to come; and while those states would rapidly improve under such an arrangement, a happy change might be produced in the condition of the Indian tribes, by suffering them to remain stationary long enough to acquire local attachments, and encouraging them to make permanent improvements, and adopt civil institutions.

Two propositions have emanated from the Atlantic states, which we shall briefly notice. The first was an application to Congress to make donations of land for the support of public schools, to all the states who have not received land from the government for that object, founded on the allegation, that all the new states had received such grants. The application was unadvised, and promptly refused. The fact is, as we have shown, that the school lands of the Western states were purchased, and the equivalents given for them ample. The other proposal was, to distribute the nett proceeds of the sales of the public lands among the states respectively, in proportion to their population. This subject was referred to a committee of the lower house, the title of whose report we have placed at the head of this article; it embraces a valuable collection of facts

and documents, of the most prominent of which we have availed ourselves. That committee adopts the conclusion, that the title of the United States to the public domain is indisputable—that the proceeds of the sale of that domain are pledged to the discharge of the public debt of the Union—and that upon the payment of that debt, which is nearly extinguished, the nett proceeds of the sales ought to be annually distributed among the states.

We do not admit that this subject is one of local character, or that it ought ever to be agitated with a view to sectional interests or prejudices. If the Western states are ambitious to gain population and power, that population will come from the older states, and the power be exercised over those who have heretofore held it. We cannot believe that power, thus derived and exercised, would be abused. The new and the old states are connected by the ties of blood, language, religion, patriotism, and interest; and are too closely united to be separated by any imaginary distinction of character. In reviewing the whole ground which we have passed over, it is gratifying to observe the enlarged views, and the dignified temper, which have pervaded the whole policy of our government, and of the several states, in relation to the subject.

ART. II.—*The Arabian Nights Entertainments, carefully revised, and occasionally corrected from the Arabic. To which is added a Selection of New Tales, now first translated from the Arabic Originals. Also, an Introduction and Notes, illustrative of the Religion, Manners, and Customs of the Mohammedans. By JONATHAN SCOTT, LL. D., late Oriental Professor of the Royal Military and East India Colleges, &c. &c. In 6 vols.*

TRAVELLERS through Asiatic countries relate the wonderful effects produced on the inhabitants by the recital of tales. Even the least civilized Arabs, after toiling all day in the heat of a torrid sun, forget their sufferings as they gather round some one, whose memory or imagination supplies him with wild legends of former ages. This passion for romance, is found equally in the desert and in the city; beneath the solitary tent, pitched on an island of verdure in a sea of sand, and amidst the splendid minarets, and cool shaded gardens of Damascus, or Isfahan. The delight produced in oriental minds by these narrations, arises partly from their literary merit, but still more from the character of the people. Without doubting that many of the

most distinguished Eastern tales, when they flow from the rapid lips of an Arab story-teller, are invested with eloquence and poetry but faintly shadowed forth in our translations, we notwithstanding feel assured, that the causes of their celebrity are to be found, rather in the constitutional excitability of the auditors, than in the surpassing genius of the author. It is not an improper incredulity, if, in a degree, we disbelieve the glowing terms in which some Europeans, deeply skilled in Oriental languages, have borne witness to the delicate beauty, the sublimity, or the power, of Arabic, Persic, and Hindustanee compositions. The pride of having subjected a province of literature, to which many of their learned associates were strangers, would insensibly lead them to overrate their acquisitions. Add to this, that many of them read these works, or heard them recited, in the country where the scenes are laid, surrounded by the customs they describe. Comparing them with the relics of Greek and Roman literature, they were naturally more impressed with the force of writings describing what they saw, than with those which referred to objects, distant in time and place. Yet it is certain that Asiatic literature possesses great and peculiar merit; and is worthy of more attention than the literati of Europe or America have hitherto paid to it. We trust that it will not be an altogether useless exercise, if we make a few remarks on one of the most celebrated of all the Eastern works, and on some portions of the literature, character, and religion, of the people to whom it belongs.

The "Arabian Nights Entertainments" are, and deserve to be, better known and appreciated, than any other Asiatic book of fiction. The general character of these tales is, that they are well conceived in their outlines, deeply interesting in their details, and supported throughout. They exhibit the state of society as it existed where they were composed, and there is reason to believe that, in this respect, they are very faithful; as also in their delineation of the religion, laws, superstitions, science, and philosophy of the times. As regards history and geography, they are occasionally inaccurate. They are rich in imagination, but this is not so very large an ingredient in their composition as is generally supposed. Besides these characteristics, belonging to the texture of the work, there are adventitious circumstances which increase its value. Many of the tales allude frequently to Haroun al Rashid, and his reputation lends interest to the record of his habits. The same is the case with his great minister, Giaffer, of whom they often speak, as also of other individuals of the princely race of the Barmecides. The allusion to these persons is incontestable proof that the Arabian Nights were written at least as late as the year 800; and it is argued by Mr. Hole, in his interesting volume on the

voyages of Sindbad the Sailor, that they could not have been written in modern times, otherwise they would have noticed the visit of Gama and Albuquerque to Asia, about the 15th century, and the fire arms, or other European inventions, introduced by them.

It is probable that the tales were written at various times and by different authors, for they are very unequally executed. The best, being two hundred and eighty nights, out of the thousand and one, were translated into French by M. Galland; they were afterwards translated from French into English, and since from the Arabic into English. These two hundred and eighty nights, seem to have been the original work, of which the remaining eight hundred and twenty-one are continuations by later hands. The edition, of which the title is prefixed to this article, contains forty-one additional tales, translated by Dr. Scott. We shall have something to say hereafter upon the comparative merits of the earlier set of tales, and this latter collection, which was translated from the Arabic manuscripts of Edward Wortley Montague, Esq.

Whatever doubts might once have existed, it is now unquestioned that the Arabian Nights are genuine Arabic productions. They are received as authentic throughout the East; though the copies do not seem to be very numerous there. In his notes, Dr. Scott refers to a letter published by Dr. Patrick Russell in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February, 1799, in which it is said that the Arabian Nights is a scarce book in Aleppo. After much inquiry, Dr. Russell could find only two volumes containing two or three hundred nights. There are several Arabic copies in the European libraries, some of which are probably transcripts made in Europe.

There is a mode of considering the merits and demerits of a literary work, by analyzing it and presenting its disjointed members for separate examination until the whole is understood. We will not pursue this course at present, because there would never be an end to our labours if we attempted the minute examination of a work so extensive and so rich in incident and information as the Arabian Nights; besides, we would be forced to repeat the particulars of tales which every one has read. A better plan will be to wander rapidly over the work, alighting on the characteristics most deserving of attention, and passing by the rest to consider these, together with the general character of the Arabs and their literature.

We are told that the Arabian Nights are a combination of almost every species of writing, but that most of the morality, poetry, and eloquence, of the original, has been destroyed by the unskilful touch of the English and French translators. Enough has been given to show the nature of what is omitted. No one

can properly enter into their spirit, or appreciate their value, except those who are conversant with Oriental studies; because the entire literature of a nation must shine on each distinct part, before that part can be entirely understood. Without, however, any knowledge of the Arabic language, information may be derived from the works of learned Europeans, sufficient to form a general conception on the subject.

The literature of Arabia naturally falls within two classes; that preceding the reign of al Mansur in the middle of the eighth century; and that which has been produced since his era. During the reign of the Ham-yaric dynasty, who ruled in Yemen almost from the days of Ishmael to those of Mohammed, there were many poems and other works composed by native authors. If we except two suspicious poems said to have been found "on some fragments of ruined edifices in Hadramut near Aden," and some still more dubious inscriptions on the sides of mountains and caverns, these productions have entirely perished. There is, extant, poetry, said to have been written after the termination of the Ham-yaric dominion, and previous to the time of Mohammed. When Mohammed established his empire and faith, his successors were for several generations exclusively employed in settling by the sword, their foreign or domestic disputes, pouring out the blood either of Infidels or of Islam. A blight of barbarism rested then on Europe, as well as Asia, and Arabia did not seem likely to be a land of intellectual fertility, whilst all around was desolation. Yet, when al Mansur, Haroun al Rashid, and a few other Caliphs, cast in the same mould, attained the imperial power, all was altered. Science, in its varieties, Poetry, History, and Philosophy, came into being. After they were diffused through the illustrious regions of their new existence, they spread through Europe, where, as we know, they still remain. There is reason to believe, that the same spirit of literature which originally prevailed in Arabia, was infused into its subsequent poetry and romance. Many traits in the writings of the later Arabs, are precisely those which *ought* to have marked the Ham-yaric poems. However this may be, it will not be irrelevant to trace the peculiarities of Saracenic literature to their first visible causes. By considering the effect of these causes on the human mind, we may form some probable idea of the nature of the poetry which first sprung up under their influence.

That which chiefly contributed to form the character of the Arabians, was their national solitude. Enclosed by deserts and oceans, they had no chance of holding intercourse with foreigners, other than that which a limited commerce in drugs, gold, precious stones, and gums, occasioned. The interior, as well as the northern and north-eastern confines of the country, is comprised in the vast extent of sandy table land, called by the Arabs

"Nedjed," but familiarly known to us as "the Deserts of Arabia." The Bedoweens, or inhabitants of this cheerless region, are a race of blood-thirsty, vigilant, but in many respects generous, robbers. They are constantly in arms, impelled by the burning jealousies which spring up whenever a half barbarous people are divided into petty sovereignties. For ages, they have so infested the desert, that there can be little communication in that direction with Syria or Persia. Similar difficulties exist in the mountainous province of Hejaz, which answers to the Arabia Petræa of the ancients. Yemen, or Arabia Felix, in the west, and Oman in the south and east, never became maritime powers; though they have for a long while possessed some shipping. The perils of the ocean were esteemed equal to those of the desert, and there was little temptation to risk them, except during the period when Arabia was the resting place for the commerce between Europe and India. It is thus that the Arabs are, and always have been, an isolated people.

Left to the undisturbed workings of their hearts, their characters are such as might be expected. As a nation they are stubborn both in truth and error. Confined from birth till death, to the consideration of a few objects, they never reach that tractable state of feeling, which extensive knowledge of the world can alone produce. This bigotry, when called into action, makes them ardent and even enthusiastic in their thoughts and deeds. The hot climate accelerates the motion of their blood and animal spirits. Owing to several causes, the heat in Hejaz and Yemen is not of that overpowering intensity, which, as in India and Central Africa, melts away the energies of man. We know not how it is, that in countries of a certain warmth there is almost always a fondness for intellectual pursuits; but the Arabs are one of the evidences that might be cited to prove the fact. Owing at least in some measure to the influence of climate, there has always been in Arabia a fondness for exhibitions of wit, poetry, and extempore eloquence. Their separation from other nations has heightened this character, and given it permanence.

Avarice is not a national vice, because, being destitute of commerce, they have no opportunity of accumulating money. The general insecurity of life and property also, tends to make them generous; by making wealth transitory, it lessens its value.

Such has for a long time been the nature of the Arabs, and, since national literature is but the embodying of national character, it is not improbable that these qualities were impressed on most of the earlier works in prose and poetry. Before leaving this subject of the Arabic character, we will give the testimony of one who had an excellent opportunity of studying it; we mean Sir William Jones. In a discourse delivered before the

Asiatic Society, at Calcutta, on the 15th February, 1787, he says—

“Men will always differ in their ideas of civilization, each measuring it by the habits and prejudices of his own country; but if courtesy and urbanity, a love of poetry and eloquence, and the practice of exalted virtue, be a juster measure of perfect society, we have certain proof that the people of Arabia, both on plains and in cities, in republics and monarchical states, were eminently civilized for many ages before their conquest of Persia.”*

This sketch is probably too favourable, for Sir William was strongly inclined towards the Arabs.

Keeping in mind that we are endeavouring to conjecture the nature of the lost Arabic poetry which preceded Mohammed, we will consider some external circumstances by which it must have been influenced. Until the reign of Haroun al Rashid, neither the literature of Greece and Rome, nor any idea of philosophy made their way to the Arabians; although missionaries had carried to them some of the principles of Christianity. Before that time, natural objects were alone presented to them. Even in the towns of Yemen, they were a simple and pastoral race. Their horses and camels were their wealth, and on these their ideas seem to have chiefly rested. Without books, except a very few, which were probably confined to the priests and princes, they were forced to indulge their vivid temperament by making keen observations on every thing which came within the reach of their senses; and upon those events which the traditions of their ancestors had preserved. If we may be permitted to form an idea of the old Kufic and Ham-yaric poetry, reasoning from the few remaining specimens, as well as from what we know of the former state of the country, and of its modern literature, we would describe it thus. It referred almost entirely to the pastoral pursuits and patriarchal government of the people; sometimes celebrating the virtues or pedigree of a favourite breed of horses, and sometimes praising the family of the prince. Perhaps there were, occasionally, such simple reflections on human life and manners, as would easily occur to a rude people. The illustrations were drawn entirely from flowers, trees, and animals; from the timid antelope, the dark eyed gazelle, the swift limbs of their coursers, or the patient endurance of the camel. Orientalists say, that the versification and rhyme of the old Arabic poetry, were very irregular. In Yemen, which was the most civilized part of Arabia, *love*, sometimes, was the theme of the rustic poets. At the time of Mohammed, the people of Yemen and Hejaz had become comparatively sentimental, inso-much that it was usual to affix to the walls of the Caaba, or temple of Mecca, poems “on the triumphs of Arabian gallantry, and the praises of Grecian wine.” But we are not to conclude

* Vide Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 3.

from this, that refinement had then made much progress; or that they had any thing like the amatory and festal odes of Anacreon and Horace.

We indulge in these conjectures on the ancient Arabic poetry, because we think that they are correct. They are consistent with the opinions of those, who, from their erudition, had the best right to judge. It is worth while to form even an unsubstantial image, if it at all resembles the reality. The cloudy banks on the verge of the ocean, do not the less convey a correct impression of the appearance of distant land, because they are mere vapour; and our sketch of the Kufic and Ham-yaric poetry may be accurate, though it is in part ideal.

But our principal motive is, that we wish to consider by themselves, those characteristics which form the basis of Saracenic poetry, dividing them from all that was added after the invasion of Asia. As the original nature of the Arabs remained undestroyed, though considerably changed, after they left the peninsula, we thought it best to collect all that at first could have acted on their literature, and then to pass on to a separate examination of the new attributes it acquired; first to consider the wild flower as it grew in the desert, and then mark how it was varied when transplanted to the parterre.

The Arabs, after the conquest of Persia and Syria, were affluent in all the materials of literature. They became conversant with a multitude of things heretofore but partially known to them. It was not only that fresh objects were offered to their view, but a new world of thought and feelings was laid open. Persia was not at that time the impoverished country which Saracen despotism has since made her. A wilderness of rose trees then bloomed around Shiraz, and the lilies of Susa had not withered from neglect of cultivation. All the august buildings—the monuments of the Assyrian, Selucidæ, or Arsacidæ princes, remained in their pristine grandeur, or with the still more interesting aspect of ruins. Imperial palaces and flourishing cities afforded a strong contrast to the loneliness of the desert, and the simplicity of the towns of Yemen. The broken columns of Chilmimar, and the city of the Sun, caused different emotions from the sandy waste of Nedjed, or the granite mountains of Hejaz; for the eloquent silence of the first brought to mind the departed nations who had flourished there, whilst the others spoke of nothing except their own sublimity, unchanged since the creation. When the Arabians intermingled with the inhabitants of the conquered countries, their ideas were tinged with the character of the vanquished. They never altered their religion; to the last they exterminated idolaters and worshippers of Fire; but their manners were changed. Hardihood was transformed into voluptuousness, simplicity into luxury, rudeness into refine-

ment. Their literature changed with themselves. Graceful expression, and profusion of ornament, became predominant; and their taste was purified by the influence of the ancient Greek writers, who, about this time, became known to the Saracens, and to whom we will, for a while, turn our attention.

Abu Giafer al Mansur, the second caliph of the house of Abbas, ascended the throne of the Prophet in the 137th year of the Hegira, which corresponds to the year 754 of the Christian era. The royal race of the Ommiyah, or Omniades, had been dethroned by his brother, but still continued in arms, so that his reign was troubled, and he found little opportunity to gratify his fondness for literature. Desirous of adorning his empire, he founded on the banks of the Tigris the memorable city of Bagdat, so called, according to the Persian writers, from the idol "Bagh," to whom a small temple had been erected by a wife of Nushirvan, on the spot where the city afterwards stood. When this capital was completed, the caliph endeavoured to allure the learned men of his empire, such as they were, to his court, and thus gave the first impulse to the Saracen literature. His immediate successors were not of the same stamp as himself, and for a while the dawn in the East was obscured. Haroun, surnamed al Rashid or the Righteous, the grandson of al Mansur, emulated the example of his ancestor, and as is well known became a distinguished patron of letters. He encouraged the diffusion of knowledge, and made great efforts to collect the writings of Greece and Rome. But it was not until the auspicious reign of al Mamon, the son of Haroun al Rashid, that all the darkness which encircled the throne of Science was scattered. He, like his predecessors, was forced to contend with foreign and domestic enemies; but this did not prevent him from searching over Asia and Egypt, expending vast sums for works in the Syriac, Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, and Latin languages. He extended his favour to all men of learning and talent, without respect to their religion or country, and was himself a proficient in letters. Amongst the works rescued from oblivion were those of Aristotle and Galen. These immediately became the landmarks of the Arabs in all their investigations, either religious, philosophical, or scientific. The dialectics of Aristotle were constantly studied by the doctors of Mohammedan theology. Their minds thus acquired an acuteness which would be inconceivable, did we not know that in after times the same effect was produced by the same cause, on the philosophers of Europe whose works still survive, the Schoolmen of the middle ages. The writings of Galen were acceptable to the Arabs, because they always had a passion for medical studies, in which they followed this great Greek physician as implicitly as they did Aristotle in his departments of logic and metaphysics. Philosophy was neither so

beautiful, nor so rational, on the borders of the Tigris, as when she dwelt in the Lyceum; but she was certainly much more prolific. The metaphysical expositions and logical disputations on the Koran, and the treatises of medicine written by the Arabs since the works of Aristotle and Galen were acquired, are innumerable. These form the great mass of the prose literature of the Saracens, and to make any other than a very general mention of them would be a weary task; we will therefore dismiss them, only adding that Avicenna and Averrhoes obtained a colossal reputation in this species of writing. The Arab histories are prolix and minute, but generally not tedious, because of their lively style and interesting anecdotes:* these also are too numerous to receive more than a hasty notice. We will therefore consider the Arabic poetry, and those romances which combine both prose and poetry.

All our future remarks on Arabic literature apply equally to that of Persia, Turkey, Syria, Egypt, Mauritania, and Tartary; for the writers of these countries differ in style amongst themselves no otherwise than would have been the case had all belonged to the same nation. They frequently wrote their finest productions in the Arabic language, and they adhered closely to those models which arose among the Arabs when they settled in Persia. Sir William Jones, whose luminous mind cast its lustre over both Europe and Asia; and who as a lawyer, a writer, a scholar, and a man of virtue, has left an immortal reputation; says on this subject, that "the other Mohammedans have done little more than imitate the style and adopt the expressions of the Arabians." So far as we can judge from translations, this remark is literally true. We will therefore without hesitation cite Turkish or Persic poetry as illustrating the peculiarities of the Arabic.

When the Saracens were familiar with the Greek authors, their poems were written in regular measure. It is a great mistake to think, as many do, that Oriental poetry is entirely filled with unnatural conceits and bombastic expressions. Undoubtedly amongst the hundreds, not to say thousands, of Eastern poets, there are many who write in every possible variety of bad taste; but the same is the case through the world. There are numerous Saracen poems which both in thought and expression are correct and delicate. Even where the style is most efflorescent, propriety is often kept in view; but yet it cannot be denied that their prevailing fault is the overflow of ornament. The two great epic poets, Firdusi, and Saadi, and the lyric Hafiz, would,

* Ockley's History of the Saracens, and the account of the Arabs in the 19th, 20th, and 21st volumes of the "Universal History," will give a tolerable idea of the style of the Arab historians. The former is an imitation of the Arab writers, the latter a digested translation from them.

like the Histories and Polemics, require too much of our space to receive justice: they therefore must also be omitted. The smaller pieces, which are beyond computation, can soon be disposed of; they are mostly sonnets, epigrams, elegies, songs, and allegories, expressive either of the praise or censure of great men, of love for women, or of the melancholy of the poet's heart. Distinguished men in Persia and Turkey are never assailed until they have fallen from power, and are seldom praised except whilst they retain it. The political troubles of these countries in some measure account for the sadness of much of the poetry. Men of genius were constantly liable to have their sensibilities wounded by the destruction of benefactors and friends occasioned by each of the frequent revolutions. The feelings of timid or disappointed love, and the inborn melancholy of human nature, were the other sources of their poetic sadness. Considering the domestic manners of the Saracens, it is not easy to discover whence they derived the gallantry and delicate affection which are prevalent in many of their writings. The odes of Sappho and Anacreon may have had some influence, and it must be supposed that even their national custom of secluding the women in harems, leaving them almost uneducated, could not prevent the passion of love from assuming its purest form in the bosoms of the more intellectual individuals. We subjoin a few specimens of Saracenic poetry, that our readers may judge of it for themselves.

The first is a prose translation by Sir William Jones of an Ode on the Spring, by Mesihi, a very distinguished poet, who flourished at Constantinople during the reign of Soliman II., or the Law-giver. It is written in verses of four lines each, in a measure rather longer than our heroic verse. The three first lines of each verse rhyme with each other, and the last line is the same in all the verses.

"ON THE SPRING."

"Thou hearest the tale of the nightingale, 'that the vernal season approaches.' The spring has spread a bower of joy in every grove, where the almond tree sheds its silver blossoms. Be cheerful; be full of mirth; for the Spring passes soon away: it will not last.

"The groves and hills are again adorned with all sorts of flowers: a pavilion of roses, as the seat of pleasure, is raised in the garden. Who knows which of us will be alive when the fair season ends? Be cheerful, &c.

"The edge of the bower is filled with the light of Ahmed. Among the plants the fortunate tulips represent his companions. Come, O people of Mohammed, this is the season of merriment. Be cheerful, &c.

"Again the dew glitters on the leaves of the lily, like the water of a bright scymetar. The dew drops fall through the air on the garden of roses. Listen to me, listen to me, if thou desirest to be delighted. Be cheerful, &c.

"The roses and tulips are like the bright cheeks of beautiful maids, in whose

ears the pearls hang like drops of dew. Deceive not thyself by thinking that these charms will have a long duration. Be cheerful, &c.

"Tulips, roses, and anemonies, appear in the gardens: the showers and the sun-beams, like sharp lancets, tinge the banks with the colour of blood. Spend this day agreeably with thy friends like a prudent man. Be cheerful, &c.

"The time is passed in which the plants were sick, and the rosebud hung its thoughtful head on its bosom. The season comes in which mountains and rocks are covered with tulips. Be cheerful, &c.

"Each morning the clouds shed gems over the rose gardens: the breath of the gale is full of Tartarian musk. Be not neglectful of thy duty through too great love of the world. Be cheerful, &c.

"The sweetness of the bower has made the air so fragrant, that the dew before it falls is changed into rose water. The sky spreads a pavilion of bright clouds over the garden. Be cheerful, &c.

"Whosoever thou art, know that the black gusts of autumn had seized the garden; but the king of the world again appears, dispensing justice to all. In his reign, the happy cup-bearer desired and obtained the flowing wine. Be cheerful, &c.

"By these strains I hoped to celebrate this delightful valley: may they be a memorial to its inhabitants, and remind them of this assembly, and these fair maids! Thou art a nightingale with a sweet voice, O Mesihi, when thou walk-est with the damsels whose cheeks are like roses. Be cheerful, be full of mirth; for the spring passes soon away: it will not last."

Prose translations of poetry must necessarily fall short of the original, since they lose many beauties, and do not supply the loss with any fresh ornament; but they convey the most accurate idea of the sentiment. We will add two translations, in verse, of Arabic poetry. They are by the pen of the late Professor Carlyle, of the University of Cambridge, a learned and able man. The first is an anacreontic, by Abd Absalam Ben Ragban, of whom Professor Carlyle says, "he was more remarkable for abilities than morality."

"To a Female Cup-bearer."

1.

"Come Leila, fill the goblet up,
Reach round the rosy wine,
Think not that we will take the cup
From any hand but thine.

2.

"A draught like this, 'twere vain to seek,
No grape can such supply;
It steals its tint from Leila's cheek,
Its brightness from her eye."

The following was written by Ebn Alrumi, a Syrian by birth; he died in the year of the Hegira 283. The first verse expresses an idea, afterwards borrowed by Lord Byron, in his piece "I saw thee weep." But the Arabic is the finer of the two.

"To a Lady Weeping."

1.

"When I beheld thy blue eye shine
Through the bright drop that pity drew,

I saw beneath those tears of thine
A blue eyed violet bathed in dew.

2.

"The violet ever scents the gale,
Its hues adorn the fairest wreath,
But sweetest through a dewy veil
Its colours glow, its odours breathe.

3.

"And thus thy charms in brightness rise—
When wit and pleasure round thee play,
When mirth sits smiling in thine eyes,
Who but *admires* their sprightly ray?
But when through pity's flood they gleam,
Who but must *love* their softened beam."

We think that enough has been quoted to bear out all that we have said in praise of Arabic poetry, as well as to give an idea of the best. For additional specimens, we refer our readers to the work of Professor Carlyle.* We would especially recommend to them the "Elegy," by Lebid Ben Rabi'at Alamary: it is too long to be inserted here, but it is exceedingly beautiful, and is interesting also, because it belongs to the earlier class of Arabic poetry, the author being contemporary with Mohammed. This Elegy is well styled, by the translator, "*The Arabian Deserted Village.*"

Before concluding this general sketch of Arabic literature, we will return to the prose works to remark, that the Saracens, though very acute, never exhibit profound thought. This is probably owing to their religion, and to their form of government. Mohammedanism is the extreme of bigotry. In many respects it exhibits much ingenuity in its founder, but in none more than the art with which all studies, foreign to itself, are proscribed; for this is the surest guarantee of its continuance. Though this restriction was broken by the learned Arabians of the later times, it yet served to limit their inquiries. Christianity offers many topics, which are sufficiently simple for practical purposes, but which exhaust the strongest intellect when it strives to reveal their extent. There is nothing of this kind in the Koran, or if there is, the Mohammedan doctors have not discovered it; for they have no question more exalted, than whether the Koran is, or is not, eternal? This is one of the main sources of contention between the two great sects of the Sunnites and Sheeites. The doctrines which would really require strength either to support or disaffirm, such as those of providence, predestination, the nature of the soul, the origin of evil, &c. are all settled by a few dogmatic sentences of the Koran. In Persia, religious bigotry has a looser hold on the people than in the rest

* "Specimens of Arabian Poetry, from the earliest time to the extinction of the Khaliphate, with some account of the Authors, by J. D. Carlyle, &c. &c." 1 vol. quarto.

of Islam: but a greater political despotism takes its place, and by eradicating the spirit of honourable ambition, equally checks all profound learning. The frequency of invasions and rebellions, in all the Mohammedan countries, has been very uncongenial to the growth of those libraries and colleges which must exist before men can amass large stores of erudition. Science and natural philosophy could not be pursued except at a great disadvantage, not only from the causes just stated, but also because drawings, or other representations of living beings, are prohibited to the Moslem. It is the popular belief of the Arabs, and we think that it is authorized by the Koran, that whoever draws a bird, or animal, will be asked in the day of judgment to give it a soul, and when he is unable to obey, he will be severely punished. Neither despotism nor bigotry has restrained the effusions of poetry, wit, and fiction, and, as is mentioned above, they are not unfavourable to acute and specious argument.

Popular eloquence of all kinds, except that displayed in conversation and extempore romances, is unknown to the Mohammedans. Without legislative bodies, courts of law, other than those of judges who decide immediately on hearing the facts, or assemblies of the people, they have no chance for acquiring or displaying oratory. If a man of talents was to harangue, openly, on any subject of public interest, he would risk being impaled or beheaded, before he could a second time trouble the jealousy of the government.

The prevailing manners and domestic habits of the Saracens may be learnt with the utmost minuteness from the books at present most immediately under our inspection, the Arabian Nights Entertainments: and we know not how we can more completely lead our readers to a correct view of these subjects, than by advising them to become conversant with those volumes, if they are not so already.

There is a lively and erudite volume, before alluded to, written by Mr. Hole, on the story of Sinbad the Sailor. It points out how far the author of that fiction has drawn his materials from the Greek writers, or from the opinions generally entertained through the East. The mode he pursues is, to select each of the most striking passages, especially such as seem to evince the greatest power of fancy, and to compare them with parallel passages from grave Greek historians and philosophers, or from books of travels, nearly contemporary with the Arabian Nights. The authors whom he chiefly cites, are Pliny, Diodorus Siculus, Elian, Marco Polo, Sir Thomas Herbert, and Sir John Mandeville. It is surprising what an air of reality is given to the voyages, by bringing them into comparison with these authorities. Mr. Hole asserts that the same might be done with all the other tales. Many of the extraordinary fish, birds, and serpents, which

Sinbad describes, are not very dissimilar to some actually existing in the Indian seas and climates. The valley of diamonds, surrounded by inaccessible rocks, mentioned in the second voyage, was generally believed in, through the East, before the Arabian Nights were written. Respectable Oriental writers describe, in the same terms as Sinbad, the mode of obtaining the precious gems, by throwing meat down the precipices, which is carried up by eagles, with diamonds adhering. The old man of the sea, with a skin like a cow, who made signs to be taken on Sinbad's shoulders, and when placed there, remains with an intention of strangling him; does not differ much from the apes, or orang-outangs, which, some Eastern writers say, throw themselves on men's necks, and suffocate them. As respects the Greek authors, we may notice the following similarities. The story of Polyphemus devouring the followers of Ulysses, in Homer's *Odyssey*, is almost exactly the same as that of the negro who ate up the companions of Sinbad. Like Ulysses, they burn out the giant's one eye, and his friends hurl rocks at them, as did the Cyclop at the Ithacan, when they escape to sea. In the fourth voyage, when Sinbad is buried alive with his dead wife, he leaves the cavern, used as a sepulchre, precisely as Aristomenes, the Messenian general, is said to have left the cave, into which he and his soldiers were cast by the Lacedemonians. Aristomenes and Sinbad both see an animal prowling among the bodies; they follow him, and he leads them to a concealed avenue, through which they pass. Diodorus Siculus, in a passage cited by Mr. Hole, asserts that the island of Taprobane, or Ceylon, is directly under the equinoctial line, and that the days and nights there are always twelve hours each. Ptolemy, the geographer, says the same. Sinbad, speaking of this island under its Asiatic name of Serendib, repeats nearly the very words of Diodorus. The assertion is, however, incorrect: the lowest point of Ceylon is more than a hundred leagues north of the equator; and there is the perceptible difference of nearly two hours between the longest and shortest day. Besides these coincidences, and many others noticed by Mr. Hole, there are some equally striking in the tales newly translated by Dr. Scott; as in the story of the "Good Vizier," where the vizier augured that some great misfortune would befall him, because he had lived in a course of unbroken prosperity. One evening he accidentally dropped an emerald coffee cup of inestimable value into the sea, which flowed beneath a gallery of his palace. In pointing out to a diver the spot where it had fallen, an equally precious diamond ring slipped from his finger. The diver plunged into the waves, and soon brought the emerald cup, with the ring, which had lodged in it. That night the Vizier was degraded, and imprisoned in a dungeon. The incidents, and still more the sentiments, of this story, resemble

very closely the well known historical account given by Herodotus, of Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos. The only difference is, that Polycrates lost an emerald ring, instead of an emerald cup and diamond ring; he dropped it voluntarily into the sea, and it was restored by a fish, who swallowed it and was caught. But the substance of both stories is the same. The idea of the female genii of the "Flying Islands," in the story of Mazin of Chorassan, is analogous to that which the Grecians had of the Amazons. All this shows the influence which the Greek writers had on Arabic literature, and how well the Arabian Nights have represented the general national belief.

Throughout the Arabian Nights there are scattered many allusions to the religion and superstitions of the Saracens. These offer national characteristics, not the least important to those who have pleasure in considering the sources from whence the popular ideas of the West are lineally descended. The Eastern fables passed into Europe about the time of the Crusades, and in one form or other have there remained.

Before the time of Mohammed, the Arabs worshipped idols, a practice severely reprobated, and finally abolished by him; as was also the worship of the stars, introduced by the Sabians. According to Sir William Jones, idolatry and Sabaism were confined to the uneducated; the chiefs and poets were Theists, believing only in Allah.

Every one knows, that Mohammedanism is now the religion of the Saracen countries. The Koran contains most of their doctrines; and the "Sonna," a compilation of traditions, revered by the Sonnites or orthodox Moslems, contains the residue. Algazali, a celebrated doctor of Arabic theology, has summed up the religion of the Koran and Sonna, in a creed first published in Europe by Dr. Pococke in his *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*; it is also prefixed to Dr. Ockley's History of the Saracens. It is divided into two parts, the first relating to the nature and attributes of the Supreme Being, the latter explaining the meaning involved in the sentence, "Mohammed is the Apostle of Allah." The description of the unity and power of the Creator, is nearly the same as that given in the Bible, and is, of course, unexceptionable. Our readers may form an opinion for themselves; of the second part we will give the substance. It announces several articles of faith not generally known as belonging to Mohammedanism.

Every true Moslem must believe, that Mohammed is the Apostle of Allah, sent to deliver his message to all rational beings less than angels, that he is superior to the other prophets, and that his principal companions are to be venerated next to himself, in the following order, first Abubeker, then Omar, Oth-

man, and lastly, Ali.* Mohammed is exalted far beyond his companions, so that no one must speak of the nature of Allah, without adding that Mohammed is his apostle. In these words is implied, all else that the orthodox Moslem must believe, which may be reduced to the ensuing statement.

Immediately after death, every one is visited by two terrible angels, Munkir, and Nakir, who re-unite his soul with his body in order that he may sit upright in his grave and answer their questions as to the unity of Allah, and the mission of Mohammed. After this angelic inquisition, the deceased rests until the day of judgment, when he is awakened by the trumpet of Israfil. The works of each are then to be weighed in a balance with two scales attached to a beam, equal in extent to the heaven and the earth. One of the scales is the balance of light, the other that of darkness. Books beautiful to the sight, in which are written the good works, are cast into the first, and the unsightly volumes of evil actions into the other. Weights not larger than atoms are provided to throw into the ascending scale, so that the difference between the two may be ascertained with the most exquisite accuracy, and thus every one be rewarded or punished in exact proportion to his works. After the actions are estimated, the deceased are all brought to a test which separates the virtuous from the reprobate, for there is "a real way which is a body extended over the middle of Hell, sharper than a sword and finer than a hair." Over this all must pass, and by the eternal decree of Allah, infidels slip into the abyss, but the faithful are conducted in safety. Having passed this perilous road, the believer is led to the lake of Mohammed, which is formed from the water of the river Cauthar, flowing into it through two canals. It is whiter than milk and sweeter than honey. In imitation of a Divine original, the false prophet promised his disciples that whoever drinks this water shall thirst no more for ever. The lake is a month's journey in breadth. Around its borders are cups innumerable. From it the believer passes into a paradise of never ending sensuality.

Such is an outline of the regular religious belief of Islam. But there are, besides, manifold superstitions, some supported by the Koran, and the others not at variance with it. They are worthy of a few moments attention.

There is a remote region situated amongst the mountains of Kaaf, which surround the habitable world. It is of such immense extent, that three hundred years are required to travel from some parts of it to others; it is intersected with rocks, mountains, and oceans, and is named "Ginnistan." The inhabi-

* The heretical Sheeites refuse to acknowledge the three first of these Caliphs.

tants are beings, whom the Arabs call "Ginn," but to whom we have given the Latin name *Genii*, which is similar in sound and bears the same signification. The *genii* hold an intermediate rank between men and angels; they pass with inconceivable rapidity through space, and have power to assume any form. They are not immortal, though many of them cannot be destroyed, except by the omnipotence of Allah, or by the most tremendous magical charms. Others are of a subordinate nature and are employed by their sovereigns in laborious works. The *genii* are mostly collected into empires, each commanded by a Sultan. Some live by themselves, haunting ruins and other lonely places. Formerly all were in a state of rebellion against Allah; but So-leymaun, or Solomon, the son of David, converted many of their nations and broke the strength of the others in numerous conflicts, so that all are now subjected to him. Of the rebels, the *Afrits* are the most powerful and the worst. The evil *genii* are the subjects of Degial, a gigantic *Afrit*, with wings and claws. He is kept in chains on a rock, but is destined one day to break loose, and devastate the world. These beings are not confined to the infernal dominions of *Eblis*, but with the others, live amongst the *Kaaf*; where is the city of *Ahermaun*, the abode of the principle of evil.

Inferior to the *Genii*, is the race of *Peria*, well known to all who admire the Asiatic elegance of *Lalla Rookh*. No more need be said of them than that they are the same as our Fairies. *Gholes* are a compound of wild beasts and demons in a human form: they are powerful and ferocious, devouring indiscriminately all whom they can overcome. They invade the grave and feast upon the half putrefied bodies; and when these are wanting, seize on unwary travellers and tear them to pieces. Sometimes they veil their disgusting propensities under an appearance of civilization, and mingle with the world; they even intermarry with mankind. *Vampyres* are well known to us as the bodies of the dead, impelled by a dreadful and irresistible necessity to preserve an accursed existence by sucking the life-blood of others, who, in their turn, are doomed after death to the same state of being.

We believe it is now settled by the universal opinion of the learned, that most of the Arabic fictions came originally from Hindustan. The few which were derived from Arabia, have been changed to the likeness of the Indian. The connexion between the Hindu and Arabic tales, is satisfactorily traced by Mr. Hole, in his work before mentioned, and also by the author of a deservedly esteemed modern book, the "*Sketches of Persia*."

As the popular superstitions of Europe came directly from the East, we are not altogether in a strange creation when

we meet with them in the Arabian tales: but they are so spiritualized with us, that half their terrors are lost. We so associate the phantoms of the nursery with the immaterial nature of the soul, that they scarcely seem to have power to do us harm. In places situated on the verge of civilization, such as the northern islands of the British empire are, or lately were, the inhabitants preserve a genuine idea of demons, who, like those of Asia, wander about, excluded from paradise, but not yet doomed to hell. These fancies seem to the Arabian so consecrated by the traditions of his faith, that he cannot escape from his superstitions without abjuring his religion.

That which is most appalling in the Saracen superstitions is, the earthly form and human attributes assigned to the evil genii and gholes. The Arab fears no indistinct and visionary being, whilst he hurries home through deserted places; for he knows that it is not more certain that Allah commissioned Mohammed to preach the true faith, than that the air and earth are alive with malignant demons, whose bodily power is sometimes permitted to extend even to the persons of believers. Unaccountable dread sometimes falls at night upon those, who, in Christian countries, have every assurance of a superintending Providence; but how much more must this be overpowering to one who is unable to see a distant shadow through the twilight, and feel certain that it is not cast from the iron wing of some Afrit, abroad on the work of destruction. When the Arab mariners are driven by the storm amongst the rocks and sand-bars, through which they grope their way from port to port, shipwreck is not the worst they have to fear. To be swallowed in the ocean, would be preferable to being cast by any chance on an island such as Poelsetton, where they would be received by the inhabitants, who are devils, howling night and day. The power of the evil genii may inflict something worse than death on their victims. Instead of sending him out of their reach, which extends not beyond the grave, they may doom him to linger an enchanted existence in a brutal form, or in a state similar to that of the King of the Black Isles, mentioned in one of the Arabian tales, who was half changed into black marble, and was beaten every day by the tormenting enchantress who metamorphosed him. The superstitious terrors of the Saracens are probably less powerful than when the Arabian Nights were composed; for then the Turks were not so phlegmatic, nor the Persians so sceptical as now. But we are notwithstanding inclined to think, that, especially in Turkey and Arabia, the marvels related in the Arabian Nights, do not fall far short of the present belief of the people.

Talismans, amulets, and magic words, placed men above the power of evil spirits. These are various in their nature. We

are told by Malte-Brun, that the name and idea of talismans are derived from the mountain Telesme, in Persia, between Khorasan and Irak-Adjemi; which is so covered with black sand, that it is said often to seem to be of a new form. This conjecture is a little supported by the supposition of the Arabs, that some of the most highly wrought talismans are placed on lofty mountains. Such is the talisman on the loadstone mountain, by which the vessel of prince Agib, in the story of the third Calendar, is destroyed. When the ship approaches the fatal place, the pilot informs the crew that the iron work would fly out, and the vessel go to pieces. This takes place, and all are lost but prince Agib. He swims to the foot of the mountain, which rises almost perpendicularly from the ocean, except just where he lands. At that point there is a flight of steps cut in the rock, leading to the summit. He ascends and finds a dome, under which are a man and horse of bronze, with a piece of lead on the man's breast, engraved with certain talismanic characters. In obedience to a dream, he digs under his feet, and finds a bow and three leaden arrows. He shoots them at the horseman, who falls into the sea; the horse also falls, and is buried in the place whence the arrows were taken. The sea gradually swells to the top of the hill, and a boat appears at a great distance. The dream had directed him to embark in it, and had cautioned him against pronouncing the name of Allah, promising a safe return home if he obeyed. The boat is of brass, and is rowed by a brazen man. Agib, when near the end of his journey, unfortunately exclaims, "Allah be praised;" the brazen boat immediately sunk, and he was abandoned to further adventures. We have repeated this account, under a conviction that few have read it since their early youth; and because we consider it as describing the finest specimen of the Eastern talismans of which we ever recollect to have read. There is much grandeur in the idea of the solitary and destructive mountain, and the circumstances attending the dissolution of the charm are wild and interesting. Talismans were usually of a less elaborate construction; consisting of rings or gems, engraved with cabalistic words. Some enabled their owner to command the world of spirits: others were merely amulets, or preservatives against evil. Whoever had them in his possession, was for the time master of their virtues, which underwent no change, however they were transferred.

There is little fresh information on the subject of the Eastern superstitions, to be derived from the newly translated tales contained in the last volume of Dr. Scott's edition of the *Arabian Nights*. Our ideas of the Arab fictions would have been much higher, had we not seen this addition to our former store. The stories of "Mazin of Khorasan," and of the "Sultan of Hind,"

are much better than the others, and are equal to any, except the very best, of the old collection. In the remainder of the new translation there is no point; the wonders are borrowed from the former tales; the characters are insipid; and set phrases are repeated with a tiresome frequency. The ancient vigour of the people, both in intellect and in moral sentiment, seems to have been lost when these new romances were composed. Cunning is generally represented as successful, without regard to the character of him who employs it, or the dishonest means he uses to accomplish his end. The wise men arrive at their conclusions by extraordinary and false processes of reasoning. Dr. Scott says, in his Notes, that some of the tales were so indecent, that he had to omit them; but this is said to be the case with some of those forming the original collection. So far as we may judge from the English version, they are written in a correct style, but exhibit few passages bearing the trace of genius. Even where for a while they rise above the ordinary strain of the narrative, they soon fall back again to common place. From one instance of this we felt real vexation; for at first it seemed as if we had found a passage which would repay the disappointment occasioned by the rest of the volume. When Mazin of Khorasan explores the realms of the genii in search of his wife, after passing through numberless dangers, he succeeds in defrauding three brothers of three talismans, by which he accomplishes, in a few days, a journey which otherwise would have required centuries. He arrives at the borders of a vast ocean, across which he sees his place of destination, the islands of Waak al Waak, "whose mountains appeared at the distance of a fiery red, like the sky gilded by the beams of the setting sun." But when Mazin reaches the islands, he meets nothing to correspond with the interesting ideas we have formed of them. The description gradually rises in interest till he comes to this place, where there is the finest scope for original and wild conceptions; then it becomes tame, and all is spoilt by the transition from strength to weakness. In justice, however, to this tale, we must admit that it contains some well written passages. Dr. Scott deserves the thanks of the literary world for his pains in translating these additional tales, though they have little intrinsic value. All accessions to our knowledge are useful; and not the least so are those which afford new themes for the meditative mind, when it dwells upon the gradual decay of a great national literature.

Nothing more need be said of the best tales of the Arabian Nights, in which number we include all of the former translation, except that we regard them as we believe they are viewed by every one. We consider them as powerful delineations of national character, seen through a veil of delicately wrought fic-

tion. Taken collectively, they form as it were a gallery of living pictures, where we may see the Saracens portrayed in every variety of their nature. In some, we are presented with the incidents of ordinary life, the manners of artisans and men of business, drawn in an accurate, satisfactory, but not vulgar manner. Again, we see the interior of palaces, converse with emperors and viziers, or gaze on the "enshrined beauties," the daughters of kings, and rivals of the celestial Houries. Looking at others, we find displayed the terrors of the supernatural world, surrounded with the varying landscapes, the never-dying verdure, and sun-bright domes of Fairy land. Combining description, poetry, eloquence, philosophy, religion, and romance, the Arabian Nights are fitted better than any other work to exhibit the Saracen literature to the other nations of the world.

It is to be regretted that these Tales are deficient in descriptions of the times before Mohammed. The scenes are laid either with a fabulous date, or at an era immediately preceding their composition, and after the conquest of Persia. Not one of them can properly be called a *historical romance*. It may be, however, that such exist amongst the innumerable fictions preserved in the Oriental popular traditions. If the agitations which are at present disturbing Turkey, should eventuate in the spread of Christianity over that empire, there will be great facilities for obtaining all the prose and poetry of the Saracens, which some day may become as familiar to us as those of any European people.

ART. III.—*A Grammar of the Latin Language, for the use of Colleges and Seminaries. From the German of C. G. Lumpt.* New-York: 1829.

It is apparent to those who observe the state of classical education, that a time is approaching, if it has not already appeared, in which the intrinsic value of classical studies, and their relative importance as the foundation of liberal discipline, will pass a most rigorous examination, which, we rely with implicit confidence on our enlightened age, will terminate in a complete victory of classical education; but at the same time, contribute not a little to enlarge and purify the views of the public with respect to this important subject, and to improve the method of this species of education itself.

It appears to us, as if there had not always prevailed that rea-

VOL. VI.—NO. 12. 39

diness of entering upon a close scrutiny of this subject, which it is desirable should prevail; nay, it almost seems as if there existed a hidden fear that such an examination might end to the disadvantage of classical education. The cause of classical studies is, in this respect, precisely the same as that of Christianity or any other important truth, either scientific or moral, intended to expand the mind, and ameliorate the condition of man. A strange awe formerly prevented men from examining the truth of Christianity, as if eternal truth, revealed in the religion of Christ, could be found false in its innermost germe. It is true, that such examinations may be, and indeed have been, carried on in a spirit little suited to the sublimity of the subject, but such critics, whether divines or philosophers, have not shaken the foundation on which our hope rests, but evinced only their own perversity in denying a due respect to that, the falsehood of which is yet to be proved. They have not only not moved a single stone of the foundation, but, on the contrary, afforded numerous and striking proofs of its solidity.

Thus it is with classical studies. It ought to be matter of rejoicing, rather than apprehension, that the spirit of inquiry has been directed to this quarter. If these studies really are, and really perform what their advocates assert them to be and to perform, an examination, so far from impairing their value, will only set it forth to greater advantage.

We are happy to see that a great step has been made towards this desirable end. One of our oldest and most respectable learned institutions has sent forth a report equally honourable to the gentlemen who defended their cause with so much ability, and to the institution which subjected its measures to the scrutiny of the public. In such a mode of proceeding, science and literature can never be the losers, but will confirm their followers in their attachment, and thin the ranks of their adversaries. We wish to hear of others, either institutions or individuals, taking up arms in defence of the subject in question, or in an honourable opposition to it; not that it should be done more ably, but because life is so busy, and so small a portion of the public take a lively interest in this subject, that it requires reiterated appeals in order to make an impression on the pre-occupied minds of the majority.

It is not our intention, at this time, to enter on this discussion; we shall suppose the question to be decided in favour of classical studies, both as to their own value, and as to their importance, considering them as the foundation of all liberal education, and now go a step farther, and speak of the best *mode* of pursuing these studies. It may be, we shall thus contribute something to facilitate the decision of the question. For we are aware that many honest and sensible men, who are not

able, on account of their different education and pursuits in life, to form an opinion as to the value of classical education itself, by comparing the expense of time, labour, and money, with the results, arrive at a conclusion not at all in its favour. By a very pardonable mistake, they confound the method of communicating the knowledge with the knowledge itself; and seeing that so many have spent much time and labour on these studies, without deriving any palpable advantage from them, they pass judgment against the studies themselves. The duty devolves on all the patrons of classical education, especially on all schools and teachers, to wrench this argument from the hands of their adversaries, by constantly improving their method, and thus, by facts, always the most overwhelming arguments, to convince the opponents of the injustice of their accusations.

We shall contribute our small share to the attainment of this great end, with all proper humility, and with a due consideration of the many impediments, which arise from peculiar circumstances, but especially from the youth of this country, where, of course, the practical arts and sciences are of prior importance, and have been, and will yet for some time be, in the way of a more rapid improvement. Yet we intend to speak with freedom and fearlessness, conscious that our object is the advancement of humanity in the highest sense of the word. It is not our intention to disparage the merits of former methods, or those yet in use; we disclaim any such intention once for all; but we start from the supposition that knowledge is not stationary, but continually advancing, and likewise the method of acquiring it. To deny that the science of philology has advanced within the last twenty or thirty years, would betray great ignorance; we need only mention *Heyne*, *F. A. Wolf*, *Hermann*, *Creuzer*, and consider in what condition they found, and in what they left or will leave it. Many of them have not only produced new views of single parts of antiquity and its writers, but have created new sciences, as the *Symbolic* of *Creuzer*, and *Metric* of *Hermann*; which need only to be named, to silence at once any doubts as to the advancement of the science of antiquity, and with it, of the necessary advancement of the method of communicating it.

Before we enter upon the discussion of the subject, we must remark that we shall confine ourselves to *the method of studying the Latin language*, not because we are of opinion that this study should be pursued apart from that of the Greek language, but because the occasion of this article, and the publication of the work which we have placed at the head of it, naturally lead us to begin with the Latin language, and our limits oblige us to confine ourselves to it. Although we have several important

reasons for not joining the party of those who would begin the classical studies with that of the Greek language, yet we are so far from advocating a separation in the pursuit of these two studies, that we, on the contrary, believe both will gain by a connexion which affords innumerable points of comparison, and thereby, as many opportunities of entering more deeply into the genius of either language.

Whatever advantages may be expected from the study of the Latin language, it is certain they cannot be derived, if the study is not *thorough*. Whether we look upon this language and its study, as one of the great avenues to the knowledge of antiquity, or as one of the best means to cultivate the various powers of the mind, that knowledge or this culture of the mind can be attained by a thorough study only. A superficial course, even if it should embrace the whole extent of Latin literature, will want that solidity, without which, none of the expected advantages can be derived; it will be a mere smattering; while, on the other hand, a thorough study, though it should soon cease, will abound in rich fruits, as far as its course extended. This thoroughness in the study of the Latin language is so much more necessary, as the subject is a difficult one. Although the difficulties are not insurmountable, yet they are so great as to require not only perseverance and much industry, but also, time to master them. We must bear in mind that the study of this language, the structure of which is so complicated, which in perfection approaches nearest to the Greek, and whose literary treasures are numerous, and comprising most departments of science and art, affords a series of exercises to almost all mental powers, beginning from those which appear earliest in childhood, and gradually advancing to those which develop themselves together with the mature understanding of manhood. The study of an ancient language is a gradual advancement from the smallest minutiae to the comprehension of the most wonderful creations of the human mind. A thorough knowledge of the former, is an indispensable condition of the latter. The enjoyment derived from the latter, will be marred by a deficiency in the former. It is, indeed, difficult to convince boys, or persons who do not possess experience of their own, of the correctness of this assertion; but if the instructor is firmly convinced of it, and acts accordingly, the scholar, too, will soon discover the advantages of such a method, and feel encouraged to persevere in his exertions.

This consideration will at once convince us of the necessity of having sufficient time, and warn us against an error very common with those who desire to be as thorough as possible. We allude to the endeavour to render every thing at the first time of

its being offered to the scholar, perfectly intelligible, not considering that we must begin with something which is to be received upon faith, as it were, with the memory, rather than with a view of being thoroughly understood, but which, if it is well stored in the memory, will obtain all necessary explanation and illustration in the progress of the study. If the instruction is systematical and methodical, nothing, though less clear and intelligible in the beginning, will remain so. To illustrate our meaning, we shall give one example. A boy, beginning the study of the Latin language, with the variations of the different cases, if he is bright, will ask what is the origin of these different cases, what relation have they to each other? A judicious instructor, instead of entering into a part of the philosophy of language, thence to prove the necessity of the existence of cases, will tell him to wait a short time, receive merely this fact, the existence of cases, and hope for a fuller understanding with the progress of his knowledge. When he has gone through the syntax, and has observed, in a variety of instances, how the cases are employed to express various relations of words to one another, then he will be able to commence his reasoning as to the nature of cases, founded upon a number of facts, without which the most profound philosophical explanation would have served to confuse rather than to enlighten.

Another consideration which we wish would never be lost sight of, is, that the acquirement of the Latin language is a study, and like any other study, exacts patience and great exertion to master it. We are certainly no advocates of the perverted method of wantonly throwing difficulties into the path of the young scholar, which is already sufficiently thorny, but we are equally averse to the propensity of our own time, of rendering the task easy at the expense of thoroughness, and thus discouraging the scholar from persevering in his pursuit, before he has attained the fruit, which is to afford him a healthy and nourishing food.

In order to render ourselves more intelligible throughout the whole series of our remarks, we shall divide the whole course of the instruction in the Latin language into *three periods*, the first of which is the *grammatical*. Memory is that power of the mind which is principally called upon, in this stage, and it is at the same time that power which develops itself sooner than any other. Borne out by the testimony of the greatest scholars of all countries, and by the experience of all classical schools, we do not hesitate to insist on the most accurate grammatical instruction. The regular declensions of nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and the regular conjugation of verbs, together with the list of prepositions and their usual meaning; after this the irregular declensions, together with the rules and exceptions on the gender

of nouns, the rules on comparison, with their exceptions, and the irregular verbs, must not only, verbatim, be got by heart, but also practically exercised on innumerable examples, in all possible combinations and permutations, until they be indelibly impressed upon the memory. All these exercises should be made both orally and in writing.

Due attention ought to be paid to the correct pronunciation, in learning and exercising these elements of grammar; otherwise both the instructor and scholar will be, in the succeeding stages of the instruction, exposed to infinite trouble, without being able to attain their object. A boy, hearing or learning a word, or a class of words, for the first time, may pronounce them with as little difficulty correctly, as not, provided the instructor attend to this point. If this is neglected in the beginning, not only a correct pronunciation is to be acquired at a later period, but an incorrect one to be unlearned; but if it is attended to, then the scholar acquires with little labour, in a short time, the correct pronunciation of the larger portion of Latin words, and is not likely to torment the well cultivated ears of others, with those barbarous sounds which go under the name of Latin quotations. Here, too, we do not mean to trouble the scholar with a philosophical inquiry, which is the pronunciation that approaches nearest to the pronunciation of the Romans themselves; this inquiry is, at any time, a difficult one, and would be at that period altogether uncalled for; what we insist upon is, an accurate observation of quantity and accent.

We mentioned above, that memory was chiefly exercised in this stage of the instruction, but it is not the only power of the mind which is brought into action. To distinguish the different parts of speech, to observe to what changes each of them is subject, (declension, conjugation, and comparison,) to compare these changes with each other, (the different declensions and conjugations,) to distinguish these changes from the words themselves, (the terminations from the root,) and to imitate the changes, in other words—all these, however simple, are mental operations of the greatest importance, and yet not at all beyond the capacity of a child; though he perform them unconsciously, they are the first exercises of that great power of the mind to abstract a general rule from a number of particulars. These exercises, if made under the guidance of a skilful and judicious instructor, are neither too difficult, nor too dry for the child. No child but a spoiled one, will find exercises dry, which are adapted to bring into action his dawning mental powers, longing, as it were, for occupation.

Without the most familiar acquaintance with these things, an easy and quick understanding of a single sentence, or a whole author, is not to be hoped for; and if this acquirement has been

neglected in the commencement of the study, and at a period when the mind of the scholar was best adapted for the reception of knowledge of this description, it must be either made up at a later period, when memory is less inclined and less able, in consequence of the preceding neglect, to store up these minutiae, and the other powers of mind, in consequence of the advanced age and attainments of the scholar, require their occupation, and thus divide the attention ; or if not made up, this defect will mar all enjoyment which might have been derived from a thorough understanding of the ancients. However trifling and insignificant this elementary instruction may appear to one not judging from his own experience, yet all in possession of this experience will agree with us, that it is the foundation and *sine qua non* of future success in classical studies.

As soon as the regular declensions and conjugations are perfectly familiar to the scholar, translating from the Latin into the mother tongue should commence. Latin Readers are required for this purpose, in which the single pieces are selected and arranged with respect to the grammatical rules, and a gradual advancement from the easy to the more difficult.

The course in the elementary part of grammar, is followed by one in *syntax*, in a similar manner as the former, beginning with the most general rules concerning subject and predicate, the use of cases, the use of tenses and modes, and especially concerning the two great pillars of Latin construction, without which scarcely a single sentence in any author can be understood, we mean the accusative with the infinitive, and the various constructions of the participles, especially that of the ablative absolute. When these outlines of Latin syntax are well explained and illustrated by a number of examples by the instructor, and perfectly comprehended by the scholar, then the more particular rules may be advanced, in proportion as the scholar advances, and thus the whole image filled up. We are aware of the many objections which have of late been raised against a thorough grammatical course. As far as they are meant to set forth the uselessness of such a course, we take leave to declare ourselves plainly and explicitly against them ; but, it appeared at times to us, as if those objections were directed against certain systems of syntax, or, in short, against certain grammars, rather than against the thing itself ; and here we cannot but join in the complaint of the inefficiency of some of the grammars in use.

In the progress of the course in syntax, the single rules ought not only at the time to be abundantly illustrated by a large number of examples, and frequently recurred to in the course of reading, but also by translating appropriate examples into Latin, and gradually by forming such examples themselves. Every

one will be at once convinced of the usefulness of this exercise, who considers for a moment what difference exists between recognising a rule in a given sentence, and observing it in forming one. In the first case, a misunderstanding may happen not only to the scholar, but also the instructor, in spite of the greatest attention; in the latter, it will discover itself at once not more plainly to the latter than to the former. Here again a most important operation of the mind takes place, the analytic process of recognising a rule in a given instance, and the synthetic, to employ the rule in composing or forming other examples. Yet the scholar is not tried beyond his capacity; a disposition, innate in every human being, is brought to bear upon a subject which affords rich materials to exercise it. The act of acquiring a language, performed during infancy, without consciousness, is here repeated, only in a more systematical manner. After all the syntactical rules are illustrated by such examples, short pieces, anecdotes from ancient history, which require the application of various rules, may take the place of these single sentences, and form the transition to the exercises in writing Latin.

The study of grammar, as described above, ought to begin early, as soon as the mental faculties which it is to bring into action, discover themselves; but it ought to proceed slowly, for the development of the mind too is slow, and it would be irrational to expect fruits where the blossom only is forming. Practical exercises are the life of grammatical, as well as of any other instruction; every rule should be long and variously exercised by a number of examples. Thus, the mind being continually active, becomes stronger, without being exposed to the danger of precocity, and the rules, a certain knowledge of which will be, in the following stage of the study, of the greatest consequence, must impress themselves indelibly on the tender mind of the scholar. For memory increases in strength by a regular activity, as surely as the arm by a continued exercise. The maxim of the Emperor Augustus, *omnis puerus* (*festina lentè*), cannot be observed too strictly. If the instruction is hastened too much, that which has been learnt, will be either not completely comprehended, or soon forgotten; and the scholar will arrive at the second period of his study, at the reading of authors, before his mind has attained the maturity necessary to understand and enjoy what he is reading. The field to be run over is otherwise; time, therefore, is requisite, in order to do well every thing which is to be done; and, as we just mentioned, the latter exercises require such a maturity of understanding, that it is well not to arrive at them too soon. The object is to cultivate the judgment and taste of the scholar. He is to observe the great art of arranging ideas on some masterwork of the ancients, be

it a poem of *Horace* or *Virgil*, a speech of *Demosthenes* or *Cicero*, a book of *Sallust* or *Thucydides*, the peculiarity of which he has comprehended by an accurate study, noticing every particular, and to learn, guided by an experienced teacher, to divide and arrange materials, to assign the proper place to every part, and connect it correctly with the rest, to reject what is extraneous, to prune what is too luxuriant, to put in the back ground what is subordinate, and throw the strongest light on the principal part. Let us not, therefore, give the works that have been, and still are, the admiration of the greatest men, into the hands of boys who are not yet able to comprehend their spirit, and who ply through with the greatest difficulty. Thus we experience every where the consequence of the preposterous method of making boys, at an early age, read books in Latin, which few of the brightest would take up in their own language—a deeply-rooted disgust for the language and its productions.

We stop here a moment to recommend several exercises, which we consider extremely useful, and which may, at this stage of the instruction, be commenced, although we do not intimate that they should terminate with it; on the contrary, they may be continued with the greatest advantage through the following period, at least in the prosaical part of reading. We mean, in the first place, translating back into Latin, that passage which has been in the preceding lesson translated and interpreted. By this method, not only a large stock of words and phrases is laid up, but also a familiar acquaintance formed with the most common constructions of the language, which will be very serviceable in proceeding to more difficult authors. This exercise, if managed well, is an excellent substitute for the rather unpleasant mode of committing words to memory. An extensive store of words must be acquired, and it cannot be done in a more agreeable manner than that proposed; which is a more useful one, too, since naturally those words and phrases which are most frequently used, will be most frequently recalled to the memory of the scholar. A second exercise is that of written translations. In the commencement of reading, it may constitute a regular exercise; but, in the progress of time, as the lessons increase, the manual labour of writing alone, would be more than could be executed well; then it will be proper to select the most difficult, or interesting, or beautiful passages. Not to speak of the great advantages for the forming of a good style in the mother tongue, for which this exercise is much more calculated than making the poor boys write themes, where two difficulties at the same time present themselves, that of finding matter and clothing it in words, and are either discouraging to them, or accustom them

to join empty phrases together; this exercise contributes greatly to a perfect understanding of what has been read.

After a thorough perusal of such a collection as we have mentioned above, *Cornelius Nepos* may be taken up, and an Anthology, that is, a collection of poetical pieces of *Phædrus*, *Ovid*, and other poets, appropriated to the degree of philological knowledge, general information and taste of scholars at this stage. A lucid sketch of the most simple principles and rules of prosody, especially of the Latin hexameter, should be the introduction to this exercise. As to *Nepos*, we rejoice at seeing this excellent author gaining daily more ground in many schools; there is, we suppose, but little difference of opinion as to his peculiar fitness to be given into the hands of a young scholar, as the first author, after having gone through the Latin Reader. We recommend this book so much the more, as we possess a very good English edition, taken from the best German of J. H. Bremi. With respect to a collection of poetical pieces, a step has been made towards this by the publication of several books containing easy extracts or larger parts of some poets. Although these publications may be exceptionable in some respects, they are proofs of a very laudable desire to enlarge the field to be traversed by the beginner, before hurrying him on, unprepared and unfit both as to the knowledge of the language and susceptibility for poetical beauty, to the sublimest productions of Latin poetical literature.

Thus we have given a short, but we hope distinct and intelligible sketch of that which we think ought to be done in the first period of instruction in the Latin language. We shall state in a few words, what we expect to be accomplished by this course of study, though it may be inferred from the exposition of the course itself. As to understanding an author, the scholar ought to be able to translate, parse, and explain, any of the easier biographies of *Nepos*, and as to writing Latin, he ought to translate an easy piece, of one or two octavo pages, without any mistake in grammar, and all those rules of syntax which we have mentioned above.

Thus prepared, the scholar will enter with advantage upon the *second period* of his instruction, the characteristic of which we give by stating it to be destined for the translating and interpretation of authors. As in the first period, grammar in its whole extent was the main object, and translating a means for that end, so in this the understanding of particular authors is the principal object, to which a thorough knowledge of the first principles of grammar, acquired in the previous period, is subservient.

In translating, a literal translation should always be the object, for such an one alone serves to increase the knowledge of the language to be acquired. We are well aware that translations are

frequently used for forming the style in the mother tongue. So far from objecting to this practice, we highly applaud it, provided that the principle and object of either exercise be distinguished. In the former, a correct and accurate expression of what is given in the original, is expected; in the latter, a correct and elegant essay, without a very strict adherence to the original. Still, even with respect to the English style, such a close translation, however awkward in the outset, is by far more instructive than another; for it obliges the scholar to search his whole store of words and phrases, which he would be less apt to do, if not confined to a given idea.

Before we enter more particularly upon a sketch of what is to be accomplished in this period, it will be found appropriate to give a few principles as to the right interpretation of ancient authors, and of Latin authors in particular. There is but one method, though many receive two, a cursory and thorough one; and that one is to explain what requires explanation; if there is little requiring explanation, the reading will, of course, be a cursory one; if there is much, the reading must be slow, or it will be useless, if not injurious, accustoming the mind to be satisfied with a superficial and imperfect knowledge. To explain difficult words and constructions, illustrate the meaning of a passage, where the ideas or their connexion are obscure, short explanations from the departments of mythology, geography, and history, or from the manners, customs, or arts of the ancients, to awaken the sense for the beautiful, noble, and good, and to exercise the judgment, all these are the principal parts of a thorough interpretation. Nothing is more useless than to confine oneself to a mere translation; however an important part of the whole it may be, still it is only a part. There are few portions in the ancient writers, a translation, even an accurate translation, of which, conveys a perfect understanding, unless aided by additional explanations. A thoughtless reading on, does not accomplish what it pretends, and destroys all spirit of self inquiry and independence.

Another error is to look for the spirit of the ancients, neglecting the minutiae as they are called. However specious such a method may be, it lays the axe at the root of a thorough classical education. Any language is, after all, but the form in which ideas are embodied; no one can take hold of these without analyzing that; and though a correct knowledge of the form may be an indifferent object in itself, it ceases to be such, as soon as we perceive that it is the only means, by which we can possess ourselves of the spirit. If this is true in general, how much more in the classical languages, where spirit and body are so closely interwoven, that it is equally impossible to analyze their structure without feeling the breath of grandeur which pervades

the whole, or to search after a spirit which has principally revealed itself in this form. If we want any practical illustrations of the truth of this, history affords them in large number. The greatest philologists arrived at a perfect understanding of the spirit of the ancients by a careful examination of these very minutiae. We owe to a care extending to things apparently trifling, the restoration or purification of *Tacitus* in many passages by *Lipsius*, of *Horace* by *Bentley*, of *Virgil* by *Heyne*; and no one will be bold enough to deny that these great men had deeply penetrated into the spirit, as well as the letter of the ancients. In addition to this, the effect of so accurate a mode of proceeding upon the character, is equally beneficial; for a habit of exerting himself, sense of methodical order, and love for a continued useful occupation, will be produced in the scholar.

All explanation of authors extends to matter and language. It is of importance to bear constantly in mind that the language is still our chief object, and that all other things are only means for this end. Without this distinction, both the instructor and scholar will find themselves involved in a chaos from which neither is likely to find an outlet. All unnecessary digressions ought therefore carefully to be avoided; nevertheless, the explanations of things referring to ancient history, geography, mythology, and antiquities, will be so numerous, and require so much time and attention, if they are expected to answer their purpose, that the danger is great, if not unavoidable, of losing sight of the main object, advancing the knowledge of the language. The only expedient to meet this danger, since the various references to historical, geographical and other subjects require explanation, if the understanding of the author himself be not impaired, is to separate those branches of the science of antiquity, and communicate them in short courses to the scholar, not undertaking deep researches into the dark recesses of antiquity, but merely giving what will be sufficient to understand the difficult allusions in the authors.

Even after a slight examination, it will be discovered that such an arrangement is attended by two very important advantages. In the first place, a passage containing a subject relating to those different branches, will then require nothing else than a recalling to memory of what is known from other lessons, and the course of the main instruction will not be so frequently interrupted, nor the attention of the scholar too much diverted from what ought always to be the chief object. The other advantage derived from such an arrangement is equally important, if not more so, than the one just mentioned.

An occasional explanation of historical, geographical, mythological, or similar subjects, however satisfactory to one who is acquainted with these various branches of philological science,

will never convey a correct and distinct idea of the whole extent of those subjects to the beginner, and without this distinct idea of the whole, the particulars cannot but be exposed to continual misconceptions. One or two examples will best illustrate our meaning. The instructor may be very careful, wherever the name of a country, town, river, or mountain, is mentioned, to tell where these different objects are situated, with other remarks to convey a clear idea of them to the scholar; but all this will never create a correct conception, even of one country, or its relation to the neighbouring countries. In reading the description of Livy, of the march of Hannibal into Italy, the beauty of it is destroyed by constant interruptions to explain the geographical particulars, and, after all, it is very doubtful whether the scholar is better off than Theseus; he has gone through a labyrinth, but he knows as much about it after as before. Or take a historical subject, the ode of Horace, mentioning the death of Cato; such a passage cannot be understood, and still less enjoyed, without some knowledge of the circumstances which induced Cato to prefer death to life. To make an intelligible exposition of these circumstances, requires a digression which evidently draws the attention from the principal object, not to speak of the diminution of pleasure, if a perfect understanding of a passage, that ought to burst at once on the mind of the reader, must be purchased at the expense of such tedious digressions. The beauty of such an ode as we have mentioned, cannot be comprehended in this manner.

We could easily multiply these examples, to prove the necessity of separating these subjects, and giving a separate but very concise course of geography and other auxiliary branches. It would lead us too far, to advance our opinions as to the character of such a course; suffice it to say, that one point ought always to be borne in mind, that these branches are only the means and not the end, and that it cannot possibly be the intention to exhaust the subjects of which they treat. When that which is at present our sole object is attained, knowledge of the language and acquaintance with the literature of the Romans, then the mutual relation of these sciences and the language will be changed; that which was object will become means, and the means will change into objects; then the study of the language will be continued for the sake of extending the knowledge in these various sciences. But this is something extraneous to our present undertaking. We may congratulate ourselves, that our literature is gradually enlarging with regard to these auxiliary topics of philology. As to history, the valuable work of *Heeren* has lately been presented to us in an English translation; and in ancient geography, two scholars of a southern university, have

furnished a work which we have not yet had a chance of examining, but which will, we trust, have taken advantage of the many discoveries and improvements made in this science. This branch of ancient geography may, with the greatest advantage, follow the study of modern geography; a comparison of both, will serve to impress each more deeply on the memory, and will contribute much towards clearness.

After this necessary digression, as to the treatment of the auxiliary branches, we return to our subject. The natural development of literature, will afford us the means of dividing this period into *four parts*, which we shall call the *poetical, historical, rhetorical, and philosophical*. If we observe the development of the Greek literature, one of the few which grew up of themselves, like healthy trees, until they had reached their full size, we perceive the same progress. *Homer* was followed by *Herodotus*, and *Plato* and *Aristotle*, with their schools, succeeded the long series of orators which had its consummation in *Demosthenes*. It is true, that the development of the Latin literature, is not so natural, because it was, in many parts, a foreign production, imported, not spontaneously springing up in its native soil; yet mankind at large, in developing their taste, pass through these same different stages.

We do not mean, however, that these four parts or classes should be strictly separated, but only that the principal object and direction of each, should thereby be expressed. During the first space, not poetry alone ought to be read, but it should constitute the leading subject; nor do we mean to exclude poetry from the second or following classes, but historical works, then rhetorical, and lastly, philosophical will claim the greater part of the time and attention.

Imagination is that power of the mind which develops itself, next to memory, earlier than any other; and for this reason it is natural to offer to the scholar, principally that branch of literature which will afford nourishment for this faculty, and serve to cultivate and purify it. The history of nations has been frequently compared with the life of individuals, both having their childhood, youth, manhood, and old age. However open to objection this opinion may be in many respects, it is true as to the relation in which the different branches of poetry stand to the different degrees of susceptibility in man for their beauty. This plain hint of nature at once points out the course which we have to pursue. The three great departments of poetry, *epic, lyric, and dramatic*, which succeeded one another, and developed themselves one out of the other (as we see so plainly in the literature of that nation which has not yet been equalled by any other in the natural development of its literary powers) are to

be investigated in the same order in which nature has arranged them.

This principle indicates to us not only the poet, but even the particular work of that poet, which ought to introduce the young scholar into the rich garden of Latin poetry. It is the *Æneid* of *Virgil*. We make here a remark which is applicable to the reading of many authors besides *Virgil*. The poem which we have mentioned as being peculiarly fitted to commence with, is too extensive to be read entirely in the school. It cannot be the object to read all that is worth reading, but to read those authors, and those parts of authors, best calculated to introduce the scholar into the spirit of the language and peculiarity of the work, and to propound them in such a manner as to secure that end, and to leave it to private industry to read the rest, which after such an introduction and thorough acquaintance with those parts of an author that require a careful interpretation, will leave but few and trifling difficulties to puzzle the scholar. In proportion as the scholar advances in the field of knowledge, this field extends, and it becomes a palpable impossibility, both for instructor and scholar, to run it over together; instruction becomes more and more a direction only how to study, but it can no longer exhaust the subject as in the commencement. Happily, in proportion as the subject enlarges, and time decreases, the mind of the scholar matures, and, by a thorough perusal of a few best selected portions of an author, is enabled to master the rest. To run over a whole poem of twelve cantos, in so short a space as is commonly allotted to the reading of this poem, cannot be accomplished except at the expense of thoroughness. We shall not prescribe what portions of the *Æneid* ought to be read. Those which are distinguished for their beauty so as to attract, and for their difficulty so as to require explanation, are so numerous, that a judicious instructor will meet with but little impediment in making a proper selection. The only thing we insist upon is, to change, and not explain continually the same portions. Although the same scholar cannot earn the immediate advantages arising from such changes, the instructor will perceive that his interest is always kept awake, and infuses a life and vigour into his instruction, the best remedy against dullness and pedantry, the most common and injurious sin of classical teaching.

We have already hinted, that although we assign this part of the second period chiefly to the reading of a poet, it is by no means our intention to exclude prose-writers; on the contrary, we insist decidedly on the thorough reading of a good prose-writer, and principally for this reason. The knowledge of the language is, in this stage, yet slender; the scholar must be supposed to be yet unable to distinguish correctly between

poetical and prosaic style, so that he would receive a very imperfect image of the Latin language, if it was solely derived from a poet, since it is from prose-writers that a correct knowledge of the structure of a language, especially the Latin, is to be gained.

To this end we recommend *Livy*. We choose a historian, because history is that department which possesses, next to poetry, the greatest attraction to youthful minds; nay, in many instances, gains an ascendancy over poetry in the affection of the young scholar; and we choose *Livy* in preference to any other, because he is unrivalled by any other Roman historian, as to correctness and elegance of language, both which characteristics have given, and always will give, him a place next to Cicero; freedom from all mannerism, a lucid and never-tedious narrative, abstaining from all inferences beyond the capacity of a young reader, and the all-engrossing interest of the subject itself. Although time has dealt roughly with this author, and the years of barbarism accompanying and succeeding the decline and fall of the Roman empire, have left us but thirty-five books out of one hundred and forty-two, yet even these few remnants are so voluminous, that a selection becomes a matter of necessity. We cannot refrain from tendering our protest against the selection of the first five books of this author, in common use in our country. The first book alone ought to be read, and then single portions of the second half of the first decade, but especially the beginning of the third decade, the account of the second Punic war.

So much as to authors to be read. Some of the smaller philosophical treatises of Cicero, such as those on Friendship and Old Age, afford indeed so few difficulties as to the language, that they might be read at this period with great advantage, if the train of reasoning was not so extensive as to exhaust the perseverance of a young scholar. In addition to a thorough perusal and interpretation of these authors, we recommend the continuation of the exercises commenced in the preceding period, namely that of making occasionally written translations of particularly fine and interesting passages, and frequent translations from the English into Latin of the portions read. The latter exercise is so much more useful, as the Latin style of the scholar himself becomes more and more a matter of importance; it is to be improved by a close observation of the Latin idioms in the best authors, until it is brought as near to its consummation, which is to be hoped for from a thorough understanding of the prose of Cicero, as the natural ability of the scholar, or the difficulty of obtaining perfect mastery of a dead language will permit. And what author can contribute more towards this end than *Livy*, with his sentences and periods so pure and polished!

The class characterized above as the *historical*, follows next ; Livy would be succeeded by *Sallust*. We think that few reflecting men will object to this order. The principal difficulty of Sallust does not lie in his style, though this is frequently so concise as to approach to obscurity, but in the philosophical manner in which he treats his subject. By far the greatest part of it is beyond the capacity of youths at that age when they usually read Sallust ; and to choose single easy parts only, is rendered difficult, if not impossible, by the coherency in narrative and reasoning which distinguishes this author. These considerations, we trust, will justify us in assigning to him a place after Livy, when the scholar has not only acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language not to be puzzled by his abrupt and sententious style, but also such a maturity of understanding, as to follow the author in his deep philosophical views of the political state of his country and the nature of man. If we thought it necessary to support our opinion by authority, we would quote Quintilian (ii. 5. 18 and 19 :) "*Quod si potuerit obtineri, non ita difficilis supererit questio, qui legendi sint incipientibus. Nam quidam illos minores, quia facilius eorum intellectus videbatur, probaverunt ; alii floridius genus ut ad alenda primarum ætatum ingenia magis accommodatum. Ego optimos quidem, et statim et semper, sed tamen eorum candidissimum quemque et maxime expositum velim, ut Livium a pueris magis quam Sallustium ; et hic historię major est auctor, ad quem tamen intelligendum jam profectum opus sit.*" In some instances, it may be desirable to read only a part of Sallust ; in this case we should give the preference to the *Bellum Catilinarium* over the *Bellum Jugurthinum*, on account of the greater polish of the former, and on account of the subject giving the most lucid representation of the period immediately preceding the occurrence of the civil convulsions that shook the constitution of Rome to its foundation, and terminated in a complete overthrow of the republican principle and spirit.

At this period, we would recommend an exercise which we have always found extremely useful. It cannot be denied, that in choosing an author whom it requires the whole energy of the scholar to master, the progress will be necessarily slow, and the attention principally directed to particulars, and yet it is desirable that the scholar should accustom himself to observe and follow an author in his plan at large, as well as to understand all the single parts which constitute the whole. For this reason, we propose the reading of one or several authors, in a manner which is generally termed *cursory*, which brings the single parts before the mind in so much shorter a time, that it is comparatively easy to examine the structure of a whole literary production, and to

learn that from the ancients, in which they are still unrivalled, to draw the outlines of a work in such correct proportions, that the work, when filled up and polished, may form one harmonious whole. But since we are irreconcilably opposed to superficial reading, we choose for this exercise writers, who, through their facility of language and simplicity of subject, afford but few, if any difficulties. The beginning in this exercise might be made with reading, a second time, writers that have been read at an earlier period, as some of the finest biographies of *Nepos*, and then to go over to new ones, among which the commentaries of *Cæsar* would occupy one of the first places; but there are many suitable for this mode of reading, *Eutropius*, *Justinus*, *Florus*, *Paterculus*, *Curtius*. This exercise will be, at the same time, the best preparation for the course to be pursued in the third period, of which we shall speak hereafter.

As to poetry, the reading of the *Æneid* should be continued to that point, at which it might be safely left to the private study of the scholar, being thoroughly initiated in this greatest of all Latin epic poems, and second only to one. Then the *Eclogues*, and select portions of the *Georgics*, might be subjoined. There is no advantage to be derived from hastening through such an author as *Virgil*. Though it would be out of place to recommend the example of *Holdsworth*, who devoted his whole literary life to the study of this single poet, yet it is equally wrong to dismiss an author, so rich in every respect, in too short a time.

In proportion as the knowledge of the language increases and gains solidity, the exercise of translating back into Latin, will be of less importance, but all the time gained in this way, ought to be given to writing Latin. As a good preparatory exercise towards making Latin compositions, we consider translations of modern Latinists very useful. It is not to be concealed from any one familiar with the works written in Latin, that the language is a different one from that of the Romans, though the same words, the same constructions, the same formation of sentences and periods, are used. The reason is, the antique spirit has disappeared. To write as *Cicero* wrote is impossible, because our life is a different one; we cannot think and feel as *Cicero* thought and felt; but some have succeeded in imitating the form of the language of *Cicero*, as far as moderns can imitate it without its spirit, and it will be well for us to learn by their experience, to understand the best way of dressing modern ideas, which we cannot prevent from influencing us, as little as we can transfer ourselves at once to a situation different from that which we actually occupy, or wear gracefully an antique garment. The number of good Latinists is not great, but still extensive enough for our purpose; a collection from the most suitable

works of these writers, from *Galitian* down to *Fr. A. Wolf*, in a translation not too free, would be a valuable addition to our school books. Besides these two mentioned, we would recommend *Peter Bembo*, distinguished especially by his *Epistolæ Leonis X. nomine Scriptæ*; *Jacobus Sadeletus*, likewise a good epistler; *Lazarus Nonamicus*, *Paulus Manutius*, the son of the renowned printer *Aldus Manutius*, in Venice; *Marcus Antonius Muretus*, the paragon of modern Latinity, a native of France, (the village of Muret, near Limoges,) all whose works, but especially his letters and orations, ought to be studied by every scholar of Latin literature; *Peter Burmann*; *Tiberius Hemsterhuys*; *Jacobus Facciolati*, under whose direction *Ægidius Forcellini* composed the best dictionary of the Latin language which we possess, and who is especially commendable on account of his twelve orations *de optimis studiis*; *Joannes Augustus Ernesti*; *David Ruhnen*, to be mentioned here principally on account of his life of his teacher, Hemsterhuys; and *Daniel Wytttenbach*. Those who are familiar with modern Latin literature, will miss in the preceding list many great names; but, in the first place, it is not our intention to give a complete catalogue, and secondly, many, however distinguished as to learning and their influence exercised on classical studies, as *Josephus Justus Scaliger*, *Justus Lipsius*, *Joannes Gr. Gronovius*, *Joannes Georgius Grævius*, *Joannes Matthias Gessner*, and many others, are not equal to those mentioned above as to elegance and purity of style, our only criterion.

We come next to the *rhetorical class*. It is indeed a sad misfortune, that of the long series of illustrious orators of Rome, one only has been handed down to us through the many storms of time; but we may console ourselves that this one is *Cicero*. His speeches are so excellent in every respect, that they cannot be studied too carefully. A selection must, indeed, be made, but we wish that it should not be immutably fixed by such collections as are now in common use among us. Even if these collections, in themselves, were unexceptionable, this orator is too universal to be confined within limits so narrow; the instructor should continually change, and not confine himself to a few orations, however good; and although the scholar will not have time to read over the larger part of Cicero's orations, yet he will derive great advantages from his instructor's continually reviewing the whole field of Cicero's oratory. It is true, that many orations of Cicero, especially those in private causes, for or against individuals, and *de lege agraria*, contain many difficulties as to Roman laws, and other branches of Roman antiquities, but they can be mastered, if such a separate course in antiquities, as above described, has been given, and the scholar is aided by an intelli-

gent and learned instructor. A selection from the letters of Cicero will serve both as a commentary on many of his orations, and as an opportunity to become acquainted with the man in his private intercourse with his friends and acquaintances. As soon as a few orations are thoroughly interpreted, portions of the rhetorical works, especially of *de oratore* and *Brutus*, should be read, to render the scholar familiar, both practically and theoretically, with the principles and history of that art which has been, and is destined to be still more, one of the most important engines in our political life, and which is, nevertheless, far from improving as much as it might.

In addition to these works, relating to oratory, a historical writer ought to be read, and here is the proper place for *Tacitus*, in many respects the first historian, not only of the Romans, but of all succeeding nations; *Gibbon*, of the English, and *Müller*, of the Germans, have rarely equalled, and never surpassed him. There is, perhaps, no other Latin author who takes so strong a hold on the whole soul of his reader as Tacitus; he gains upon the affections, in proportion as he is understood. And here we must make the remark which we have already made, that no instructor should confine himself to a certain portion, which is never to be overstepped either by the teacher or the pupil. The loss of more than four books of the *Annals*, not to mention other defects, is severe enough. Let us not increase it by depriving our youth of an acquaintance with a considerable portion of this inestimable writer. Notwithstanding this, we must insist on reading slowly, for though his language affords, comparatively speaking, but few difficulties, yet he is so rich in ideas, that almost every word, certainly every sentence, claims a thorough illustration, or, as an admirer of Tacitus expressed himself very appropriately, "much is to be read between the lines." We should be very unwilling to see this author read at an earlier period. Besides the difficulty of understanding and appreciating him, it is necessary that the scholar should have gone through a sufficiently extensive course of reading, in order to have acquired some tact at least, if not yet a distinct knowledge and consciousness of the degeneration of the language of Tacitus from that of the best era of Roman literature, that he may relish and admire the bold, nervous, and sententious style, of this hero of history, without overlooking the want of purity, both in the construction and use of words, which even his most zealous admirer cannot but acknowledge.

The exercise of translating into Latin, should be industriously continued, and gradual attempts made to compose in Latin. Historical subjects are, for this purpose, the best to begin with. The instruction in history of which we have spoken above, and his private reading, will readily supply the scholar

with matter, and his acquaintance with the best Latin historians, together with his practice of translating, with the form for these essays. We take this opportunity to warn both instructors and scholars, against a mistake very common in English instruction, and which is still more preposterous in Latin; we mean the selection of subjects on which the scholars are to write. There is no greater injury done to the growth of the mind, than by making youths write on subjects of which they cannot possess a sufficient information. The object of this exercise is to learn how to express ideas in the best manner. If any other subject is chosen, than that of which the scholar can have acquired a certain knowledge or opinion, he will be accustomed to be superficial, to neglect what he should say, and to mind only how he is to write; to be satisfied, if he has joined together a series of high sounding words and sentences.

We preserve the reading of *Horace*, for this class. Although Horace was, during his own life and for some time afterwards, little esteemed and known, as *Meierotto*, a profound classical scholar of Germany has shown, (in a dissertation *de rebus ad auctores quosdam classicos pertinentibus*,) yet it cannot be denied, that his excellencies assign him the first place among the lyric poets, at least of the Romans, and for this reason he has always occupied a conspicuous place among the authors commonly read in schools, and he will, as long as the Latin language and its literature will continue to have their votaries. It is apparent to every one who looks even on the form of the lines alone, that there is a great variety of metre. Considering that the ancients never used a particular form without a sufficient reason, we must set out with the conviction, that these various metres are by no means a matter of indifference. We must not think that the beauty of a poem of Horace may be enjoyed without a knowledge of its metrical structure, as well as with it. It is otherwise, although there are in every ode of Horace, beauties, independent of the metre. We have a variety of systems to arrange and classify the metres of Horace, some of which distinguish themselves for their facility and simplicity. But if we consider that the whole of ancient prosody, both Greek and Latin, is built upon the same principles, the advantage of choosing a system formed on these principles, will be at once apparent, and although such a system may, in the commencement, appear complicated, yet in the end it will prove simple, and a great means to master the more difficult metres of Greek lyric and dramatic poets. What the great *Bentley* has done for *Terence*, a German scholar has done for the whole of prosody, we mean *Godfr. Hermann*, whose work (*Elementa doctrinæ metricæ*) ought to be in the hands of every classical

scholar who is desirous to advance beyond the most common rudiments. The original work, which appeared in 1816, in a new shape, is written in Latin, and thus accessible to all scholars; a compendium of it is written in German, a translation of which would be a valuable acquisition to our classical school books.

When such a knowledge is obtained, and by frequent practice, both in reading and composing verses, improved so far that the graceful dance-like movement of a Horatian ode may be felt and enjoyed, by any ear not entirely closed to the charms of music and rhyme; every ode ought to be read at once without stopping at the particulars, in order to receive a full impression, which would be otherwise lost. Every ode is a whole, rounded off and perfect in itself, and an image of it as a whole ought to be received first in the mind. We do not deny that a considerable knowledge of the language is required for this purpose; but this knowledge will exist, if Horace is read at that period which we have assigned to him. When this first impression is made, which undoubtedly will be a deep one, then a second reading may be devoted to the particulars. A poem of Horace is like a piece of architecture, which must be at first beheld at a suitable distance, to perceive its outlines and the correctness of its proportions; but then you may approach and enjoy the single beauties, which are in Horace as abundant and various, as the whole is pure and chaste. The first reading will show us the point of view in which Horace took his subject; a subsequent examination will acquaint us with the execution.

These few remarks refer to Horace as a lyric poet, but he is also a didactic one, and how perfect as such! As the lyric poems of Horace place before us a rich flower-garden of Greek poetry, so we possess in his other works, the finest specimens of that branch of Latin literature, the satirical, which is the peculiar production of the Romans, and which is indeed stamped with the mark of originality; the epistles and satires of Horace, are truly Roman, and as such, no less to be prized, than for their intrinsic value. The instructor should direct the attention of his scholar to the gradual improvement of Horace in his writings, if not as to originality of invention, and freshness and power of thought, at least as to purity and polish of language, and smoothness of versification.

The *last* of the four classes into which we divided the second period, is the *philosophical*. The Latin literature in the department of philosophy, although inferior in almost every respect to the Greek of the same department, especially in the philosophy of the mind, is yet so extensive as to render a judicious selection not only desirable but necessary. The first writer who claims

our particular attention in this department, as well as in the rhetorical, is *Cicero*. Portions of the *Quæstiones Tusculanæ* should be read, and, if possible, the whole of *De Natura Deorum*, *De Officiis*, and *De Republica*, which, being the production of an accomplished and experienced statesman, ought to be in the hands of every American who has enjoyed a classical education. The pure language, and the well-formed periods of this writer, will offer but few difficulties; more attention ought to be paid to the art of composition, the arrangement of ideas, and the strictness of reasoning, distinguishing all ancient writers, but none more than *Cicero*.

We wish that the larger portion of time should be devoted to *Cicero*, and much less to *Quintilian*, in fact so much only as to initiate the scholar, in some measure, in the spirit of this writer, and still less to *Seneca*. After a thorough study of *Cicero*, both as an orator and philosopher, the two authors last mentioned will afford not many difficulties, and may with propriety be left to the private study of the scholar. For we remind our readers once more of a remark already made, that instruction at this stage, cannot be any thing else but a direction and assistance for the private exertions of the student. Few and scanty will the fruits be, which are obtained from what has been done in the school, if not united with private exertions.

With reference to poetry, the natural development of this art will lead us, having formed an acquaintance, and, it is to be hoped, familiarity, with the best epic and lyric poets of Rome, to its consummation, the *drama*. But here even the most enthusiastic admirer of Roman genius, in all its works, must acknowledge the immeasurable inferiority of the Romans to their prototypes the Greeks; a decisive argument, if there was need of any, that poetry was, with almost the single exception of satire, but an exotic plant in the rough soil of the mistress of the earth. Nevertheless, since we study and judge of Latin literature, not by comparison, but as the interesting relick of the intellectual life of one of the greatest nations that history exhibits, we should extend our study even to this province, and a familiar acquaintance with it, will induce us to differ from the sentence of unqualified condemnation pronounced by *F. A. Schlegel*, and some other over-zealous advocates of the Greek drama.

To begin with *tragedy*, we think it advisable to read one or two plays of those which commonly go under the name of *Seneca*. It cannot be our object to enter into a critical inquiry as to the author or authors of these tragedies, nor as to their relative worth, except as far as is necessary to guide us in making a choice. That which is first on the list, *Hercules Furens*, is one of the best, if not really the best, though it shares the defects common to all—extravagance and bombast. For this reason, and because it forms

an interesting point of comparison with the *Ἡρακλῆς μαινομένος* of *Euripides*, it may be recommended as a fair specimen of Latin tragedy. There can be no doubt that the author imitates Euripides, but he did it with understanding, and avoided one mistake especially; Euripides has evidently two actions in his play, the former terminating with the death of Lycus, the latter beginning with that which is in Seneca's the commencement, the determination of Juno to deprive Hercules of his senses, and, in this state, make him the murderer of his own children. It is true that there are other faults which are not to be found in Euripides; one of the greatest of which is the long descriptions, which are not only too long, but almost superfluous, being also misplaced. Another play of this collection, which we would recommend, is *Octavia*, and this for no other reason, than because it leaves the heroic era, and, contrary to the character of almost all Greek tragedies, has a subject out of the very age to which the author belongs. *Octavia* is the daughter of Claudius, married by him to Nero, but repudiated by the latter, exiled to Pandateria, and put to death.

We shall meet with a richer harvest, if we turn to the field of *Latin comedy*. Mythology, the store-house of ancient tragedy, had lost its charm and hold on the minds of the people. Tragedies, which were a religious festival with the Greeks, could be no longer so with the Romans, among whom, infidelity on the one side, and philosophy on the other, had undermined the foundation of their ancient religion. Not so as to comedy. It is true, the Romans have no specimen of the *ancient* comedy, but so much richer a store of the *new*; of *Terence* we have six, and of the hundred and thirty which went, at the time of Gellius, under the name of *Plautus*, and of the twenty-one which the Roman critic, *Varro*, declares to be authentic, twenty have outlived the ravages of time. The opinions of the Romans themselves are divided as to the value of their comic writers. However this may be, these remains have an importance for us which they could not have in the same degree for the Romans, exhibiting almost the only specimens of familiar language, of the language of conversation. This constitutes certainly a valuable part of the literature of a people which has, many centuries ago, ceased to exist. Besides this, Terence has a great merit with us as being, even according to the testimony of *Julius Cæsar*, a good copy of *Menander*. The choice among the six plays of Terence is not easy, there being no great difference in excellence, nor any other circumstances which might decide in favour of one or several plays. Two at least ought to be read; and among those of Plautus the *Captivi* is not to be passed by.

In this class, free Latin compositions should altogether take the place of translations into Latin, with regard to the different

kinds of style. The four principal kinds of style, the historical, the epistolary, that peculiar to dissertation, and the rhetorical, should be sketched in a few but distinct outlines, and the scholar exercised in composing in all of them. After having taken such a view of the best writers in every branch, as we have in the preceding pages laid before our readers, a scholar of moderate ability will be able to obtain that facility of expressing himself in Latin which we here require. To carry this exercise to a greater extent, and imitate the style of single writers, whatever may be said for or against doing so, must be left to the inclination of individuals, whether they wish to imitate a *Freinsheim*, who ventured to supply the lost books of *Curcius* and *Livy*, or *Jacob Balde*, a learned Jesuit, at the time of the thirty years' war, who not only published a very extensive collection of Latin poems of all descriptions, but even a piece in the old Italian language, (*Lingua Osca*.)

Thus we have finished our survey of what is to be accomplished in the second period of Latin instruction, by far the most extensive, and of course requiring a corresponding portion of time. We hasten now to the *third* and last period. We characterized the first period by the term grammatical, and believe we have made ourselves sufficiently intelligible as to the task to be performed in it. The same end we strove to attain in describing the second period, at the completion of which the scholar ought, indeed, to be furnished with a thorough knowledge of the Latin language as contained in those works, which the unanimous judgment of all competent judges has pronounced the classical. But one step is yet remaining. As the first period served as an instrument to solve the problem of the second, a thorough understanding of the best authors of all branches of Latin literature, so the second is again a preparation for that which is to be accomplished in the third, and upon the consideration of which we shall now enter.

In the preceding period, we considered the interpretation of the different authors independently, and wished to obtain a full understanding of them individually. But as a single author is only one link in the chain of a literature, so we must rise one step higher, and extend our view; we must behold him in relation to his age, to those who preceded and followed him; in one word, we must comprise the whole field of Latin literature, and survey it in a historical manner.

The opportunities for such a course are indeed scanty, since we mean it should consist not so much in a history of Latin literature, as in a practical review of all that is memorable in the long series of Latin writers. Wherever time has deprived us of the works of distinguished authors, a short sketch, derived from the most authentic sources, may serve to convey some idea of

his works, their merits and faults, and their influence on the literature at large; but where we have no occasion to lament such chasms and voids, select short portions, calculated to give the most exact image of the character of the writer in question, should be read, with the necessary introduction, to place the scholar in a point of view whence he may behold and examine the author with his own eyes. This is what we denominated a practical review of Latin literature, but this is, at the same time, that department where we are entirely destitute of the necessary literary means. A collection of passages from those authors which are not read in the second period, especially of the poets, chosen and arranged with this view, is a great desideratum.

The oldest monuments of Roman literature, if we may call it so, are the fragments of the laws of the twelve tables, the composition of which is fixed in the year 303 and 304 of the city, or the year 450 and 451 before Christ. After this, there is a great blank in the literary history of Rome, until the period succeeding the second Punic war, which terminated in the year 201 before Christ, a space of nearly 250 years. At that time the Greek language and literature began to be known and admired in Rome, and this circumstance is to be borne in mind. In the same degree as the study and imitation of the Greek master works quickened the development of the Latin literature, it was the principal impediment to its developing itself naturally and originally. It was at this time that the Roman dialect (*sermo urbanus*), superseded all other dialects, and under the influence of the Greek, became the written language. The dramatical attempts of *Livius Andronicus*, *Marcus Pacuvius*, and *Lucius Attius*, in tragedy, as well as of *Cn. Nævius*, (who is said to have made an experiment to transplant the ancient Greek comedy to the Roman soil, but failed entirely,) *Plautus* and *Terence*, in comedy, are all more or less close imitations of Greek patterns. The same spirit of imitation guided the Romans in their epic poetry. From *Ennius*, of whose numerous works we have but very scanty fragments, but who evidently exercised a powerful influence upon the improvement of the Latin language, and was, together with *Livius Andronicus*, the first who introduced the hexameter into their epic poetry, down to *Claudian*, all the epic poets are imitators of the great author of the *Iliad*. Both these species of poetry, the dramatic and epic, had never been elements of the national life of the Romans; we need not wonder, then, that all their productions in this form, wanted freshness and originality—they were the effects of luxury, not of a healthy nature. Notwithstanding these necessary defects, portions of the *Pharsalia* of *Lucan*, (especially the descriptions of characters in the first, second, fifth, and eighth books, and speeches in the first, second, and seventh, which are very good;) of the

Argonauticon of *Valerius Flaccus*; of the *Punica* of *Silius Italicus*, who did not even go to the fountain head of epic poetry, but was content to imitate Virgil; of the *Thebais* and *Achilleis* of *Statius*, and lastly of *Claudian*, ought to be read. The poem, *de nuptiis Honorii et Mariæ*, especially the introduction to it, (*in nuptias Honorii et Mariæ præfatio*,) is a fair specimen of the power of *Claudian*. The *Panegyris in Probinus et Olybrii fratrum consulatum*, or the *Panegyris de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, are striking instances of the mean adulation and flattery; as well as *liber secundus in Rufinum*, or *liber primus et secundus in Eutropium*, of the virulent defamation, to which the noble muse of the epos had degenerated. It is, however, worth noticing, that the pieces mentioned last, are the most powerful of this poet.

Of the *fabulæ Attelanzæ* (*Livius vii. 2.*), a species of drama between tragedy and comedy, not even a fragment is left us; which is to be lamented so much the more, as these plays, both composed and performed by free-born youths, would afford us a deeper insight in the Roman genius in this department. But we may congratulate ourselves that we have a rich compensation for this loss in the abundant relics of a species of poetry nearly related to the preceding, the satire. Of the first attempts in this branch, indeed, of *Ennius* and *Pacuvius*, nothing has come down to us; and of the improved kind of satire by *Lucilius*, (who is said to have written 30 books of satires,) very slender fragments have reached us; but then *Horace* has been preserved to us, who, surely, indemnifies us for the loss of the poets just mentioned:

"Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico,
Tangit, et admissus circum præcordia ludit,
Callidus excusso populum suspendere naso."

These poems allow us to look deeper into the Roman character than any other, and, for this reason, the extracts from *Persius* and *Juvenal* can scarcely be too numerous.

Lyric poetry was almost the last branch which was transplanted from Greece to Rome. *Catullus*, the contemporary of Cæsar and Cicero, was soon superseded by Horace, in whom lyric poetry undoubtedly arrived at the pinnacle of perfection, and by *Tibullus* and *Propertius*. Of *Tibullus* we would recommend of lib. i. the eighth and tenth elegy, of lib. ii. the second, of lib. iii. the first, second, third, and fifth, of lib. iv. the fourth, fifth, eleventh, and fifteenth. We put *Propertius*, the greatest of all Roman elegiac poets, among the lyric poets, because it would carry us too far to mention the subdivisions of poetry. Whatever selection may be made from this poet, the eleventh of the third book, *Cornelia to Paulus*, should not be omitted. Some pieces of the *Sylva* of *Statius*, will serve to show the gradual decline

of lyric poetry, which was accelerated with the progress of time. That which had been the element of antique poetry, mythology, and religion, national manners and patriotism, was rapidly disappearing, or had already disappeared. In vain were the exertions of *Ausonius* and others, to retain and perpetuate the form of ancient poetry, the spirit of which had vanished. Though a man of learning, he was destitute of creative genius, so that *Heyne* justly remarks in speaking of him and his poems; "*Ausonii carmina a poetica vi, ingenii aliqua felicitate, sententiarum novitate multum absunt. Versificatoris nomen ei concesseris, non poetæ.*"

These exertions to resuscitate what had outlived itself, were so much more vain, as a new powerful spirit was stirring, which was first to prostrate the remnants of ancient Paganism, and build on its ruins a new edifice; we mean Christianity. Matter, form, and object were changed. No longer did national or mythological materials constitute the subject of poetry, but some of the few simple but grand ideas of Christianity; salvation, future judgment, resignation. Nationality had resigned its place to the purest cosmopolitism. The complicated structure of the antique verse gave way to rhyme, alliteration, and assonance. Poetry served no longer to gratify the taste of refined individuals, or kindle the patriotic sentiments of a nation, but to convey the prayers and praises of worshipping mankind up to heaven. However imperfect the poetical productions of this new spirit may be, if we examine them after the rules of criticism, yet they take hold of every feeling heart with a power, for which it is indeed difficult to account in the utmost simplicity of contents and forms. We add a few specimens.

From a Hymn of Prudentius.

"Jam mœsta quiesce querela!
Lacrimas suspendite, matres!
Nullus sua pignora plangat,
Mors hæc reparatio vitæ est," etc.

"*The day of wrath,*" translated into English by Roscommon.

"Dies iræ, dies illa
Solvat sæclum in favilla
Teste David cum Sybilla.
Quantus tremor est futurus,
Quando judex est venturus,
Cuncta stricte discussurus," etc.

By Jacobus de Benedictis.

"Lauda Sion salvatorem,
Lauda ducem et pastorem
In hymnis et canticis;
Quantum potes, tantum aude,
Quia major omni laude,
Nec laudare sufficis," etc.

"Stabat mater dolorosa
Juxta crucem lacrimosa,
Dum pendebat filius,
Cujus animam gementem,
Contristatam et dolentem,
Pertransivit gladius," etc.

We have run over, hastily, some of the fields of Latin literature, for the purpose of illustrating our ideas. Each of them should be followed out, beginning from its first appearance to its termination. If this has been done in such a manner as to have the judgment of the scholar unbiassed, which indeed depends chiefly upon a judicious selection of the passages intended to set forth, in a few touches, the character of the author, then the scholar will have obtained a correct general view of the whole extent of Latin literature, and be enabled to continue his private studies to advantage; the shelves, as it were, being prepared whereupon to deposite his classical stores in a systematic order.

By pursuing the plan sketched in the preceding pages, that will be accomplished, which we think instruction ought to accomplish. It ought to furnish the scholar with a thorough knowledge of the language, so as to enable him to read and write it correctly and easily; with a familiar acquaintance with its best works in the various departments; and with such a general knowledge of its literature as to know its extent; its riches and defects; its rise and its decline. To read all authors, or even the larger proportion, can never be the object of the school of instruction. Even if it were possible, it would be unreasonable. There are but few, whom their calling or inclination invites to enter on so extensive a course, and even to these the perusal of many authors will be a matter of curiosity rather than advantage.

ART. IV.—*Encyclopædia Americana: a Popular Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature, History, Politics, and Biography, brought down to the present times, including a copious Collection of Original Articles in American Biography, on the basis of the Seventh Edition of the German Conversations-Lexicon. Edited by FRANCIS LIEBER, assisted by E. WIGGLESWORTH. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Carey; 1829. Vol. I. pp. 616.*

CONSIDERING the variety of subjects the elder Pliny treats, in the work which has escaped the wreck of his other scientific and

literary labours, his *Natural History* may be deemed the earliest attempt at an *Encyclopædia*; and so it has been termed by the justice of a more learned age. Astronomy, pure mathematics, natural philosophy, botany, mineralogy, various branches of the medical science, mechanical, as well as elegant arts, and agriculture: such was the vast compass of his researches; and he has shed a vivid light over each of these wide and yet barren departments, by the deep insight of his powerful and scrutinizing mind, and a happy talent of describing not only minutely, but forcibly and graphically, every object he examined or contemplated. The declamatory tone, and the occasional obscurities for which he has been censured by La Harpe, cannot essentially diminish the merits of a naturalist, who was contemporary with Vespasian; the less, as he bears, in the opinion of the same critic, a comparison with Buffon, with no other inferiority, in some of his descriptions, than that of refined taste. But Pliny's *Natural History* has, above all, the unparalleled merit of showing the progress Science and the Arts had made, down to the period at which he wrote, and certainly so far it deserves, at any rate, the title of an *Encyclopædia*.

Alfarabius, one of the great lights of the Bagdad School, is said to have enriched the tenth century with an *Encyclopædia*, which, on account of a systematic subdivision of the various branches of knowledge, might be more justly compared to works of the same denomination, belonging to the literary history of the 16th and 17th centuries. Nothing, however, is known of this work, except the notice Casiri gives of it in his *Bibliotheca Arabico-hispana Escorialensis*.

Alstedius, a professor of philosophy and protestant divine, established at Herborn and Weissemberg, and whose principal literary merit has been expressed by the anagram of his name, "*Sedulitas*," published in 1620, a work in which he laid the basis of one worthy to be styled an *Encyclopædia*, and this appeared ten years afterwards, in two folio volumes. Esteemed by his contemporaries, mentioned with respect by Leibnitz, it is the chief title by which Alstedius is remembered, and it is some reproach to the authors of a recent *Encyclopædia*, that his name should be omitted. Neither he nor Alfarabius is mentioned in the work under review.

A century elapsed before a step was made towards the production of a work, exhibiting the whole circle of knowledge, in the form of a dictionary, although dictionaries of technical terms, and explanatory of particular sciences, had been long known. The *Lexicon Technicum* of Dr. Harris, the two first volumes of which were published in 1706, was the first advance towards a real *Encyclopædia*, inasmuch as it not only explained the terms of art, but the arts themselves. Still, the subjects of which it treats,

belonging mostly to the mathematical and physical sciences, it was far from fulfilling its intended purpose.

At length, in 1728, Mr. Chambers published his *Cyclopædia*, in two folio volumes, of which a fifth edition, now lying before us, was issued in 1761, with the motto:

“Floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant
Omnia nos—”

It is the first work in which knowledge is subdivided in alphabetical order, exhibiting, at the same time, the connexion and dependencies of its various branches and subdivisions. “His view,” he says, “was to consider the several matters, not only in themselves, but relatively, or as they respect each other; both to treat them as so many wholes, and as so many parts of some greater whole, their connexion with which to be pointed out by reference. So that by a course of references from generals to particulars, from premises to conclusions, from cause to effect, and *vice versa*, i. e., from more to less complex, and from less to more, a communication might be opened between the several parts of the work; and the several articles be, in some measure, replaced in their natural order of science, out of which the alphabetical order had removed them.”

Yet Chambers remained far from attaining his object, for the several ramifications are so much split, that one would seek in vain in his volumes for any thing like a substitute for separate treatises, or for more, under many heads, than short and unconnected elucidations, or mere definitions and incomplete explanations. On mathematical subjects, conclusions are given without demonstration or experimental details, and on the whole, Chambers principally excels his predecessors, by treating each science and art under a separate head, here in a general, and there in a more special point of view, connecting them by reciprocal references, real, or relating to things, or verbal and grammatical, according to a systematic division and subdivision of knowledge prefixed to the *Cyclopædia*.

Mr. Chambers's dedication of his work* to the king, begins in the style of the time: “The Arts and Sciences humbly crave audience of your majesty.—The work I here presume to lay at your Majesty's feet, is an attempt towards a survey of the republic of learning, as it stands at the beginning of your Majesty's most auspicious reign. We have here somewhat of the boundary that circumscribes our present prospects, and separates the known from the unknown parts of the intelligible world.”—Mr. Chambers intended, as he states in the advertisement to the second edition, to publish rather a new work after an improved plan.

* It would take a good portion of one of our pages, to give the whole title of the work.

But a bill was brought before Parliament, by which publishers of all improved editions would have been obliged to print the improvements separately ; and although it failed in the house of Lords, the booksellers relinquished the projected publication.

We transcribe from Mr. Napier's preface to the Supplement of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the following judicious and temperate strictures on the work of Chambers :—

“ That something was done, by this plan, to point out the links among connected subjects, disjoined by the alphabet, and to make its fortuitous distribution subservient to continued inquiry, cannot be questioned : but the inconveniences and defects, occasioned by the dismemberment of the sciences, could not possibly be remedied by any chain of references, however complete. The sciences can only be studied with effect, by being viewed in their appropriate state of unity and coherency ; and the term *Encyclopædia* cannot be applied, with propriety, to any work in which that method of treating them is not observed. Useful purposes may, no doubt, be served, by explaining the elements of a science, in the order of the alphabet : but it seems abundantly clear, that a work intended to include and to delineate the whole circle of knowledge, must fall greatly short of its professed object, if it fails to embody the truths of science, in a systematic form.”

The *Cyclopædia* was the fruit of Mr. Chambers's individual exertions, and in modern times, we remember no work which can be compared with it, for extent of learning, research and diligence, except Dr. Watts's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, the result of twenty years' labour. Five editions of it were published within eighteen years ; and it will, notwithstanding its deficiencies, ever stand as a creditable memorial of a vigorous and comprehensive mind, as a proof of literary industry, of which the epoch when it was published presents but few examples, and as the foundation, or model, of those works which we shall presently have occasion to mention.

At first, several dictionaries appeared, without any aim at a rivalry with Chambers's *Cyclopædia*, and destined only to supply the want of books of reference on mathematics and arts. Such were Barrow's *Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, in one folio volume, printed in 1751, and Owen's new and complete *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, in four octavo volumes, published in 1754, which was the first work of the kind written by several contributors, and the *Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, compiled under the direction of Rev. Henry Croker, Dr. Thomas Williams, and Mr. Samuel Clark.

Mr. Chambers's work did not produce less effect on the continent of Europe. It was translated into Italian, and was still more honoured, by becoming the basis of the French *Encyclopædia*, of which the first volume appeared in 1751. A French translation of it had been prepared for publication by Mr. Mills, an Englishman, and a German of the name of Sellius. But upon the suggestion of the Abbé Gua de Malves, it was resolved to divide the manuscript among several literati, in order to elabo-

rate the respective articles on a more extensive scale, that they might be combined into an *Encyclopædia*, at once more original, more comprehensive, and more scientific, than the English model and groundwork. The abbé having disagreed with the bookseller, in the outset of this undertaking, d'Alembert and Diderot became its principal managers. These gentlemen entered upon their task, by disdaining to publish the translation of Chambers's volumes, which, notwithstanding the merits they acknowledged it to possess, they deemed too much a mere compilation, principally from French writers, to be of any real use to their countrymen. They owned, however, at the same time, that they had distributed the translation among their coadjutors, whose co-operation it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to procure, had they not provided them with such a frame.

To correct and to extend the English *Cyclopædia*, especially in regard to science, was, however, but one and the most commendable motive of the undertaking of the two French academicians. They were animated by another impulse, which ultimately connected the execution of their enterprise with the great political conflicts of their country, and placed their names, in the opinion of not a few, among the authors of those terrible convulsions. "We shall principally endeavour," says d'Alembert in the Preface of the third volume, "to distinguish this dictionary by its philosophic spirit:" and in these few words he has revealed more, perhaps, than he meant to confess.

The history of the politico-literary *Encyclopédie*, is so curious, that we need not hesitate to detain our readers, by giving a condensed view of the various facts, scattered in a variety of memoirs, letters, and literary histories, which go to show how a scientific work may be perverted from its original end. It has often been said, that words are as powerful as actions, or as Mirabeau expressed it, "words are things:" a truth less needful, perhaps, of historical evidence, than that a literary and scientific enterprise may, with much plausibility, be considered as having been instrumental in one of the greatest political revolutions of modern times.

We hasten, however, to state, that we deem the suspicion unwarranted, that the *Encyclopædists* deliberately undertook to instigate the crimes and follies committed during the French revolution; or that, at the outset, they intended, as La Harpe asserts, to entrench themselves behind a bulwark of quartos, from which they could attack, in safety, the established authorities of church and state. It is plain enough, that an order of society, in which literary men had become a separate class, enjoying openly the privilege to assail, more or less directly, the existing institutions of their country, caressed and feared in the highest ranks of civil and ecclesiastical dignity, and by foreign sove-

reigns; to-day persecuted, vexed, exiled, or threatened, and to-morrow received with deference, or at least tolerated: it is plain, we say, that such a state of society was extremely perilous, not from the relations thus subsisting between literary men and the depositaries of political power, but from the circumstances whence such a condition arose.* The fact is, that all classes, that the whole nation, Louis XV. included, contributed to the revolution. The clergy was degraded, by receiving into its highest hierarchy, men who had no other title to public consideration, than adventitious advantages; "mere accidents of accidents." The parliament, soon after having annulled the testament of Louis XIV. seemed to have lost, by that extraordinary exertion of independent energy, the sense of its high vocation, and the knowledge of its constitutional, or historical and admitted place in the political fabric; from a guardian of the law it had become the partisan of the Jansenists, and a bitter enemy of their adversaries, the Jesuits, and at last, had lost all credit by its quarrels with the Archbishop of Paris, and with the fanatics who were designated by the name of Convulsionists, the trials of Calas and Sirven, the unmeasured severity of which the Chevalier de la Barre was the victim, and the murder-like execution of the unfortunate Lally. A profligate woman dishonoured the throne, and ruled France, not only by her influence in the government, but by the example of her scandalous life. The ablest minister whom France could boast, at that epoch, Choiseul, was constantly obliged to pay deference to the paramour of the modern Sardanapalus. This statesman must be supposed to have seen the precipice, towards which France was rapidly advancing, when the king's mistress could not blind herself to the threatening symptoms, and was clear-sighted enough to give to a commanding general the following brief but speaking picture of the kingdom:—"What has become of our country? The parliament and the encyclopædists have completely changed it. When the forgetfulness of all principles leads to the denial of divine and earthly authority, ('la divinité et le maître,') nothing remains but the dregs of nature, and this is our case."

What, then, was really the influence of the modern philosophers in France? "The same," Mr. de Villemain justly ob-

* "At that epoch," says Mad. de Staël, in her 'Considerations on the French Revolution,' "authors did not seek to flatter the government, and they endeavoured, therefore, to please the public." The inference is hazardous enough; but the ingenious authoress pushes her argument still further: "because it is impossible," adds she, "for the majority of men of letters not to follow one of these two lines, having too much need of encouragement to venture to brave, at the same time, public authority and public opinion." Madame de Staël, we dare say, was right in regard to a large proportion of the literati of France—but those of other countries would not have thanked her for so poor an estimate of literary integrity and independence.

serves, in his excellent lectures on French literature, "which the religious controversy exercised in England. Both preceded the civil discords : both attacked the ancient opinions upon which reposed that moral force which compels the multitude to obey the few." The distinctive characteristic of the later period was, however, the *universality* of the spirit of controversy or inquiry ; and with this the French nation was possessed.

While we are on this subject, we beg leave to translate a remarkable passage of a recent work,* sufficiently recommended by the name of the author, Mr. Guizot, and which pictures, in a few lines, one of the most striking aspects of the political and social condition of which we are speaking :—

"Before this period," says that philosophic writer, "and especially during the 16th century, free inquiry was exercised in a special and limited field : its objects were religious questions alone, or sometimes religious questions blended with political ones, but its views were not universal. During the 18th century, on the contrary, the characteristic trait of the spirit of free inquiry was *universality* : religion, politics, pure philosophy, man and society, moral and material nature, every thing became at once a subject of study, doubt, and system : ancient learning was thrown into a state of confusion, and new sciences sprang into existence. This movement, although proceeding from one single impulse, extended itself in every direction. It had, moreover, an additional feature of singularity so great, that nothing like it had ever been witnessed : this consisted in its being exclusively speculative. In every previous great revolution, material forces had been combined with the speculative attempts : thus, for instance, in the 15th century, though the religious wars had begun with ideas, and discussions purely intellectual, they developed themselves almost immediately in practical events. The heads of the intellectual parties promptly became leaders of political factions, the realities of life identifying themselves with the operations of the mind. Such were the origin and progress of things during the English revolution. In that of France, however, the human mind is seen exerting its powers on all topics, which, when combined with practical interests, would necessarily have an immediate and most powerful influence on events ; yet still the managers and actors in these great discussions remained aloof from all active participation, like mere observing speculators, judging and speaking, without ever interfering in the course of the successive occurrences. The impulse of facts and external realities had, at no prior epoch, been so completely distinct from that of the mind. It was reserved for the eighteenth century to exhibit the first example of such a separation ; for the first time, the intellectual world unfolded itself independently of the practical. This is a most momentous fact, and one which had a prodigious influence. It gave to the prevailing ideas of the time, a strange tincture of ambition and want of experience. Never had philosophy made greater efforts to govern the world, and never had it been more a stranger to it. Such a state of things could not last : speculation unavoidably changed into action ; and the more the intellectual movement had been kept distinct from external events, the more their final meeting was discordant, and their conflict violent."

These remarks are in every respect applicable to the *Encyclopédie*. The projectors of this work had certainly in view the moral and political improvement, not only of their country, but of mankind. Their vanity, if not their better feelings, was flattered by such an enterprise. "If any thing," says La

* *Cours d'Histoire Moderne*, par Mr. Guizot. Paris, 1828.

Harpe, "seems at first calculated to nourish in the human breast that self satisfaction, which is but too congenial to its nature, doubtless it is the mere conception of such a work as an *Encyclopædia*." But, from the form of the existing government, and in consequence of the vices which prevailed in its administration, the men in whose minds could arise so seducing and elevating a project, and who could indulge the hope of thus becoming universal instructors, had been kept distant from all active concerns in the political world, until the moment arrived when they suddenly found themselves authorized to assume, publicly, and, in some degree, under the auspices of the government, the task of accomplishing that design. The *Encyclopædist*s were thus unconsciously, and almost unavoidably, thrown into conflict with those who had, on the contrary, acted rather than speculated; and from this circumstance they soon became objects of suspicion, and really dangerous to the state, and to all those who were interested in the maintenance of the existing order of things. Had the extent of their influence, and the ultimate consequences of their doctrines, been weighed by the whole nation, probably no other voice would have been heard in favour of the continuation of the *Encyclopædia*, than that of men who had infinitely less to fear than to expect from a general confusion, and a violent and arbitrary transfer of property.

Let us now cast a glance on the qualifications of the principal contributors to the *Encyclopædia*, and see whether by their moral qualities they were likely to temper the attack which it was in their power to make;—whether they were naturally inclined to moderation, prudent, forgetful of their personal interests, without any dangerous bias arising from party connexion, wise enough to suggest and contemplate convenient reforms alone, and patriotic enough to have constantly in view real wants and practical remedies.

Diderot was a selfish, vain, boisterous, unprincipled, inconsiderate man, so little experienced as to form intimate friendships, and profess exalted admiration, which he was afterwards obliged to retract and to change into aversion and vituperation, and so little of a real philosopher, as to believe that religious scepticism, and a violent hatred of every opinion planted in the human breast by education or by nature herself, could confer an everlasting title to universal gratitude and respect. He was perhaps the boldest of the philosophic faction, but he wanted the moral courage which belongs to virtue alone. His "*Philosophical Testament*," and "*Jacques le Fataliste*," however, are more than proofs of boldness and hardihood:—much depravity was indispensable, while insinuating the principles and doctrines there brought forward. Diderot, nevertheless, pretended that he was a believer, professed submission to the decisions of the

church, and a determination to die in its bosom. But, the same Diderot who had demonstrated the existence of God by a luminous strain of reasoning, was, in reality, an atheist and materialist. Such a man, in spite of the great activity of his mind, the variety of his talents, and the vivacity of his style, was, after all, but a sophist: and, considered in this light, it is no wonder that he accused governments of all the vices of our race, held up Seneca as the purest moral character, and wrote sentimental dramas, while, in his other writings and his conduct, he displayed any thing but generosity of mind, sensibility, or real sympathy for the sufferings of mankind. "Diderot," says La Harpe, "had sworn an eternal war against the morality, as Voltaire against the religious feelings of man."

D'Alembert was more a mathematician, than either a philosopher or a critic, though his preliminary discourse to the *Encyclopædia* is beautifully written, and ensures him a distinguished place among the writers of his time. His nature was more generous than that of Diderot; his character was more timid; although vain and sarcastic, he was not carried away either by his self-love or malignity; he was as little sincere as his coadjutor, in regard to religion, but contrived to conceal his scepticism, less from an artful and crafty disposition, than a love of ease and an innate aversion to violent measures. His friend, La Harpe, explicitly affirms in one place, that he was a sceptic in the greatest extent of the word, and aimed at nothing so much as to contribute to the destruction of revealed religion; and in another, that he hated priesthood more than revelation. Very different from Voltaire, who always professed a great contempt for Scripture and its poetry, d'Alembert was sensible to the sublimest beauties of the sacred books, and eulogized enthusiastically the great orators of the Gallican Church, Massillon, Bossuet, and Fenelon. He often expressed himself with deep feeling in regard to Christianity, and oscillated, in fact, between theism and revelation, attributing however more probability of truth to the former. He apparently refused to accept the splendid offers of the Empress Catherine, from the same impulse which rendered him a hypocrite in religion and in politics. Though ambitious, he did not aspire higher than to occupy the place which Voltaire held, before he left France, in the literary world; and to supersede for ever the harsh and rude Duclos, who, as perpetual secretary, had, before him, the charge of enlivening the Academy, on some occasions, with public discourses. Without his posthumous work—his correspondence—which, however, he intended to be communicated after his death to the world, his fierce hatred of religion might have remained unknown, as well as the cunning timidity with which he instigated and pushed Voltaire to hasten the extirpation of Christianity.

These two men were the principal architects of the new Babel, (not indeed of language but of thought,)—as the *Encyclopédie* has often been called. Confusion appears in the conception and execution of this literary enterprise. We do not find so much harm as La Harpe, in Diderot's having thrown into the article "*Encyclopédie*" most of the considerations and facts, which might as properly have been placed in the introductory discourse, but there is, throughout the whole work, so little method and symmetry, so many insidious hints, so many trifling attempts at witticism, so much egotistic garrulity, so much looseness, and an erudition sometimes so frivolous, that wherever Diderot might have placed his observations, they could not have saved the ponderous and ill-arranged volumes from the censure which even the excellent articles they contain are insufficient to disarm.

There occurred, in the progress of this *Encyclopædia*, several incidents extremely characteristic of those times—of France, of the men who then held in that country the helm of state, its ecclesiastical leaders, and its literati.

L'Abbé de Prades, one of the contributors to the *Encyclopædia*, defended, in 1751, in a disputation before the Sorbonne, the famous faculty or college of theology in the university of Paris, a thesis, in which, according to La Harpe, impiety was so strongly displayed, although craftily disguised by rhetorical forms, and the hand of Diderot so visible, that the latter found himself compelled to come forward with an apology for it, notwithstanding the difficulty of explaining satisfactorily to Catholic judges, a parallel between Christ's miracles and those of *Æsculapius*. The censors had been careless enough to suffer the publication of de Prades' lucubration; but, one of the divines who had just read it, rose, in the midst of the Sorbonne, and fulminated against the Abbé these words, never before heard in that assembly: "I defend the cause of Christ and religion against an atheist." *Causam Christi et religionis defendo contra atheum!* The matter being thereupon substantiated, it was decreed that there was enough to warrant a severe judgment. Nor did the Sorbonne alone take cognizance of the affair, but the civil judiciary deemed it a duty to bring the offender under the penalties of the laws against revilers of religion. The Abbé had time to make his escape, and to seek a refuge at the philosophic court of Berlin, where he however soon felt repentance, and published a formal recantation of his errors.

All the judicial and ecclesiastical authorities of France, and Pope Benedict XIV. himself having interfered in this affair, so much indignation, excited by a single contributor to the *Encyclopædia*, could not, then, fail to become fatal to the whole

work. The publication was suspended, when it had reached but the second volume; and the work being denounced to the Parliament, the privilege of publication was revoked. Yet the court soon tolerated again its clandestine continuation, though the article "*Authority*" should have been sufficient to awaken the suspicion and alarm of the government as to the hostile doctrines of which it was becoming the depository. La Harpe expatiates, in common-place strictures, on this weakness and inconsistency; but he forgot that in the public administration of France, the king was then really almost alone on the side of the expiring political order, and that Louis XV. himself had not entirely escaped the influence of the spirit of the age. Had the printing of Raynal's work, or of any other of the same tendency been prohibited, the presses of the neighbouring countries would soon have been busy in supplying the place of those of France, and no barrier, no army, would have been strong enough to impede their introduction into that kingdom. The inconsistencies for which the government is now upbraided by some writers, and the condescension which Malesherbes is censured for, were but the unavoidable consequences of a state of things already beyond the control of any minister, however virtuous and loyally attached to the crown and the cause of royalty. To use a famous expression of Lord Chatham, "the state had grown out of shape." Peter the Great, or rather the Colossal, as he ought to be called, "greater than his empire," prophesied the fate of the French monarchy, during his short visit at Paris, and the minority of Louis XV. "He exclaimed," says Louville, "that he grieved for France and its infant king, and believed the latter to be on the point of losing his kingdom through luxury and superfluities."

Another curious characteristic of the Encyclopædia, is the meanness with which slanderous attacks were made under false signatures. A comedy had been represented with great success, in 1760, in which the philosophers, and principally Jean Jacques Rousseau, were held up to ridicule, but it had already been excluded from the list of the acting pieces. Nevertheless, in the article *Parade*, violent invectives were inserted against the author of the drama, and a Count de Tressan put his signature to the diatribe. The man who was dishonest enough to lend his name for such a purpose, was afterwards strongly suspected not to have written it, although his titles were given at length:—Lieutenant-general of the King, Grand Maréchal des logis of the King of Poland, &c. &c. &c.

Grimm, the greatest literary gossip of that period, has made a disclosure, which Diderot would certainly have wished to prevent.

The first printer in ordinary of the king, Le Breton, and

his associate Briasson, were the sole proprietors of the work ; and from a fear lest they might suffer by the too hostile character it began to assume against the interests of the highest classes, they cut out every thing which they thought too bold, or "liable," as Grimm says,* "to raise the clamour of the devout and make enemies to the work. Thus, on their own heads, and by their own authority, by far the greater number of the best articles appeared as fragments, mutilated and deprived of whatever was most precious in them ; nor did they concern themselves about the different parts of these mutilated skeletons being properly put together ; they left them either wholly unconnected, or united by morsels of the most absurd and incongruous texture. The whole extent of the injury done by so unexampled and barbarous a depredation will never be known, since the perpetrators of the crime burnt the manuscript as soon as the sheet was printed off, and left the evil without remedy. What may be advanced as very certain is, that Le Breton, clear-sighted as he may appear in matters of interest, in every other respect, is one of the greatest blockheads in all France." "This is," adds Mr. de Grimm, "the true key, though unknown to the world, of all the impertinences and contradictions that are to be found in the last ten volumes of the *Encyclopædia*." pp. 96-97.

We extract from the work just quoted, the following story, ascribed to Voltaire.†

"A servant of Louis XV. related to me, that one day the king, his master, was supping at Trianon with a private company, when the conversation turned, first upon shooting, and afterwards upon gunpowder. One of the company said, that the best powder was made with equal parts of saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal. The duke de la Vallière, better informed, maintained, that to make good gunpowder, there must be one part of sulphur and one of charcoal, to five of saltpetre, dissolved with nitre, well filtered, well evaporated, and well crystallized.

"It is curious," said the duke de Nivernois, "that we amuse ourselves daily with killing partridges, in the park of Versailles, and sometimes with killing men, and being killed ourselves, upon the frontiers, without knowing precisely the composition which kills.

"Alas !" exclaimed Madame de Pompadour, "the case is pretty much the same with every thing in this world. I do not know of what the rouge that I put on my cheeks is composed, and I should be extremely embarrassed, if I were desired to explain in what manner the silk stockings that I wear are made."

"It is a great pity," said the duke de la Vallière, "that his majesty has confiscated our *Encyclopædia*, which cost us every one a hundred pistoles : we should soon find in them the solution of all these questions."

"The king then began to justify the confiscation. He had been informed that the twenty-one volumes in folio, which were to be found on the dressing tables of all the ladies, were the most dangerous things in the world to the kingdom of France, and he was desirous of ascertaining, himself, from his own ob-

* Historical and Literary Memoirs and Anecdotes, selected from the correspondence of Baron de Grimm and Diderot. London, 1815. Vol. iii.

† Ibid. page 260.

ervation, whether the thing was so or not, before he suffered the books to be read.

"After supper, he sent three of the servants, who had been waiting, to fetch a copy of the *Encyclopædia*, and they presently returned, each bringing seven volumes, which were so heavy, that they could with difficulty support the weight. The article 'powder' was first examined, when it appeared that the duke de la Vallière was right. Madame de Pompadour was next instructed in the difference there is between the ancient Spanish rouge, still used by the ladies in Spain, and that actually in vogue among the fair sex at Paris. She learned that the Greek and Roman ladies were painted with powder, from the murex, and that consequently our scarlet was the purple of the ancients; that there was more saffron in the Spanish rouge, and more cochineal in that of France. She found that her stockings were wove in a loom; and was in the utmost astonishment and delight, at the machine in which they were done. 'Oh! the charming book,' she exclaimed, 'Sire, you have then confiscated this magazine of every thing that is useful, that you yourself may possess it, and that you may be the only 'savant' in your dominions.'

"Every one of the company now began to seize upon a volume, as the daughters of Lycomedes scrambled for the trinkets brought by Ulysses. Every one found immediately whatever he looked for: those even who had lawsuits on their hands, were surprised to find these the decision of the case. The king read the definition of the right of his crown. 'Indeed,' said he, 'I know not why so much has been said against this book.'

"Do you not see,' said the duke de Nivernois, 'that it is because the book is an excellent one? No exceptions are ever made against the meddling and the dull in any thing. If the women seek to turn a new-comer into ridicule, it is always because she is handsomer than themselves.'

"The rest of the company continued turning over the leaves, when the count de C*** said: 'You are too happy, sire, that under your reign there existed men capable of understanding all the arts, and of transmitting them to posterity. Every thing is to be found here, from the manner of making a pin, to that of casting your cannon; from the very least things to the greatest. Thank God for having raised up in your kingdom, those who have served the whole universe. Other nations must either purchase the *Encyclopædia* or pirate it. Take all my property, if you please, sire, but spare me my *Encyclopædia*.'

"It is said, however,' replied the king, 'that in this work, so necessary, and so admirable, there is abundance of faults.'

"Sire,' returned the count, 'at your supper there were two ragouts which were extremely defective: we did not eat them, yet we had excellent cheer. Would you have had all the supper thrown away, for the sin of these two ragouts?'—The king felt the force of what was said, and every one was permitted to resume his property. This was a glorious day."

This is, perhaps, a mere jeu d'esprit,—a burlesque story of Voltaire's invention; but true or false, it shows by what means the fears of the king were sought to be overcome, and the respect which he inspired among his courtiers and the philosophers; for we presume that it was widely circulated with such intentions, and no better feelings.

We have now dwelt long enough on the secret, and to a great degree, the scandalous history of the French *Encyclopædia*, and alluded to some of its greatest blemishes. The merits which are blended with them are sufficiently warranted by the names of some of its contributors; and the evil consequences it is supposed to have produced, are sufficient evidence that it is no common work. Villemain calls it "*un ouvrage qui ne porte aucun caractère de génie, mais qui eut une grande puissance.*" This is rather

too severe and too general. D'Alembert's preliminary discourse would alone ensure it a distinguished rank among the works most honourable to the human mind ; for "with all its imperfections," as Dugald Stewart observes in his admirable Dissertation, prefixed to the Supplement of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "it bears numerous and precious marks of its author's hand." Montesquieu says in a letter to d'Alembert :* "J'ai lu et relu votre Discours préliminaire : c'est une chose forte, c'est une chose charmante, c'est une chose précise, plus de pensées que de mots, du sentiment comme des pensées, et je ne finirais point."

Voltaire, who furnished the articles "Eloquence," "Elégance," "Esprit," says, somewhere :—"J'y trouve des articles pitoyables, qui me font honte à moi, qui suis l'un des garçons de cette grande boutique." It is a remarkable fact, which rests on the authority of Montucla, the historian of mathematical science, and of Diderot,† that Bacon's works had little celebrity in France, before the *Encyclopædia* brought them into notice. A more general diffusion, and a greater relish for learning, were certainly produced by its first popularity. On the other hand, however, among minor defects, La Harpe refers to the article "Femme," as a specimen of the caricature-like cast the work bears in some parts ; and the manner in which the contributors paid reciprocal compliments, is indeed as much out of place as ridiculous. The fact is, that d'Alembert and Diderot reckoned at the outset on better coadjutors than they were finally obliged to accept. After having flattered themselves with the co-operation of Montesquieu,‡ they were under the necessity, especially after the privilege of publication had been revoked by the government, to content themselves with contributions "de toute main,"—from all quarters,—from writers who were only anxious to promote the rapid completion of the general task. Discursiveness is, after all, perhaps, its most pervading fault : there are too many digressions, too many vain hypotheses and idle subtleties.

* "Lettres familières."

† Preface, p. ix.

‡ It appears, from a letter of Montesquieu to d'Alembert, (*Lettres Familières*, Nov. 16, 1753,) that the author of the *Esprit des Loix*, had been requested to furnish articles on "Democracy" and "Despotism." He declined, under the pretence that he had already exhausted, on these subjects, the stores of his mind. "L'esprit que j'ai," adds he, "est une moule, on n'en tire jamais que les mêmes portraits : ainsi je vous dirais ce que j'ai dit, et peut-être plus mal que je ne l'ai dit." He led him however to hope, that he would contribute something of his own choice, which, he says, he would determine upon at Madame du Deffand's, by a glass of maraschino. He seemed at length suddenly to select the article "Taste," and observes that he might thereby prove the truth of the proverb : "difficile est propriè communia dicere." Fragments of the essay were after his death found among his papers.

Our strictures may appear too severe to one who has dwelt on the better parts of the *Encyclopædia*, of which there are undoubtedly many; and La Harpe, whom we have so often quoted, and who proved, against the end of his life, recreant to the philosophical sect, is certainly a suspicious authority: but we have in Diderot himself the severest censurer of the work, as may be seen in the following passages, as well as in many others of similar import.

"There are articles," he says,* "which have not the shadow of common sense."—Il y a des articles, qui n'ont pas l'ombre du sens commun.—He owns that he wrote the article on "Composition in Painting," without any sort of knowledge of the art, and even without the slightest pretension to the proficiency of an amateur.—

"Some parts of the *Encyclopædia*," he elsewhere observes, "are inflated and exorbitantly diffuse: others are meagre, flat, dry, and jejune, (décharnés.) Sometimes we are like skeletons, at others we seem dropsical; we are alternately dwarfish and gigantic, colossal and mean: here erect and lofty, there misshapen and crooked. Add to these singularities a diction sometimes metaphysical, obscure, or over-refined, and more frequently careless, sluggish, and nerveless, and you will be tempted to compare the whole work to some monster of poetry, or perhaps to something yet more hideous." * * "A good-natured man purchases our work, and being troubled with the cramp, turns forthwith to the article 'Cramp;' he finds the word, but is referred to 'Convulsion:' he looks for this, and is here directed to 'Spasm,' where after all he learns nothing about the cramp. This is, I confess, a most ridiculous neglect, and I have little doubt that we are guilty of twenty similar ones."

To show with what insidiousness, and want of candour religious subjects are alluded to, in the same paper, with a view to escape immediate animadversion, yet, at the same time, to insinuate contemptuous impressions of Christianity, we translate the following lines:—

"To those who wish we had omitted theology, we reply that it is a science: that this science is very extensive, and very curious, and one that might have been rendered at least quite as amusing as mythology, which would certainly have been missed, had it been left out."

Finally, as a specimen of the critical acumen of the same singular dissertation, it may be sufficient to mention, that Diderot calls Boileau a mere "versifier, incapable of appreciating the merit of Perrault:" Boileau, of whom the author of the *Pursuits of Literature*† says, with more knowledge of French literature than the French critic, "Boileau, the most perfect of all modern writers in taste and judgment. His sagacity was unerring; he combined every ancient excellence, and appears original even in the adoption of acknowledged thoughts and allu-

* Article, "*Encyclopédie*."

† Seventh edition, London, 1798, p. 111. See also what the author says of Boileau in the Introductory Letter, p. 33.

sions. He is the just and adequate representative of Horace, Juvenal, and Persius united, *without one indecent blemish*; and, for my own part, I have always considered him as *the most finished gentleman that ever wrote.*"

All the above quoted passages, we repeat, are from Diderot himself, one of the editors of the Encyclopædia. They may indeed have the merit of frankness and self condemnation, but they afford no more real claim to forgiveness, than the confession, which flows without hesitation from the lips of a penitent, who is yet ready to relapse into sin on the first tempting occasion—who generally is prepared to confess the sin which he is not yet ready to commit, and is always as destitute of shame as of real contrition.

The motto of the work is,—

"Tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris !
Tantum series juncturaque pollet."

Professor Formey, the perpetual secretary of the Berlin Academy of science and belles-lettres, in some strictures on the Encyclopédie, to which he was himself a contributor, sarcastically observes, that the motto it really should have borne, is the well-known line,—

"Non bene junctarum discordia semina rerum."

That academician proposed a Prussian Encyclopædia, or several Encyclopædias, of which the members of the academy of Berlin were to be the authors. This was under the reign of the great Frederic, in 1770, while, if we are not mistaken, Maupertuis was the president of that learned body. However, no work of the kind has as yet appeared in Prussia, either in French, which was the favourite language of Frederic, or in German.

The number of subscribers to the Encyclopédie amounted to 4300. Diderot's pecuniary recompense, as one of the principal editors, was 2500 livres for each of the seventeen volumes, besides 20,000 livres which were paid to him at the beginning. Four editions of the work were published in a short interval, out of France. A supplement in 4 vols. folio followed, from 1776 to 1777, and an index in 2 vols. in 1780.

A few years after the conclusion of the principal part of this work, the Encyclopædia Britannica was commenced: the first edition, in 2 volumes, was completed in 1771, and was distinguished from those previously published in England, less by its execution than by its more philosophical plan. The sciences were "treated compendiously in the form of systems, under their general denominations; the technical terms and the subordinate heads being also explained, when something more than a reference to the proper part of each system was required, in the order of the alphabet."* The editor and principal compiler of

* See Napier's Preface.

this edition was Mr. Smellie, a man of respectable abilities, although a mere printer by profession.

The second edition, extending to ten volumes, appeared between 1778 and 1783, and was chiefly remarkable for the additions of the two departments, History and Biography. The third edition, in eighteen volumes, published in 1797, contained a valuable exposition of physical science. Another edition, increased by two volumes, followed in 1810, and was enriched by the contributions of Professor Wallace on pure mathematics. The fifth edition was the offspring of the great demand for the work. While it was in progress, Mr. Constable of Edinburgh became the principal proprietor, and he soon determined upon publishing a Supplement, worthy of the attention and assistance of the literary world, with the co-operation of Dugald Stewart and Prof. Playfair. Mr. Napier, from whom we have borrowed the preceding details, was intrusted with the superintendence of the Supplement, and to his preface we must refer for more circumstantial particulars of that as yet unrivalled work. The Supplement is enriched, among other mathematical articles, with some furnished by Professor Leslie, Dr. Thomas Young, Biot, and Arago. Dr. Th. Thomson has furnished articles on the chemical arts and manufactures; Professor Jamieson those on mineralogy and geology, Dr. Ellis and Sir James Edward Smith, those on botany, and some of the most distinguished men in England on various other branches. We cannot, however, forbear specifying the articles of Mr. Jeffrey on "Beauty," of Mr. Mill on "Education," "Jurisprudence," "Law of Nations," "Prison Discipline," "Liberty of the Press," and "Economists;" of the Rev. Mr. Blanco White on "Spain;" of Mr. Barrow on "Fisheries," and on "China," and Dr. Young's biographical contributions, Mr. Allen's biographical sketch of Fox, and lastly, though never the least, Sir Walter Scott's essays on "Chivalry," "Romance," and the "Drama." Whoever has read these compositions, must always remember them with delight, and feel inclined to recommend their perusal.

The most striking defect of this *Encyclopædia* is, perhaps, the omission of articles, to which the reader is led by references in the work.

According to Mr. Napier, no books have a greater circulation in England, next to works of fiction and periodical journals, than *Encyclopædias*; and this proves, indeed, a general and considerable advancement in information, and speaks strongly in favour of those performances.

Of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, an edition was published in the United States, by the late Mr. Dobson, and the undertaking, we have reason to believe, was successful.

Messrs. Parker and Delaplaine, of Philadelphia, published an

edition of Dr. Brewster's New Edinburgh Encyclopædia. According to the title page the work is "improved for the greater satisfaction and better information of the people of the United States, in the civil, religious, and natural history of their country, in American biography, and in the great discoveries in mechanics and the arts." We should be carried far from the limits of a paper like the present, were we to enter into an examination of each of the works to which a general survey might carry us. But where so much was held out, as in the few lines we have quoted, it is no wonder that disappointment becomes proportionate to engagements not sufficiently weighed when they were contracted.—The edition is not as yet completed.

There is also an American edition of Dr. Rees's Cyclopædia, in forty-one volumes quarto, with six volumes of plates, published at Philadelphia, and bearing, like the preceding, no date. The work was commenced in England in 1802. The author had acquired reputation by his edition of Chambers's Dictionary, and he associated with himself, in his new enterprise, several men of eminence, of whom it may be sufficient to mention Barlow, Bonycastle, Lawrence, Brande, Sir Humphrey Davy, Ivory, and Cavallo. But the work wants unity and symmetry, and partakes of the defects which we have noticed in speaking of Chambers's Cyclopædia. The various branches of science and art are mangled and broken into minute fragments, dispersed through the ranks of the alphabet in meagre singleness, supporting themselves, and brought into connexion, merely by incessant and repeated references. Dr. Rees professes, in his preface, his disapprobation of separate dictionaries for each particular science, after the plan of the *Encyclopédie*, and of distinct treatises comprised in a dictionary of one alphabet. "In conformity to our proposed plan," says he, "it has been our endeavour to give under each distinct head of science, an historical account of its rise, progress, and present state, concisely, and yet as comprehensively as our limits and our sources of information would allow; to refer to those articles, in which the discussion of them occurs, and to point out such publications as afford further information. References of this kind are introduced under each separate article, wherever they are thought to be necessary and useful; and thus the reader is able to form his judgment concerning the authorities, upon which the compilers of the several articles depend, and if he shall have opportunity or inclination, he may recur to them for himself."

Thus in the article, *Algebra*, references are made to "*Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication, Division, Fractions, Involution, Evolution, Equation, Series and Surd*; see also, *Application of Algebra to Geometry, Binomical Theorem, Construction of Equations, and Reduction of Equations.*"

We need only refer the reader to the article *Algebra*, in the Encyclopædia Britannica, to show the difference, and the comparative advantage of these two methods.

The publisher of the American edition of Dr. Rees's Cyclopædia, proposed to add to the value of the work, by corrections and additions, principally in American Biography. We accordingly seek the word *Allen*, and we find seven individuals mentioned, most of them Englishmen, two of them engravers, "Francis Allen, an obscure engraver of Lubeck, who flourished in 1652," but nothing is said of Ethan Allen, so remarkable for his sufferings during the war of independence, and his enterprising but haughty mind, and so unfortunately renowned for his religious infidelity. We beg the reader to compare the article "Samuel Adams," with the one in the work we are reviewing; and John Adams is altogether omitted in the American edition of Rees's Cyclopædia. In this latter, *Alabama* occupies about eighteen lines, whereas in the recent publication it fills more than a whole page, in two columns of sixty-two lines. Of Arnolds, there are five mentioned in Rees's Cyclopædia: Arnold, of Brescia, Nicholas Arnold, Godfrey Arnold, Arnold of Hildesheim, Arnold of Villanova, and Arnold the musical composer, who fills two enormous columns: but not a word has been added by the American editor, respecting Benedict Arnold, one of the most singular characters of American history. We look at the Barlows, and we find William Barlow, a divine; his son, also a divine; Thomas Barlow, a bishop; and Francis Barlow, a painter of beasts: but we seek in vain for Joel Barlow. We find, too, nothing in regard to Joshua Barney, nor John Barry, although Dr. Rees gives biographical notices of Edward Barry, a physician, and Girald Barry, a divine of the 12th century.

Till 1796, German literature possessed but one work of the nature of that under review;* this was the *Dictionary for Conversation and Gazettes* by Hubner, and as its title sufficiently indicates, was destined to minister to an inferior order of intellectual demands. In 1796, Dr. Löbel conceived the plan of a work, better adapted to the more diffused information and general intercourse of the several classes of society, and to the increased development of the various branches of knowledge, but yet confined mainly to those subjects, which are of universal interest and common use in practical life. By this plan, the several sciences were not to be treated at equal length, nor was any complete and systematic treatise to be furnished of any, and the work was professedly destined to afford only a glimpse into the several provinces of learning. Dr. Löbel died shortly after-

* We say this upon the authority of Mr. Brockhause; for Diderot refers to a "Great German Encyclopædia," which we have never seen.

wards, and it was not until 1807, that five volumes of his projected work were published by Mr. Brockhause, an intelligent and very enterprising bookseller at Leipzig. A new edition appeared in 1812, of which the publisher was, at first, the only editor, but which was completed by the assistance of Dr. Hain, who continued in this business till 1820. The principal object of this edition, was to extend and to improve the former, and to add largely on biography, modern history, political science and economy, moral and religious philosophy, law, classical and modern literature, archæology, anthropology, mathematics, commerce, natural history, and military science. This edition, and the two following, consisted of ten volumes, and succeeded each other within the space of no more than six years. A fifth edition was issued in 1820, of which three reprints, with some improvements, were sold so rapidly, that in 1822 a new edition became necessary. In the interval of these publications, many changes had occurred in the political and social order of society, as well as in the intellectual world. Biography especially required important additions. The publisher determined, therefore, to procure an edition adequate to the present state of science, arts, and literature—almost new in contents and form, and which should contain next to what might be of a constant importance, all that was new and essential. Two additional volumes were thought to answer these purposes. This was the basis of the ten volumes composing the sixth edition, which was begun between 1822 and 1823, and of the three parts of the “New Continuation” or supplement; but the conclusion of the latter, on being suspended by the death of the editor, was not given to the public, till an additional one had been procured in the person of professor Hasse, coadjutor to Dr. Hain. Under these new conductors, more attention than before was paid to passing events, and to the new publications in most of the modern languages.

The editors acknowledge that they have availed themselves in the performance of their task, of several English works; the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and those of Brewster, Nicholson, Gregory, and the *Metropolitan*; of the *Edinburgh Gazetteer*, the *Biographical Dictionaries* of Aikin and Chalmers, the *Annual Register*, the principal *Reviews* and *Literary Magazines* of England and Scotland, the *Annual Biography* and *Obituary*, and the “*Public Characters of all Nations*.” Of French works, they mention the following; *Le Dictionnaire de Bayle*, *l’Encyclopédie*, *la Révue Encyclopédique*, *le Dictionnaire Historique*, *le Dictionnaire des Sciences Médicales*, *le Dictionnaire des hommes vivants*, *la Galerie des Contemporains*, *l’Annuaire Historique*, *les Tablettes universelles*, and *la Biographie nouvelle des Contemporains*. They furnish the list of their numerous coad-

jutors, whom it would, however, be useless to mention in this country, whatever celebrity they may have in their own. They, finally, profess to have freed the fifth and the following editions of all exaggerations and personal hostilities, and to have treated religious subjects with an enlightened liberality, without falling, however, into indifference.

The seventh edition was undertaken, after twenty thousand copies of the two volumes of the Supplement to the preceding edition had been sold, and for the incorporation of which, and the necessary additions, the number of volumes was augmented from ten to twelve.

This work, of which, in its several editions and reprints, eighty thousand copies were issued, has been translated into Danish, Swedish, and Dutch. A French translation is now preparing at Brussels. To this enumeration may be added, several piratical editions, published in Germany, in the original language.

Lastly, the work contains twelve thousand articles, of which the editors confess all may not be equally interesting, accurate or elaborate; they nevertheless do not shrink, they say, from the fair judgment of the impartial and the intelligent, capable of forming a just idea of the magnitude of such a work, and they conclude their remarks with the words of Scaliger; "*Lexicographis et Grammaticis secundus post Herculeum labor.*"

We proceed now to notice the purpose and method with which the American translation has been undertaken by the publishers.

A prospectus was widely circulated, more than a year ago, announcing that this translation would be the more useful to the American public, as the biographical department and the law articles would be treated with a more special view and application to this country, than could have been contemplated in the German original. In the latter, it is true, a great number of living characters are mentioned; but the remarkable men of America, of present and past times, cannot be expected to fill so large a space in a foreign, as in a national work.

It will not be out of place to observe, that since Moreri's Biographical Dictionary, which appeared in 1673, and which Jeremy Collier translated into our language, the English continued for a time to derive from French sources, their best information and materials in this department. Dr. Birch founded his general, critical, and historical dictionary, on that of Bayle. The *Biographia Britannica* was, among the English, the first original work in that branch. In 1762, appeared the English General Biographical Dictionary, which was completed, in 1817, in thirty-eight volumes octavo, and goes by the name of Chalmers'. The eight quarto volumes of Dr. Aikin and Enfield

are, next to the latter work, the most copious dictionary in English of general biography, and we have seen lately mentioned, somewhere, with much praise, a work in two volumes, by Messrs. Hunt and Clarke, but which has not as yet fallen under our eye. Much remains to be done in this branch, were it but to reach the height attained in it by the French, in recent times.

In looking over the volume before us, we find that it promises well in this respect. It affords also a considerable increase of geographical articles on America. Others, that can have but little interest out of Germany, have been omitted, according to the original plan of the editors, who, together with the publishers, we have little doubt, wish earnestly to fulfil all the other engagements they have entered into with the country in these very comprehensive words: "In all cases, this information is brought down to the present time, thus giving the work a very decided advantage over even the very extensive *Encyclopædias* heretofore published in this country."

In dwelling at such length on the history of the great *Encyclopædias* published in Europe, we had mainly in view to call attention to the magnitude and the difficulties of such works. The word *Encyclopædia* is a mighty title, and we think that the volume before us would have lost nothing of its real value, had it only its second: "Popular Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature, History, and Politics." We are aware that the seventh edition of the German original, from which this translation has been made, is also called *Encyclopædia*, and that the translation, with the contemplated additions, might, perhaps, still better claim this denomination; yet the preceding editions were not less successful, for bearing a more modest and exact one.

The same reproach may be made to the *Encyclopædia Perthesiana*, which is a mere compilation, though certainly not without considerable merit as a book of reference. It is more copious than the *Encyclopædia Americana*, as may be, without examination, inferred from the circumstance, that the former consists of twenty-three volumes, while the present work is limited to twelve.

We adhere to the opinion of Mr. Napier, in regard to the true character of an *Encyclopædia*. It is said, that in the defence of Dhuboy against the Mahrattas, when Mr. Forbes and the commanding officer wanted the assistance of artillery officers and engineers, they found in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* sufficient information to strengthen the ramparts, and make good use of some old guns; and especially that the plates were of great utility to the Hindoos. Now such services must not be expected from the work before us. The publishers disclaim, in their prospectus, any other pretensions than we readily believe they are

able to fulfil, and they speak of their publication in terms to which we fully subscribe.

“Books treating of particular branches, such as gazetteers, &c. were of too confined a character; while voluminous Encyclopædias were too learned, scientific, and cumbersome, their articles being usually elaborate treatises, requiring much study or previous acquaintance with the subject discussed. The object of the conductors of the *Conversations-Lexicon* was to select from every branch of knowledge, what was necessary to be known by a well-informed man, and to give popular views of the more abstruse branches of learning and science, so that their readers might not be incommoded, and deprived of pleasure or improvement, by ignorance of facts or expressions occurring in books of conversation. Such a work, it is obvious, must be of great utility to every class of readers.”

We are glad to observe that Professor Ticknor, one of the distinguished authorities adduced by the publishers in behalf of their proposal, clearly appears to coincide also with us in opinion. “The work seems to me,” he observes, “to be suited in a particular manner to the present condition and wants of this country, because it contains more of that information which is useful and interesting to well-educated persons of all classes, than any other work with which I am conversant.” Mr. Everett says, “It is somewhat of the nature of an Encyclopædia, intended, however, for convenient and popular use.—The alterations proposed by Dr. Lieber, seem to me calculated to render it still more valuable in this country, and with them it will be, in my opinion, the best book for convenient general reference in the English language.”

Indeed, the genius and the demands of this country, are to bring learning to the level of universal usage: to *republicanize*, if we may use that word, science and art, instead of considering them as the exclusive privilege of the learned. Gray’s unfavourable opinion of Encyclopædias, (and Scaliger, Salmasius and Huet, had condemned before him all dictionaries and abridgements,) arose perhaps from a sort of aristocratic spirit, carried into the level republic of letters. The most republican nation may well accept favourably works of a free and cosmopolitan character.

We shall exemplify the merits of the work before us, by giving a few specimens, taken from different departments.

The manner of ascertaining the merits of the execution, is first to look at the exactness of the translation; and, secondly, to examine it with reference to alterations and additions.

We have carefully compared the following article in both languages, and, except a few slips, the translation is good, and enlarged by a valuable addition. We must moreover observe, that the specimen we give is not the very best in point of style, it being selected rather for its interest with relation to the great political events of the present time.

"**ALI** ; pacha of Yanina (Tepeleni), generally called *Ali Pacha*,* a bold and crafty rebel against the Porte; an intelligent and active governor of his province; as a warrior, decided and able; as a man, a very fiend. His life is a curious exemplification of the state of the Turkish empire. He was born at Tepeleni, in 1744, of a noble family, which stood at the head of an independent tribe, the Toczides; and was the grandson of a bey named by the Porte. His early life was unfortunate, but his extraordinary strength of mind, which shrunk from no danger nor crime, united with great address, raised him to princely independence. The neighbouring pacha had stripped his father of all his possessions. After his death, his mother, a warlike and cruel Albanian, placed her son, then sixteen years old, at the head of her dependants. He was defeated and taken prisoner; but the Curd pacha was so much struck with his beauty and vivacity, that he set him at liberty, after chastising him. A. then commenced robber, but was so unfortunate that he fled into the mountains, where, to keep himself from starving, he pawned his sabre. In this situation, his mother scornfully advised him to put on a woman's garment, and serve in the harem. In a second attempt at plunder, he was wholly defeated, and concealed himself in a ruined building, where, brooding over his fate, he sat, unconsciously pushing up the ground with a stick. He struck something hard, and found a chest containing gold. With this treasure he raised 2000 men, gained his first victory, and returned in triumph to Tepeleni. From this time he was continually fortunate, but, at the same time, false and cruel. On the day of his return, he murdered his own brother, whom he thought guilty of treachery, and confined his mother to the harem, under pretence of her having poisoned the deceased, where she soon after died from grief and rage. A. now continued his robberies, regained the favour of the Porte by assisting in the subjugation of the rebellious vizier of Scutari, and possessed himself of the estates which had been taken from his father, as well as of some Grecian cities. He then attacked the pacha Selim of Delvino, who was obnoxious to the Porte, and caused him to be beheaded, by which means he became his successor. At length the divan, in which he had obtained great influence by bribery, named him lieutenant of the dervendgi pacha, whose duty it was to preserve the highways secure; but, instead of attending to the duties of his office, A. sold commissions, in the name of the grand signior, to the richest bands of robbers, and thereby gave them legal authority to plunder. The dervendgi pacha and his lieutenant were now deposed, but A. purchased anew the favour of the prime minister. He rendered such important services to the Porte with his bold Albanians, in the war with Russia and Austria (begun 1787), although he carried on a secret correspondence with prince Potemkin, that the Porte named him pacha of Tricala in Thessaly. He immediately possessed himself of the city of Yanina, by showing a forged firman, which gave him the city and the citadel, and then compelled the inhabitants to sign a petition to the sultan, requesting him to give them A. for a governor. He likewise compelled them to pay him a large sum of money, with which he bribed the divan, who granted the request. He afterwards entered into an alliance with Buonaparte, who sent him engineers to build him fortifications; but when Napoleon was defeated in Egypt, those places on the coast of Albania, which had belonged to the Venetians, and were now under the dominion of the French, were seized by A. Parga (q. v.) alone made a successful resistance. But he contrived that, in the treaty between Russia and the Porte, in 1800, all the Venetian places on the main land (and, therefore, Parga) should be surrendered to the latter power. He then attacked the brave Suliotes (q. v.), and conquered them in 1803, after a three years' war. The

* See Volumes x. and xviii. of the *North American Review*, for two extremely interesting accounts of Ali. The facts they contain, were obviously collected in the country so long tyrannized by that treacherous and sanguinary Pacha, and evince the close observation of a penetrating mind, favoured by fortunate and uncommon opportunities.

Porte now made him governor of Romania, where he continued his system of oppression still more openly than before. He then revenged on the inhabitants of Gardiki an injury which they had done to his mother forty years before, by putting to death 739 of the descendants of the perpetrators, they themselves being all dead. Security and quiet now reigned in his dominions; the roads were well constructed; commerce flourished; so that European travellers, with whom A. was glad to converse (see Hughes' *Travels in Greece*), acknowledged in him an active and intelligent governor. In 1807, he entered again into an alliance with Buonaparte, who sent him M. Pouqueville, as consul general, and from this time his dependence on the Porte was merely nominal. His object in this alliance was, to have Parga and the Ionian islands included in the peace of Tilsit. Failing to attain this end, he made an alliance with the English, and gave them many advantages; whereupon Parga was restored nominally to the Porte, but in reality to A. He afterwards caused it to be inserted in his gazette, that Maitland, who was the British lord high commissioner of the Ionian islands, had received from the Porte, at his recommendation, the order of the crescent. When A. thought himself strongly fixed in his power, he caused some of the *capitani* (q. v.) of the Greek Armatolicks, who had hitherto rendered him assistance, to be murdered (among them, the father of Ulysses, the famous chief), and had the murderers, also, put to death, that he might not be known as the author of the crime. At length, in 1820, the Porte determined to crush him. Ismail Pascho Bey, with 5000 Turks, and supported by the *capitani*, who brought 10,000 soldiers to his standard, advanced against him. The Greeks surrounded his positions in the passes of the mountains, so that he was compelled to throw himself, with all his troops, into the citadel of Yanina, well provided with every thing. From hence he set Yanina on fire. Pascho Bey had no ordnance fit for besieging the city, and was suspected by the Porte, because he had called the Christians to his assistance. The Porte therefore gave the chief command to Kavanos Oglu. This commander dismissed the *capitani* and their bands, with cruel threats, compelling them to make restitution to the Turks, for the loss which they had before occasioned them. Hereupon they went over to A., especially after they beheld the insurrection of the Hetaria, and aided him in the field against the Turks before Yanina. Kavanos Oglu could then do nothing against the rebels. The valiant Beba Pacha, his successor, died suddenly, after the capture of Arta, which Veli, A.'s son, had defended. The savage Khurschid Pacha, of the Morea, who was hated by all the Greeks, now advanced against the city with 12,000 men. But every attack was repulsed by A.'s brave troops, and the *capitani*, strengthened by the Suliores, suddenly attacked the Turkish camp. Immediately the Hetaria (q. v.) called all Greece to arms. The Turks were now compelled to throw themselves into the strong places, and Khurschid retreated, Aug. 1821, with the remains of his army, out of Epirus into Macedonia. The Albanians alone, whom A. had beguiled with empty promises, left the tyrant. Khurschid Pacha attacked Yanina with a new army. The Greeks gave up A.'s cause for lost. He then determined, persuaded, perhaps, by his wife, Wasilika, who was a Greek, to treat with Khurschid. On receiving assurances, confirmed by an oath, that his property and his life should be spared, he surrendered his fortress to the pacha, Feb. 1, 1822, and retired to his summer-palace in the lake of Yanina. Here Khurschid's lieutenant, Mehmet Pacha, made known to him the sentence of death pronounced against him by the sultan. A. put himself on his defence, but was cut down, with six companions. This happened Feb. 5, 1822. The head of the rebel was sent to Constantinople. The Porte took possession of A.'s treasures. His sons, Veli and Muchtar Pacha, had come into the power of the Turks, in 1820, when the strong places of A. were taken, and lived afterwards in exile in Asia Minor. But attempting, by means of a Greek disguised as a dervise, to form a connexion with the party of their father, they were executed in Aug. 1821. A.'s grandson obtained from the Porte, in 1824, permission to retire to Larissa with A.'s widow, Wasilika. Pouqueville, in his *Histoire de la Régénération de la Grèce*, vol. i., paints a dreadful picture of A.'s barbarity, falsehood and love of revenge. He says that A. caused a Greek lady, Euphrosyne, and fifteen other women, to

be thrown into the sea, because they appeared to have too much influence over his son Veli. [Since his mother was an Albanese and his father a Turk, from this double relationship, he seized on all property left by persons dying, on pretence that the testator was his relation, by the mother's side, if he happened to be a Greek, or on his father's side, if a Turk. In this way A. amassed vast quantities of furniture and utensils, and occasionally held a market for the sale of these effects. A Jew was his treasurer. If he saw a beautiful maiden whom he wished to possess, his executioner, who was always at his side, went to the parents and said, "Your daughter has pleased Ali;" whereupon the daughter was sent to him, or the whole family were obliged to fly. The writer of this knows two families who were compelled to fly in this way. He took possession, in the same summary mode, of every thing which struck his fancy. This favourite of fortune had great endowments from nature.*] He united a remarkably enterprising spirit with equal penetration; an extraordinary knowledge of men and things with determination and courage; great firmness with great adroitness. But he was false, suspicious, implacable and blood-thirsty from ambition and avarice; every means pleased him alike, provided that it led him to his object with quickness and safety. The dissensions of his enemies, the corruption of the divan, and the political weakness of the Porte, were the corner-stones on which this modern Jugurtha built up his ephemeral greatness."

The beginning of the article "Algebra," is so much changed for the better, that we think proper to translate, literally, the original, and to exhibit it with the one inserted in the American publication, to enable the reader to determine upon the merit of both :—

(In the original.) "'ALGEBRA.' The terms Algebra and Analysis, are often employed as synonymous. But 'Analysis' is the general exposition and development of the combination of magnitudes by calculation; whereas Algebra confines itself to the consideration of equations, (the symbolic forms of these combinations,) and by means of them the extraction of the known from the unknown quantities, and the instrument (or what after the preceding explanation may be called the grammar) of which it avails itself to that end, is furnished by the *literal Arithmetic*. The word Algebra,† derived from Gebr, the name of its propagator, an Arabian who lived at Seville in the nineteenth century, and the Arabic particle 'Al' is, therefore, according to Bezout's definition, a language into which certain propositions are translated, to be combined according to the rules which this language indicates, and thus leads, by the discovery of the results of these combinations, to conclusions which it would be difficult, and in some cases even impossible, to obtain by any other process."

In the American work, the definition of Algebra is as follows :

"Algebra is a general method of resolving mathematical problems by means of equations, or it is a method of performing the calculations of all sorts of quantities by means of general signs or characters. Some authors define algebra as the art of resolving mathematical problems; but this is the idea of analysis, or the analytic art in general, rather than of algebra, which is only one species of it. In the application of algebra to the resolution of problems, we must first translate the problem out of common into algebraic language, by expressing all the conditions and quantities both known and unknown, by their proper characters, arranged in an equation, or several equations, if necessary, and treating the unknown quantity as if it were a known one: this forms the composition. Then the resolution, or analytic part, is the disentangling the unknown quantity from the several others with which it is connected, so as to retain it alone on one side of the equation, while all the known quantities are collected on the

* The lines enclosed in brackets are an addition.

† The etymology is not so certain as it might appear from this passage.

other side, thus obtaining the value of the unknown. This process is called *analysis*, or *resolution*; and hence algebra is a species of the analytic art, and is called the *modern analysis*, in contradistinction to the *ancient analysis*, which chiefly regarded geometry and its application."

The advantage is manifestly on the side of the book we are reviewing.

The superiority of the algebraical language over all others, is also better explained. We notice the omission of the following passage, less on account of its importance, than to fill up the measure of the parallel we have desired to present:—"The precision, clearness, brevity, and generality of algebra, are so great, that a problem needs only to be expressed by the proper signs or characters to procure not only the required result, but many others of no less interest, and which sometimes disclose such as were the least expected."*—More commendation, but not too much, is bestowed in the translation than in the original on Mr. Hirsch's "Algebraical Problems."

Accident more than design has determined our choice for a specimen from natural history, on the article "Alligator," which, in the original, consists of these few lines:—"Alligator, or Caiman, belongs to the order of lizards, and is considerably rounder and smoother on the body and the tail than the Crocodile: it is also inferior to it in length. Its eggs are smaller, and it belongs to middle America. The Brazilians are skilful in tanning alligator skins."

It would be derogatory to the distinguished and interesting author of the following article, to bring it into a comparison with the preceding. We quote it at its full length,† to show what a superiority the American publication promises to gain by contributions from the same quarter:—

"**ALLIGATOR**; the name of a large reptile, of the *saurian* or lizard order, derived, according to Cuvier, from a corruption of the Portuguese word *lagarto*, equivalent to the Latin *lacerta*. The alligators or caimans form the second sub-genus of Cuvier's crocodile family, and belong to the southern parts of the American continent. Two species, very numerous in these regions, are well known; the spectacled caiman, *crocodilus sclerops*, most common in Guiana and Brazil; and the pike-nosed A. (*C. lucius*), frequenting the southern rivers and lagoons of the U. States.—In the water, the full-grown A. is a terrible animal, on account of its great size and strength. It grows to the length of 15 or 20 feet, is covered by a dense harness of horny scales, impenetrable to a musket ball, except about the head and shoulders, and has a huge mouth, armed with a fearful row of strong, unequal, conical teeth, some of which shut into cavities of the upper jaw-bone. They swim or dart along through the water with wonderful celerity, impelled by their long, laterally-compressed and powerful tails, which serve as very efficient oars. On land, their motions are proportionally slow and embarrassed, because of the length and unwieldiness of their bodies, the shortness of their

* The article "Analysis," is, in the original, better than the one on Algebra.

† We would also willingly enrich our pages with the articles "Albatross" and Animal, Animal Life and Animal Heat, apparently from the same pen.

limbs, and the sort of small, false ribs which reach from joint to joint of their necks, and render lateral motion very difficult. In addition to the usual number of ribs and false ribs, they are furnished with others, for the protection of the belly, which do not rise up to the spine. The lower jaw extends farther back than the skull, so that the neck must be somewhat bent when it is opened; the appearance thus produced has led to the very universal error of believing that the *A.* moves its upper jaw, which is incapable of motion, except with the rest of the body. Under the throat of this animal are two openings or pores, the excretory ducts from glands, which pour out a strong, musky fluid, that gives the *A.* its peculiarly unpleasant smell.—In the spring of the year, when the males are under the excitement of the sexual propensity, they frequently utter a roar which is a very alarming sound, from its harshness and reverberation, resembling distant thunder, especially where numbers are at the same time engaged. At this period, frequent and terrible battles take place between the males, which terminate in the discomfiture and retreat of one of the parties. At this season, also, an old champion is seen to dart forth on the surface of the waters, in a straight line, at first as swiftly as lightning, gradually moving slower as he reaches the centre of a lake; there he stops, inflates himself by inhaling air and water, which makes a loud rattling in his throat for a moment, until he ejects it with vast force from his mouth and nostrils, making a loud noise, and vibrating his tail vigorously in the air. Sometimes, after thus inflating himself, with head and tail raised above the water, he whirls round until the waves are worked to foam, and, at length, retires, leaving to others an opportunity of repeating similar exploits, which have been compared to an Indian warrior rehearsing his acts of bravery, and exhibiting his strength by gesticulation.—The females make their nests in a curious manner, upon the banks of rivers or lagoons, generally in the marshes, along which, at a short distance from the water, the nests are arranged somewhat like an encampment. They are obtuse cones, 4 feet high, and about 4 feet in diameter at the base, and built of mud and grass. A floor of such mortar is first spread upon the ground, on which a layer of eggs, having hard shells, and larger than those of a common hen, are spread. Upon these another layer of mortar, 7 or 8 inches in thickness, is deposited, and then another bed of eggs: and this is repeated nearly to the top. From 100 to 200 eggs are found in one nest. It is not ascertained whether each female watches her own nest exclusively, or attends to more than her own brood. It is unquestionable, however, that the females keep near the nests, and take the young under their vigilant care as soon as they are hatched, defending them with great perseverance and courage. The young are seen following their mother through the water like a brood of chickens following a hen. When basking in the sun on shore, the young are heard whining and yelping about the mother, not unlike young puppies. In situations where alligators are not exposed to much disturbance, the nesting-places appear to be very much frequented, as the grass and reeds are broken down for several acres around. The young, when first hatched, are very feeble and helpless, and are devoured by birds of prey, soft-shelled turtles, &c., as well as by the male alligators, until they grow old enough to defend themselves. As the eggs are also eagerly sought by vultures and other animals, the race would become speedily extinct, but for the great fecundity of the females.—The *A.* is generally considered as disposed to retire from man, but this is only to be understood of alligators frequenting rivers or waters where they are frequently disturbed, or have learned to dread the injuries which man inflicts. In situations where they are seldom or never interrupted, they have shown a ferocity and perseverance in attacking individuals in boats, of the most alarming character; endeavouring to overturn them, or rearing their heads from the water, and snapping their jaws in a fearful manner. Bartram, who has made more interesting and valuable observations on the *A.* than any other naturalist, gives numerous instances of their daring and ferocious disposition, and himself very narrowly escaped with his life on several occasions. At present, alligators, though still numerous in Florida and Louisiana, are no longer regarded as very dangerous. Their numbers annually decrease, as their haunts are intruded upon by man, and at no distant period they must be nearly, if not

quite exterminated.—In the winter, the alligators spend great part of their time in deep holes, which they make in the marshy banks of rivers, &c. They feed upon fish, various reptiles, or carrion flesh which is thrown into the streams, and, though very voracious, are capable of existing a long time without food. The barking of a dog, it is said, will at any time cause them to forsake their holes, and come on shore, as they prey upon any small quadruped or domestic animal which comes within their reach. They have a very small brain, and live a long time even after it is destroyed. Titian Peale, a naturalist distinguished for practical acquaintance with the works of nature, informed the writer that he destroyed the whole superior part of the head and brain of a large A. by a ball from his gun, in the morning of a long day, and, on passing the same place in the evening, he found the animal had crawled off. Following his trail through the marsh for a considerable distance, he found him still alive, and, though dreadfully mangled about the head, ready to make battle.—In the economy of nature, alligators are of very considerable importance. They abound most where fish and other creatures are found in the greatest numbers. Their voracity tends to repress exuberant increase in the beings upon which they feed; while themselves are exposed to very numerous enemies in early life, and gradually pass away, as man usurps the sway over their peculiar dominions. The peculiarities of construction, &c. will be given under the title *Crocodile*, which see.*

To exemplify the omissions on account of the different degree of interest which some of the articles are calculated to have in this country and Germany, we may mention, that although the one on Antiquity is translated with few alterations, another, on German Antiquities, has been left out, and not improperly.

"Angling" is much more detailed and interesting in the work before us, than in the original; and indeed while we turn from page to page, we find frequent improvements and enlargements, of considerable merit, but which it would require more space than we can dispose of to notice.

For the quotations from German poets, are substituted examples from English. Thus in the word "Alliteration," the lines,

"Weave the warp and weave the woof,"

and—

"Ruin seize thee, ruthless king,"

are not in the original, but quoted already by Dr. Rees.

We refer the reader to the articles on the Road over the Alps, Architecture, Agriculture, and Bankrupt, as performances of considerable merit; the one on Agrarian Laws, which bears testimony of research and classical lore, though chiefly founded on Niebuhr's view of the subject, is not in the German original. The articles Astronomy, and History of Astronomy, are enlarged and considerably improved. As another valuable addition, we may also mention the interesting notice on "Baltimore birds," and the article "Barratry."

More might have been inserted on Botany and Mineralogy, and some law terms have been forgotten.* We could also notice a few errors; as, for instance, instead of Agis IV. it ought to be Agis III., the race of the Heraclidæ being distinct from the Pro-

* v. g. 'Affidavit,' 'Ad inquirendum,' 'Ademption.'

clidæ. But it would be an enterprise altogether disproportionate to the character and limits of our journal, to carry further our examination. By the specimens which we have brought forward, and which are taken almost at random, we have, we trust, justified in some degree our favourable opinion of the volume under review, and we may sum up by stating, that we consider this publication as creditable to the editors and their coadjutors, and to the enlightened and enterprising publishers, who have undertaken, with very moderate pretensions to pecuniary recompense, (for they are probably right in asserting that it "is one of the cheapest works ever published in this country,") to furnish a work of reference well worthy to occupy a place among the books of every man of intelligence, taste, and enlightened curiosity, and to which they might have prefixed the motto,

"Indocti discant et ament meminisse periti."

The future volumes will perhaps give occasion to more remarks on the general merits of the American Encyclopædia.

The paper and the type of the first volume leave little to desire, especially considering the low price of the work.

ART. V.—*The Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man*: by DUGALD STEWART, Esq. F. R. S. S. : London and Edinburgh: Boston: Wells & Lilly: 1828.

Of what value to mankind is the gift of an individual, in whom great talents are combined with the disposition to employ them for the benefit of others? Such beings not only diffuse a radiance over their own age, but like the stars of the firmament, are formed to enlighten ages not yet called into existence. This is eminently true of those who have employed their powers in adding to the stock of human knowledge, in unmasking error, in rendering truth more attractive and more accessible to ordinary minds.

Of this class was Dugald Stewart; and the work named at the head of this article, is his last bequest to posterity. That the cause of human improvement was near to his heart, we cannot doubt, for he devoted his life and his talents to its service. He studied the human mind, not merely as a subject of interesting speculation, but for the purpose of obtaining rules, which might promote its cultivation and development; in the hope of being able to present it to others under such interesting aspects, as would lead them to a knowledge of its worth, and its susceptibility of improvement. With this object in view, he surveyed

the immense domain of intellectual history, traced the acquisitions and losses, the progress and the delays in the march of the human mind, through the lapse of centuries, collected its scattered lights of past or present times, and concentrated them on the leading points of intellectual science, searched its dark passages, and brought thence neglected treasure. He gathered around him the superior spirits of all ages, by means of their writings, which he carefully studied, consulted their wisdom, and caught their inspiration.

In his works may be found, some notice of almost every thing of importance, which has been elicited by genius and talent on the subject of the human mind, enriched with his own candid and comprehensive views and original remarks, enabling the reader to understand all that has been effected in this interesting field of inquiry, and all that remains ~~to~~ to be done.

One great merit of Stewart as a philosophical writer, is the extent and value of his learning. He has not only, (to borrow an expression from him) "seized and transmitted the torch of science," but he has himself increased its splendour, and more widely diffused its salutary rays; and what renders him more interesting to the general reader, is the purity, the elevation, and the warmth of his moral feelings, and the favourable views which he every where takes of human nature. He regards with grief, but not with despondency, the blight which has sometimes fallen on its fairest promises, and he looks forward with confidence to a period when it is destined to approach far more nearly, than it has yet done, to that perfection of which he believes it to be capable, and while opening the path of improvement he stations in it the most encouraging beacons.

The principal fault of his manner, is a want of conclusiveness. Being aware that such intricate and illusive subjects as metaphysics present, must be viewed under every aspect in which they can be seen, before an accurate judgment can be formed, his aim seems to be, not so much to bring the reader to a decision, as to prevent his forming one; and though charmed with the beauty of his writing, and affected by the justness of his remarks, we often rise from their perusal, with nothing definite in the mind, and find it difficult to state what we have learnt from the work. After exhausting (as it appears to us) the subject, and just as we believe ourselves sure of reaching the point, he arrests our progress, and requires us to suspend our judgment, till another and more remote path is examined, and its bearing on the question fairly estimated. When we have reached this, we have lost the train of thought, and the command of attention which a connected mode would have secured.

Although this manner must be called a defect, yet it has a tendency to further, more than many may be aware of, Stewart's

own purposes. [His aim is not so much to form a system of philosophy, as to aid in enlarging and enlightening the mind, and to exercise a happy influence in the development of its various powers and faculties. His works are, in fact, of great advantage in the formation of its habits, and in the cultivation of its best feelings. On this account, there are no philosophical writings which may, with more benefit, be put into the hands of the young. To such, they impart a new perception of the beauty of morality and wisdom, and a taste for intellectual and moral inquiries, which, more than any other, has a tendency to give refinement to the feelings, and acuteness to the understanding. If the perusal of them affords less of that distinct knowledge which is expected from a scientific treatise, it does what is far better, it matures and enriches the mind, and prepares it to yield the best original productions.

Stewart is more distinguished for comprehension and generalization than for boldness and depth. We value his writings less on account of their originality, than for their wide surveys and candid estimates, and their discrimination between what is true, and what, though specious, is false. He has not aimed at any new theories, or even arrangement, but rather, as he himself expresses it, "to concentrate and reflect back on the philosophy of the human mind, whatever scattered lights he has been able to collect from the researches to which that philosophy has given birth."

In the work before us, more particularly, he has made frequent reference to the opinions of those philosophers, whose systems have each in its turn commanded the attention of mankind, and is more desirous to expose the errors they have sanctioned by their ingenuity and talent, and to avail himself of their authority whenever in coincidence with his own ideas, than to frame a system of his own.

Every system, generally absurd, when followed out to its legitimate results, contains some admixture of truth, which is the foundation of its plausibility, and it is the part of a candid and enlightened philosopher, to sift out this truth, and add it to the stores which wisdom and experience are, through all ages, amassing. They who employ their talents in the performance of this task, are not less efficient in advancing the cause of knowledge, than the framers of theories themselves, although these may obtain, and less deserve the praise of originality. Intellectual phenomena are of a multifarious and intangible nature. To reduce this mass, by means of a happy arrangement, within the limits of human comprehension, to obtain by correct analysis ultimate principles and essential characteristics, and to ascertain the natural and acquired relations of these phenomena, would introduce light and certainty into those arts and sciences, whose im-

provement must keep pace with the philosophy of mind, viz. education, ethics, politics, eloquence, poetry, &c.

This immense undertaking, the noblest the human mind can accomplish, does not appear to us impracticable. It is, however, we must acknowledge, what has never yet been completely accomplished, notwithstanding so many great men have devoted their lives and their powers to the object. If ever accomplished, it must be by means of the gradual accumulation already suggested. It is rarely, if ever, the privilege of a single mind, however gifted, to erect out of its own riches and strength, any one of those magnificent structures of science, which are the citadels of the learned world, each resting on its indestructible base of fact and experiment, and secure in its palladium of truth. The most fortunate seldom do more than add a column, it may be a single stone, as the structure advances, or remodel materials, which have been furnished by the industry of preceding labourers. When a flood of light has been poured on a dark subject, by the illumination of one mind, or a new path is opened by the enterprise of a single pioneer, it will be found, on studying the events of the preceding and the cotemporary age, that a succession of circumstances, tending to the great achievement, have been silently working its accomplishment, and that the genius who is the immediate agent in its production, is but the electric spark which kindles a previously prepared train. Systems, even when imperfect and false, have been useful in philosophy, as guides to direct inquiry, and as supplying that method which so much facilitates investigation. [A disinclination to system is, however, we apprehend, a mark of that soundness of mind, that caution and patience, which are essential to the investigation of the shadowy field of inquiry which the metaphysician undertakes to explore. We repeat, it is only by patient accumulation of the truths and principles disclosed by successive minds, that a true and complete system of intellectual philosophy can be constructed.] The present age, so abundant in its contributions to physical science, has not been altogether without fruit in the other. It is something to have adopted the inductive method, which is as sure a guide to truth in the intellectual as in the material world. It is something to have pointed out the peculiar difficulties attending the prosecution of intellectual inquiries, and to have shown some of the methods by which these difficulties may be mastered. It is something to direct the attention to the illusive nature of the subject, to the analogical structure of language, which is ever misleading the judgment from the precise point of inquiry, and the exact value of proof. It is something to have detected the fallacies of popular systems, and to extract the few grains of truth which have given them currency. It is something to have defined the limits beyond which human rea-

son cannot advance, and to have fixed a signal on the verge, where its proud march must be stayed. For much of this, we are indebted to the Scotch philosopher. Though it is only preliminary matter, it is of great importance, as being that first step which is so hard to take. Stewart was content to look up to Nature as a modest pupil, ambitious only of communicating, in a clear and unostentatious manner, the truths he had gathered by his long and patient attendance on her instructions. We might perhaps regret, that being in possession of so much knowledge, the fruit of his own researches, he had not formed a system of intellectual philosophy. He might have thought that the present was not the time to build up, before the rubbish of what had just been pulled down was cleared away, and while the materials were yet too scanty to allow a plan to be devised, which could with any probability be adapted to future improvements. He has also given it as his opinion,—“That this is a study whereof little more than the *elements* can be communicated by the mind of one individual to another ;” and “that a knowledge of the general laws which regulate the intellectual phenomena, is, to the logical student, of little practical value, but as a preparation to the study of himself.”

Perhaps the next great mind which shall appear in this department of science, could not be better employed than in presenting the public with a fair view of the present state of intellectual philosophy, and the advantages we have gained in making a clear statement of principles, fully disclosed and established, and of all the admitted truths of which the science is at present in possession. But what learning and judgment are requisite for the faithful performance of this task, and what difficulties occur even at its commencement !

The origin of our knowledge, for instance,—is that great point yet settled ? (Though we resign all claim to innate ideas, in the Platonic sense of that term—are sensation and reflection sufficient to account for all that is found in the mind ?) If it be acknowledged, that the ideas received from sense, strictly so called, are very limited, while those consequent on the internal operations of the mind, are not only the most important but the most numerous class, can we as yet enumerate this class, or state with any exactness the circumstances in which they rise ? Can an undisputed list be made of those elementary ideas, into which all others may be analyzed, while of them no account can be given, but that such is the constitution of our nature ? When the appropriate exercises occur, these ideas inevitably enter the mind, and once there, they never quit it, in spite of theory and reasoning, which would fain prove many of them to be fallacious, and even non-existent—our own consciousness to the contrary notwithstanding.

In treating any scientific subject, some arrangement is indispensable ; with Stewart, it is always a mean rather than an end, and he has adhered to that which was most obvious and familiar, when this was consistent with clearness and precision. He says, in a former work :—"The rule which I have adopted in my own practice, is, to give to every faculty and operation of the mind its own appropriate name, following in the selection of this name, the *prevalent* use of our best authors, and endeavouring afterwards, as far as I have been able, to employ each word *exclusively* in that acceptation in which it has hitherto been used most *generally*." (His philosophical writings may be regarded as a collection of essays on these various faculties and powers of the mind.

In his former works, he has confined his attention to a consideration of the intellectual powers, which he says, "though intimately connected with our active and moral, may be studied separately from them, with advantage." In these volumes, he treats of those active principles which put the intellectual faculties in motion, without whose aid, the latter, though so admirably adapted to their various functions, would remain sterile and useless. The regulation and cultivation of these moving powers, is a subject not less interesting than the former, and of vast importance in education (since, however great may be the gifts of intellect or fortune, their value must depend on the character and efficiency of the springs by which only they can be put in operation.) The study of this part of our constitution, though it may, at first view, seem more open to our examination than the powers of the understanding, is attended with some difficulties peculiar to itself. For this, various reasons may be assigned. The author has selected two, which in his opinion principally claim our attention:—1st. The unfavourable state of our own minds for observation and reflection, while under the dominion of the active principles, and even after they have subsided ;—and, 2d. The great variety of these principles, and the endless diversity of their combinations, in the characters of men. To which may be added, the metaphysical disputes on the subject of the will and man's free agency.

"The word action," says our author, "is properly applied to those exertions, which are consequent on volition, whether the exertion be made on external objects, or be confined to our mental operations." The primary sources of activity are, therefore, "the circumstances, in which the acts of the will originate." "Of these, there are some which make a part of our constitution, and are on that account called active principles." The following is his enumeration of them: 1st. Appetites. 2d. Desires. 3d. Affections. 4th. Self-love. 5th. Moral faculty. The three first are distinguished by the title of instinctive, or implanted

principles; the two last, by that of rational and governing principles of action. The writer first endeavours, in his classification and analysis, to illustrate the essential distinction between these two classes, and afterwards treats of the moral faculty, and the various branches of duty, of which it is the foundation. These chapters abound with interesting matter; some important questions as to the origin and character of the instinctive principles are touched upon, yet so ably that they appear to us to be settled beyond dispute.

Of the Appetites, he says, "The active principles comprehended under this title, are ultimate facts in the human constitution." They can with no propriety be called selfish, for they are directed to their respective objects, as ultimate ends, and they must all have operated in the first instance, prior to any experience of the pleasures arising from their gratification." It is the same with the Desires and Affections. He regards them as original principles, not resolvable into reason, self-love, or the association of ideas. Though more dignified and more amiable in their nature than the appetites, they are not naturally virtuous or vicious, but become so, as they are, or are not, regulated by a sense of duty. Their most important characteristic is their instinctive nature, and their subordination to the rational and governing principles. We have also many artificial desires, which may be traced to association, though the primary ones cannot. "That all the original principles of our nature are very powerfully influenced by association and habit, is a point about which there can be no dispute, and hence arises the plausibility of those theories which would represent them as wholly factitious."

That the desire of society is an original instinct of our nature, as well as with some of the brute creation, Stewart maintains, in opposition to Hobbes, who thinks that the social union is the result of prudential views of self-interest, suggested by man's experience of his own insufficiency to procure the objects of his natural desires. He proves, (we think satisfactorily,) that this opinion is contrary to the history of mankind; that man has always been found in a social state; and that if there is a foundation laid for any thing in our nature, it is for family union.—

"The considerations now stated," he goes on to say, "afford a beautiful illustration of the beneficent design with which the physical condition of man is adapted to the principles of his moral constitution; an adaption so striking, that it is not surprising those philosophers who are fond of simplifying the theory of human nature, should have attempted to account for the origin of these principles, from the habits which our external circumstances impose. In this, as in many other instances, their attention has been misled by the spirit of system, from those wonderful combinations of means, to particular ends, which are every where conspicuous in the universe. It is not by the physical condition of man that the essential principles of his mind are formed; but the one is fitted to the other, by the same superintending wisdom which adapts the fin of the fish to the

water, and the wing of the bird to the air, and which scatters the seeds of the vegetable tribe in those soils and exposures where they are fitted to vegetate. It is not the wants and necessities of this animal being which create his social principles, and which produce an artificial and interested league among individuals who are naturally solitary and hostile; but, determined by instinct to society, endowed with innumerable principles which have a reference to his fellow-creatures, he is placed by the condition of his birth in that element where alone the perfection and happiness of his nature are to be found."

The instinctive principles alone would not distinguish us essentially from brutes. It is our rational and governing principles which do this. It belongs to man only, to form a rational idea of happiness, and to devise means for its attainment. He possesses the power of comparing different gratifications, and of estimating consequences. This supposes the power of self-government, which is man's essential characteristic. These governing principles are—1. A regard to our own happiness, sometimes called self-love; and—2. The moral faculty.—

"Self-love is inseparable from our nature, as rational and sensitive beings. It is impossible to conceive a being capable of forming the notions of happiness and misery, to whom the one shall not be an object of desire, and the other of aversion, and so far from expressing any thing blameable, self-love denotes a principle of action, which we never sacrifice to any of our implanted appetites, desires, and affections, without incurring remorse and self-condemnation."

Although Stewart employs the phrase *self-love*, he does not entirely approve it. It is often used as synonymous with the desire of happiness; and owing to an unfortunate connexion in their etymology, it is frequently confounded with the word selfishness, which means something radically different from that rational regard to our happiness, on the whole, which is an original, (though not as some philosophers have attempted to prove,) the only original principle of action. Those who have believed virtue to consist in benevolence, that is, a regard for *others*, have concluded that self-love, or a regard for ourselves, must be the origin of vice: that this is an unjust view of a principle implanted by the Deity for the wisest purposes, must be evident to any mind unfettered by system. But of all our active principles, that from which the class of actions denominated moral flows, is by far the most important, and has in all ages engaged the attention and exercised the acuteness of philosophers. As some of these have resolved all vice into self-love, so others have referred all virtue to the same source. That two things so opposite in their nature as virtue and vice should be referred to the same origin, is indeed a striking illustration of the value of theories. To what absurd conclusions do we not suffer ourselves to be led by philosophy, when she attempts to guide us through the paths of ratiocination, without due attention to the point from which we started, or the notices set up by nature on our way! "Though a complete acquaintance with the practice of our duty," says the author, "does not presuppose any know-

ledge of the theory, yet it by no means follows that false theories are not pernicious. Whatever tends to question the immutability of moral distinctions, is likely to undermine the foundation of virtue." Since men of genius have advanced doubts on this subject, it is necessary to show the fallacy of their reasoning, and accordingly Stewart devotes a large portion of this work to the examination and refutation of these erroneous systems of virtue.

The more attractive department of the subject, the practice of virtue, has been ably and elegantly treated, both by ancient and modern writers; but the question as to the origin of our moral ideas is comparatively modern, (with the exception of a few hints from Plato,) and has been agitated chiefly since the writings of Cudworth in opposition to Hobbes. According to Hobbes, we approve of virtuous actions from self-love, because we find them beneficial to society, and of consequence to ourselves; and he taught that the laws which the civil magistrate enjoins, are the ultimate standards of morality. These opinions met with great opposition from the clergy of his time; but his most eminent antagonist was Cudworth, who maintained that positive law derived all its sanctions from natural law; that our ideas of right and wrong are original or natural; that they are incapable of an analysis; and if we would define them, we can only use synonymous terms. Stewart embraces the opinion, that our moral ideas flow from an original and essential principle of our nature, which he calls the moral faculty, and he offers several striking considerations to show, that we have a sense of duty which is not resolvable into our regard for happiness. Our moral emotions, he says, are different both in kind and degree from those of interest. In contemplating the characters exhibited in histories and in novels, or in witnessing the representations of the stage, the emotions we feel are the immediate and genuine result of our moral constitution. "The crowd at a theatre does not alter or create the moral feeling, it only enables us to remark its operation on a larger scale." There is no time for reflection; no judicious arrangement or regard to our own interest; here we most perfectly lose ourselves; and here is exhibited the purest effect of the moral sentiment.

Although it be admitted, that moral ideas cannot be analyzed into others more simple; it still remains a question with some, how they first came into the mind; whether they are still to be ascribed to reason, or a peculiar faculty. After Locke had limited the sources of all our ideas to sensation and reflection, to neither of which moral ideas could be referred, many theories respecting their origin were started, the object of all which seemed to be to remove them from the class of simple ideas, and resolve moral rectitude into a conformity with some rela-

tion perceived by the understanding. Hutcheson saw the vanity of these attempts, and in conformity with Locke's phraseology referred our moral ideas to a peculiar sense. If he meant that they were ultimate facts in the mind, though he was not happy in the choice of his expression, he certainly was not far from the truth. "The controversy," says Stewart, "turns solely on the meaning of words. The origin of our ideas of right and wrong, is manifestly the same with that of the other simple ideas already mentioned, and whether it be referred to the understanding or the feelings, seems to be a matter of mere arrangement, provided it be granted, that the words right and wrong, express qualities of actions, and not merely a power of exciting certain agreeable or disagreeable emotions in our minds."

There is a want of precision in the language of the author, and he has adopted some phrases, and stated some distinctions, which rather diminish than increase the clearness of our conceptions on this subject. The words right and wrong, when they are applied to the mind, mean moral emotions; when to actions, the qualities which excite these emotions; and the expressions—"the perception of right and wrong," of "merit and demerit," "of moral obligation," and "of what is agreeable and disagreeable in moral emotions," all refer to the same principle, and are but so many ways of expressing its operation on our mind.

Cudworth referred our moral ideas to reason, "this word is used sometimes in a limited sense to express merely the power of deduction or argument, but if it be used in a more general sense, to denote merely our rational and intellectual nature, there does not seem to be much impropriety in ascribing to it the origin of those simple notions, which are not excited in the mind by the immediate operation of the senses, but which arise in consequence of the exercise of the intellectual powers upon their various objects." Another point is the *immutability* of moral distinctions. Our author regards this as of more importance than any other connected with this subject; and one which admits of no doubt. The ancients were, some of them, led to question the immutability of moral distinctions, from the pious design of magnifying the perfections of the Deity. Among the moderns, some writers of genius have done the same thing, as Paley, Johnson, and Jenyns. "If," says Shaftesbury, "the mere will of God constitute right and wrong, then these words have no meaning at all." Paley perceived this objection, and admitted the justness of the inference. Consistency with the *divine will*, he says, constitutes virtue, but he goes on to say, that as the divine will is original and immutable, so also are the distinctions of right and wrong, which conform to it. This is not the immutability demanded for moral distinctions, but to be independent of any will whatever. The system which founds moral obliga-

tion on the will of God, must reason in a circle; that which refers it to a rational view of our own happiness, leads to consequences that entirely invalidate its authority; among others, that a being, independently happy, cannot have any moral attributes. "The notions of reward and punishment, suppose the notions of right and wrong." "It is absurd to ask why we are bound to practice virtue," says the author, "for the very notion of virtue implies the notion of obligation." "The moral faculty, considered as an active power of the mind, differs from all the others hitherto enumerated. The least violation of its authority fills us with remorse; on the contrary, the greater the sacrifices we make in obedience to its suggestions, the greater are our satisfaction and triumph."

This is conscience; its supreme authority is never questioned, even by those who have not courage to obey its dictates. The philosopher alone, misled by those systems which partial views of human nature have suggested; mistakes the foundation of its throne, or doubts that it is as immutable as that of God himself. We need seek no farther for the obligation to virtue, than the command of this voice within, for we must judge and act by the faculties we possess. These were given us by some power other than our own, and, as we cannot doubt, greater than our own. The certainty we obtain from the exercise of these faculties, is the greatest to which we are capable of attaining. If we are not certain that virtue is obligatory, then we are not certain that two and two are equal to four, that the sun is in the heavens, that the earth on which we tread is solid. [This moral power or faculty is the noblest element of human character, and according as it is possessed in larger or smaller portion, will the individual rise or fall in the scale of rational being.] The most delightful as well as the most elevated feelings, of which our nature is capable, spring from this source: our highest admiration, our strongest love, are never bestowed where virtue is wanting. The power to perceive and admire in all their fulness, the higher and purer modes of excellence, in our own nature, in the wonderful creations around us, and in the adorable source of all goodness, beauty and perfection, is found only in minds possessed of moral as well as intellectual superiority; the understanding alone never reaches the pure regions in which the moral powers enable man to soar. This faculty, which so eminently distinguishes him from every other creature of this lower world, exists in some measure in all; it is a feature of humanity, but it is only when it *predominates* in the character, that it overcomes the tendencies to selfish views, and mean desires and occupations, to which material and mortal things in their influences subject us. These inferior objects cannot be wholly disregarded; but at the elevation of moral superiority, the mind ne-

ver loses sight of their relative insignificance, and all its best feelings and highest thoughts are given to what is excellent and immortal. As this faculty is the noblest, so it is more within our control than any other we possess. We are conscious of a power over it, which we feel over no other; while, with respect to the powers of intellect, nature has more nearly defined to each one a limit; we realize that it depends on ourselves to take almost what rank we will in the moral grade. It is also important to avoid restricting its operation to too narrow a sphere. It may be extended almost indefinitely by cultivation, until it embrace in its salutary government almost every principle and faculty of our nature, imparting its ennobling and sanctifying influence, alike to those inferior elements, which ally us to mortal existences, and those more refined and elevated principles by which we are assimilated to the world of spirits. Power cannot assume a more imposing form than that of moral dignity and inflexibility of purpose. This is that underived and personal efficiency, which is the essential attribute of the mind, in which free agency is manifest. In this, the created nature approaches the divine; herein, to borrow the language of a most unholy personage, "ye shall be as Gods, knowing good and evil."

Nature has given us certain auxiliary principles in aid of the moral faculty, which, says our author, have been thought by some writers, of views not sufficiently comprehensive, to constitute or account for virtue. These furnish useful assistance in education, and in the formation of our own character, and though liable to abuse, are not on that account to be disregarded. So long as they are subject to the control of virtue, they render its practice easier and more graceful. It is only when an inferior principle becomes the leading one, that their effect is injurious. The most beautiful harmony exists, where each maintains the station and performs the part which nature assigned it; and it shows not a little presumption to assert, that any one can be dispensed with, or is hurtful in any other way than as it is abused and perverted. Emulation, sympathy, taste, even self-love, perform their part in working out the great problem of perfection.

With regard to the second division of the subject, the *duties* which flow from the principle of moral obligation, Stewart adopts the most common arrangement, viz. those which relate to the Deity, to our fellow creatures, and to ourselves. The existence of Deity, according to him, does not seem to be an intuitive truth. It requires the exercise of reason for its discovery, though the process consist of a single step, and the premises belong to that class of first principles, which are essential parts of our constitution. They are two—1st, every thing which exists must have a

cause,—2d, combination of means to a particular end implies intelligence.

With respect to the first, the foundation of our reasoning from the effect to the cause, much has been written, and the system of one philosopher has been supplanted by that of another. Stewart has here, as in other parts of his work, mingled his own remarks with an account of the opinions of others, rather commenting on what they have said, than laying down any distinct judgments of his own. He has noticed the vague and indefinite manner in which the terms *cause* and *power* have been used, and he maintains the distinction between physical and efficient causes.

Availing ourselves of his remarks, whenever they appear to us to be correct, we shall attempt a further elucidation of the subject; being aware, however, that it is the philosopher alone who feels himself at a loss in the matter. No man of mere common sense doubts that every effect must have a cause, although, perhaps, he could not give a reason for his opinion; at the same time, he is in no danger of confounding his idea of the causes of effects in the material world, with that underived energy or power, which is the attribute of mind alone, although he applies the term cause to both these classes of phenomena. "Our knowledge of the course of nature," says Stewart, "is entirely the result of observation and reflection. In this way, we get ideas of invariable, but not of necessary connexion." It has been supposed, that this idea was first advanced by Hume. Traces of it, however, may be found in the writings of many modern philosophers, and even in some of the ancient. The sceptical conclusions which Hume deduced from this truth, were founded on erroneous views of the origin of our ideas. He first assumes, that all our ideas are obtained by means of impressions received from observation or reasoning, and having perceived that there was in cause and effect, nothing more than the phenomena and their invariable order, he was at a loss to find that impression from which, according to his theory, the idea of the necessity of a cause could arise. One antecedent and sequence could not give this idea, as here are nothing but the impression of the two events, and their order in this particular. That this order will obtain hereafter, is an idea of the future, which could not be the copy of past or present phenomena; neither can it be inferred from these by reasoning, since from the fact that events have been conjoined, it cannot logically be inferred, that they always will, still less that they necessarily must be so. But he affirms, that the *succession* of many phenomena in the same order, gives the impression of invariability, although a single instance is inadequate to do this; and thus, from observing numerous similar successions, we obtain the idea of causation. That this does not

remove the difficulty is obvious, even if his theory of impressions be admitted, (of which, however, there is no proof). According to this explanation, if a child burn his finger with a candle, he ought not to believe it will burn him again, until he has made several experiments, and obtained the idea of a cause from the succession of sequences. We suspect it will be found that the old proverb, "a burned child dreads the fire," is as true in the first instance as in any which may succeed.

A belief in the necessity of a cause to every effect, is essential to the preservation of our existence, and universally recognised. Stewart thinks it not important to ascertain the origin of this belief, as any doubts which may arise in the mind on this point, do not affect the reality of the notion. He inclines, however, to the opinion, that it is an intuitive idea, which necessarily follows the perception of an effect. This was Dr. Reid's opinion; and Brown, in his work on the relation of cause and effect, adopts the same. The rise of this idea in the mind, is plainly owing to those original principles of our nature, and circumstances of our condition, from which all the elements of human knowledge are derived. Whether, however, the character of invariability in the order of nature, which we observe and fully believe will always continue, is necessary or dependent on the immediate agency of the creator; whether, if necessary, it was originally so from the nature of things; or is only rendered so by his act of creation, are questions which, as it surpasses the limits of our present faculties to answer, so it is useless for us to agitate. Nevertheless, some of the most powerful minds which have ever existed on earth, have occupied no small portion of their lives in attempts to solve them.

A great proportion of the disputes and subtleties which have agitated metaphysicians, may be traced to two sources;—first, the attempt to find the essence or original meaning of a term, which has become so generalized as to render it impossible to reduce all its applications to a single element, as beauty, sublimity, taste, happiness, &c.; and, secondly, to an attempt to define or prove, by a process of reasoning, truths which are intuitive, which therefore do not admit of analysis, and the foundations of which are prior and paramount to all reasoning. We are inclined to think it is owing to both these sources; that although so much has been written about our ideas of causation, or power, the subject is still invested with obscurity. It may perhaps help to dissipate some portion of this obscurity, to advert to the vague and indefinite manner in which these terms have been used, sometimes as synonymous, and then again in senses essentially different. Ambiguity of language is a fruitful source of error, but is often inevitable. To expose this ambiguity, is not unfrequently the surest method of throwing light on an intricate

subject. The mind readily admits truth, and distinguishes it from error, whenever both are clearly presented to its view. It is only when they are obscured by the mists of inaccurate language and imperfect analogies, that it is in danger of mistaking the one for the other.

Aristotle has distinguished causes into four kinds—the efficient, the material, the formal, and the final. The term power is also frequently used as synonymous with cause, and with the phrase efficient cause. Brown, in his inquiry, resolves all our ideas of a cause or power, into the simple relation of invariable priority of event. “There is, in reality,” he says, “but one cause, the proximate event.” “Both in the spiritual world and the material, all that we know of causation, indeed all that exists, are the phenomena and their invariable order. There is no mysterious chain, no undiscovered agency, which links the phenomena together; nothing but the invariable succession of events.” But the mind is not satisfied with the phrase, invariable priority, as a definition or description of power; neither are we prepared to allow that there is no distinction between what has been termed a cause in the material department of existence, and power, or causation, in the Deity. If there be a radical distinction, Brown has overlooked it. We admit, that in the exercise of power in intelligent agents, there is nothing more than the volition as antecedent; and the thing willed to be done as consequent; and physical and efficient causes agree in this respect, the invariability of their order. Possessing in common so important a feature of resemblance, they may be all included in one class. But then we should be cautious, (and many errors in philosophy have arisen from neglect of this caution,) that while we include under one head, and call by the same name, a variety of phenomena, agreeing in some one important circumstance, we do not lose sight of and confound other important circumstances, in which they do not agree. With regard to the causes in question, this relation of invariable order is the only respect in which they do agree. In one less important, viz. the character itself of the antecedent, they differ essentially. In mental phenomena, this antecedent is always volition, and involves the idea of choice and self-sufficiency, or of power undenied, which the agent is free to employ or not; for free agency is inseparable from power, or is indeed power. As Stewart says, “the words power or energy express attributes, not of matter but of mind.”

This power, which we call creature divine, conscious power, though in its exercise it resemble, as we have already said, the phenomena of matter, that is, physical causes, in the invariability of its relation to the effect, is yet in its own nature so distinct, that to reason about it, without regard to this distinction, and keeping in view only the more general features, will lead to un-

sound conclusions. There is, then, to our minds, clearly, a distinction between the will of God, which exerts a self-originating, self-measured sway, and those physical phenomena, which invariably and involuntarily precede their appropriate effect. When we limit the term *cause* to express simply the idea of invariable priority of event, it will be restricted far more than the popular use of the word in all languages warrants, and we must have another term to express that equally important meaning, which is every where assigned to it, mental power, original and voluntary efficiency, which our own consciousness, whence undoubtedly we first derived our idea, forbids us to confound (as Brown has done) with the unintelligent and unconscious causes of physical events. Brown asserts that the distinction of physical and efficient causes cannot be allowed: he not merely objects to the phrases, but he denies the existence of the distinction they are employed to express. He also says, in another place, that the illusion, that power or causation mean something more than this relation, (of invariable order) is so universal with the ignorant, as well as with the learned, as to deserve a serious examination. We are also of opinion that it deserves examination, and furthermore, are inclined to regard the circumstance of the idea being universal, as a proof that it is not an illusion, but founded on the original laws of human nature. The explanation which he has given of the rise of this illusion (as he terms it) in the mind, is not satisfactory to us; but this is not the place to examine it. We should not have dwelt so long on his opinions, had they not been received with deference, which indeed any opinions from so distinguished a writer might claim, and if they did not appear to many minds, if not satisfactory, at least unanswerable.

"The confusion which has prevailed concerning final and efficient causes has," says Stewart, "produced much error, especially in the philosophy of the human mind." "When it was observed that certain actions tended to certain ends, as for instance the exercise of benevolence to happiness, this was believed to be the efficient cause, and hence arose the selfish systems in ethics, and those which attempted to derive happiness from a single source." We might think that if any two things would be distinguished, it would be means and ends; (and what are efficient and final causes but means and ends?) yet there is an agreement between them which has led to their being confounded. For it is a consideration of the end which induces the intelligent agent to adopt the means, and which thus becomes the cause of the event. In other cases, as in the exercise of the instinctive principles, although we learn from experience, that certain actions tend to certain ends, yet such is our constitution, we are not prompted to the performance of the action by a con-

sideration of the end, but by original desires, which were, however, plainly designed by our Maker to produce precisely these effects. It must be remembered, that the phrase final cause can be applied to the phenomena of mind only, and never to those of matter, and therefore Brown, consistently with his system, which includes under one head every description of cause, mental as well as material, rejects it as altogether inadmissible in philosophical language. We do not contend for the phrase, indeed we think it objectionable, but we cannot allow that the distinction it expresses is not original, and important to be observed.

There seems to be no objection to retaining the expressions physical, efficient and final cause, provided these be accurately applied. Every use of the term *cause* implies that which invariably *precedes* or *produces* an effect. But these words are by no means synonymous: a want of attention to the distinction has contributed not a little to the obscurity of this subject. In our attempts to lessen this obscurity, it has been our aim to show, 1. That our belief in the necessity of a cause for every effect we perceive, is intuitive. 2. That the simple relation of invariable priority is not all which is meant to be expressed by the terms cause or power; they also include the idea of that underived and self-directing energy, which is an attribute of mind. The application of the term *cause*, to the phenomena of matter, is a generalization made in consequence of the resemblance of this class of phenomena to those of mind, in the important relation of invariable priority. That the terms, if as we suppose originally derived from mind, should have been thus applied, is not surprising, when we reflect on how slight degrees of resemblance words become generalized. Invariable antecedence is essentially different from accidental, and we cannot deny that it may with propriety be called necessary; whether from the nature of things or the will of the Creator, as we have before said, it exceeds the limits of our faculties to ascertain. At least the effect must have a peculiar connexion with the cause. To assert that in causation, there is nothing more than the antecedent event, and its relation of priority to the effect, is not to deny this; for what is this relation? It is not, we know, either the antecedent or the consequent; it is not an idea perceived by the senses; but, is it not cognizable by any other power of the mind? Can we venture to exclude from the regions of reality, that numerous class of ideas denominated relations? what would become of the reasoning faculty? if not lost, it would be almost useless, when deprived of its most important materials. The term *cause* has also been applied to ends, in consequence of the relation which the consideration of the end bears in the mind to those volitions which determine the selection of means.

Thus the terms cause and power, which though not perfectly synonymous, are often used as if they were, have been applied to classes of phenomena, whose agreement in some respects justifies the generalization of the terms ; but which differ in others so important, that reasonings which proceeded on the ground that there were no such distinctions, and did not accurately mark them, have, as might be supposed, led to confusion and error.

After having established the foundation of the argument from final causes, viz. the intuitive and therefore irresistible belief of the necessity of a cause for every effect, our author goes on to consider and refute the objections which have been urged against it by different philosophers, especially by Hume. In Stewart's opinion, the consideration of the evidences of wisdom in the universe, are more important in the argument for the existence of Deity, than those of design even, and afford striking proof of the unity of the Divine Agent: and the evidence derived from the moral government of God, he says, is calculated to affect the mind both more powerfully and more beneficially than the physical argument.

We have not left ourselves room to take even a very brief view of the remaining chapters. They treat of the arguments in favour of a future life, which the light of nature affords, and of our duties to God, to others, and to ourselves. Though containing, as has been already hinted, little that is new, this work will be perused with pleasure and profit. The various opinions of philosophers on the theory and practice of morals, are clearly stated, their errors exposed, and the truth presented with simplicity ; and what is also important, the subject is rendered attractive by the beauty and richness of the author's style, and the rationality of his views. There is much true philosophy in it, and but little that is abstract or very profound. We do not value it the less on this account. It is but too frequently the case, that the labours of the metaphysician, (being deficient in that practical character which is essential to usefulness,) serve but to darken by ambiguous words and imaginary distinctions, a subject before sufficiently plain, making it the employment of a succeeding genius to dispel the mist and restore the original simplicity. "The science of abstruse learning," says our author, "I consider in the same light with an ingenious writer, who compares it to Achilles' spear, that healed the wounds it had made before. It serves to repair the damage itself had occasioned; and this is perhaps all it is good for. It casts no additional light upon the paths of life, but disperses the clouds with which it had overspread them before. It advances not the traveller one step on his journey, but conducts him back again to the spot from which he wandered."

Those only, on the contrary, have advanced and are advancing

true science, who aid the mind in forming just estimates, in perceiving real distinctions, in drawing rational inferences, in those subjects which engage its attention; and there are few authors in the language, whose writings possess this tendency in a greater degree than those of Dugald Stewart.

ART. VI.—*A Political and Civil History of the United States of America, from the year 1763 to the close of the Administration of President Washington, in March, 1797: including a Summary View of the Political and Civil State of the North American Colonies, prior to that period.* By TIMOTHY PITKIN. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 528 & 539. New-Haven: Hezekiah Howe and Durrie & Peck: 1828.

EVERY effort towards elucidating and perpetuating the history of this our interesting country, merits approval; an empire, now rapidly advancing towards the front rank of civilized nations, yet so recently snatched from the woods, created amidst difficulties and dangers, by those who were unconscious at the moment that they were laying its ample foundation; that their rude huts would be succeeded by lofty, convenient, and, in time, luxurious habitations; that the savages whom in policy they often felt themselves obliged to court, but occasionally were induced to assail, would wholly disappear from a vast portion of the territory around them, and that the scattered tremulous settlers were but the predecessors of millions.

No part of the history of man, in any age, since the dispersion of the descendants of Noah, presents more striking phenomena. No where else do we find so much at which to wonder. If we in this country consider it without emotion, it is because habit has rendered it familiar. We should abstract ourselves from home, to view in a proper light the vastness of the object. We must stand at a distance to form an adequate conception of the cathedral of St. Peter's.

The contemplation of this inspiring subject is not impeded by clouds and obscurity. The early history of most of the European nations is lost in darkness. Whence sprung the Greeks? Whence the Gauls? Who were the original inhabitants of Italy? Authentic history is silent. Even tradition fails, and recourse is had to fiction. In America, the same doubts and perplexity in regard to its aboriginals environ us: a race of unlettered savages is alone preserved, who cannot tell us whence they proceeded. Traces of the existence of a superior race of beings are found among them, which mark the passage of centuries since

their construction, scarcely noticed by the modern *nomades*, who are wholly unable to explain them. All is enveloped in doubt and darkness, and will ever so remain. But in respect of the original formation of the great empire now swelling around us, there is nothing mysterious, nothing that may not be known. The literature of Europe, in a competent quantity, was introduced by the first adventurers. The art of printing facilitated and disseminated information of all that was done here: among the crowd of hardy labourers, there were acute and intelligent minds, who found leisure to narrate the exploits of the whole; and we can trace with more certainty than belongs to any other nation, the origin and progress of our own.

Mr. Pitkin is already advantageously known to the public. His statistical work, published in 1816; a precursor to the more extensive system of Dr. Seybert, was received with much approbation. His mind seems to be of that cast which is fond of occupying itself in collection; he is industrious and discriminating; and labours, such as his, form the useful foundation of enlarged and liberal history. The work now before us may be consulted with profit by every one.

Those who have read little of the history of their country, will find in it much new and useful information; and those who are more conversant with our annals, will not disdain a collection of facts, extracted from cotemporary writers, or from public documents, which it would be laborious to trace, and sometimes difficult to find. We are, therefore, disposed to enter on the present review with much good humour, and, in some respects, with full commendation of the work.

The title-page, (which is preceded by a sorry engraving of the most illustrious man that ever appeared among us,) sufficiently details the author's intentions. They comprise a summary view of the political and civil state of the North American colonies, prior to the year 1763. At that period, it is enlarged from a summary statement to a civil history of the United States, down to the close of the administration of President Washington. There is, however, some carelessness in this part of the title, of which the author could not have been aware. A history cannot be given of that which is not yet in existence, and there were no United States between 1763 and 1776. A history of the British Colonies from the year 1763 till the 4th of July 1776, and of the United States after that period, would be a more suitable description of the work.

Mr. Pitkin begins as usual with the first discovery of the country, and concisely relates the procedures of Cabot, Venazana, and Cartier, from which he advances to the laying of the foundations of the several British colonies. There is, however, nothing in this part of the work which is not generally known.

The third chapter becomes more interesting; it introduces us into those firm yet modest assertions of British rights, unimpaired by emigration, which the colonists perceived were intended by the British ministry to be disdainfully trampled upon.

"In regard to the imposition of taxes, the colonial legislatures at various times passed declaratory acts.

"In 1636, the assembly of the Plymouth colony declared, 'that no act, imposition, law, or ordinance be made or imposed upon us, at present, or to come, but such as has or shall be enacted by the *consent of the body of the freemen, or their representatives*, legally assembled; which is according to the *free liberties of the free born people of England*.'

"In 1650, when the constitution of Maryland was settled, the legislature of that province passed 'an act against raising money without the consent of the assembly,' declaring, 'that no taxes shall be assessed or levied on the freemen of the province without their own consent, or that of their deputies, first declared in a general assembly.'

"In 1661, the general court of Massachusetts declared, that 'any imposition prejudicial to the country, contrary to any just law of their own, (not repugnant to the laws of England,) was an infringement of their right.'

"In March, 1663—4, the assembly of Rhode Island declared, in the words of magna charta, that 'no aid, tax, tallage, or custom, loan, benevolence, gift, excise, duty, or imposition whatsoever, shall be laid, assessed, imposed, levied, or required, of or on any of his Majesty's subjects, within this colony, or upon their estates, upon any manner of pretence or colour, but by the assent of the general assembly of this colony.' In the year 1692, the assembly of Massachusetts made a similar declaration.

"This was in accordance with the views of the agents of that colony, who procured and assented to the new charter. Among the reasons given by them for their acceptance of that instrument, one was, that 'the general court had, with the King's approbation, as much power in New-England as the King and parliament had in England; they have all English privileges, and can be touched by no law, and by no *tax*, but of their own making.' The act of New-York concerning their rights and privileges, to which we have alluded, passed in 1691, contained the same declaration relative to taxes, and although this, as well as the act of Massachusetts, was repealed by the King, in 1697, yet they show the sense of the people of these provinces, on this great question, at that early period. The assembly of New-Jersey not only made the same declaration, with respect to the right of taxation, but resisted the collection of duties on goods brought into the Delaware, arbitrarily imposed by Sir Edmund Andrus, in 1680. In a hearing before the commissioners of the Duke of York, on the subject of these duties, the colonists of New-Jersey, claiming under Berkley and Carteret, do not hesitate to declare them illegal and unconstitutional, *because imposed without their consent*.

"They stated to the commissioners, that the Duke of York granted to those under whom they claim, not only the *country itself*, but 'the powers of government.' 'That, only,' they subjoined, 'could have induced us to buy it, and the reason is plain, because to all prudent men, the *government* of any place is more inviting than the *soil*; for what is good *land*, without good *laws*; the better the worse: and if we could not assure people of an *easy*, and *free*, and *safe* government, both with respect to their *spiritual and worldly property*, that is, an uninterrupted liberty of conscience, and an inviolable possession of their civil rights and freedom, by a just and wise government, a mere wilderness would be no encouragement: for it were madness to leave a free, good, and improved country, to plant in a wilderness, and there adventure many thousands of pounds, to give an absolute title to another person to *tax* us at will and pleasure.' 'Natural rights and human prudence oppose such doctrine, all the world over; for what is it, but to say, that a people free by law under their prince at home, are at his mercy in the plantations abroad.'

"In conclusion, they say, 'there is no end to this power; for since we are by

this precedent assessed without any law, and thereby excluded our *English right of common assent to taxes*; what security have we of any thing we possess? We can call nothing our own, but are tenants at will, not only for the soil, but for all our personal estates. This sort of conduct has destroyed government, but never raised one to any true greatness.'

"The same views of this subject were entertained by Virginia, when they so earnestly solicited a charter of rights from the King, in 1676. It will be remembered, that a draft of a charter, ordered by the King, for Virginia, contained a clause securing the right of *internal taxation* to the people of that colony, and that in its last stages the charter itself was stopped. It was supposed by the agents, and no doubt truly, that this clause was one of the reasons for a final refusal of the great seal. In their petition to the King, praying for a completion of the instrument, the intelligent and patriotic agents, on this subject, say, 'the fourth head, (taxation) it is true, contains that which we humbly conceive to be the right of Virginians, as well as of all other Englishmen, which is, *not to be taxed but by their consent, expressed by their representatives.*'

"This is the same language which was held nearly a century afterwards, by Patrick Henry and other patriots in Virginia.

"Many of the colonists, indeed, entertained an opinion that they were bound by no acts of parliament; because not represented in that body. Nicholson, governor of Maryland, in a letter to the board of trade, in 1698, says, 'I have observed, that a great many people in all these provinces and colonies, especially under proprietaries, and the two others, under Connecticut and Rhode Island, think that *no law of England* ought to be in force and binding to them, *without their own consent.* For they *foolishly say*, they have no representatives sent from themselves, to the parliament of England; and they look upon all laws, made in England, that put any restraint upon them, to be great hardships.'"

On a subject so thoroughly discussed as this has been, little more can now be said. The elementary principles are too plain to be misunderstood. The government of a country, from which a colony emigrates, may impose terms before it grants permission to depart, and those terms, when accepted by the colonists, ought to be faithfully adhered to. If none are imposed and assented to, no contract is made, and the emigrating party retains, without diminution, all the rights of free agency which were enjoyed at home. If the charter is merely the act of the executive power, it may well be doubted, whether, without legislative interference, a body of subjects could be reduced, in a distant country, under nominal subjection to a condition of political and personal rights, inferior to that they would have been entitled to if they had remained at home; and even contracts, without the sanction of the legislature, would be of questionable obligation. The posterior acts of the legislature would afford no aid. The declaratory act of 1766, which affirmed that the British parliament had a right to bind the colonies in all cases whatever, was absurd, and it became a just subject of ridicule in this country. The colonists might, by their own acts, put themselves in some degree under the power of the legislature. It would amount to a concession of a right, and would be treated as a step towards the formation of another compact. The danger of such a measure did not escape the penetration of the jealous and acute New-Englanders.

"In 1640, governor Winthrop, in his journal, says, 'upon the great liberty which the King left the parliament to in England, some of our friends there, wrote to us, advising to send over some one to solicit for us in parliament, giving us hopes, we might obtain much : but, consulting about it, we (the governor and assistants convened in council) declined the motion for this consideration, that, if we should put ourselves under the *protection of parliament*, we must be subject to all such *laws* as they should make, or at least, such as they might impose on us ; in which course, if they should intend our good, yet it might prove very prejudicial to us.'

"And governor Trumbull, in his letter to baron J. D. Vander Capellan, in 1779, referring to this passage in Winthrop's journal, says, 'that at that time and ever since, the colonies, so far from acknowledging the parliament to have a right to make laws binding on them, in all cases whatsoever, they have ever denied it, in any case.'"

The chapter is closed with an enumeration of the very oppressive restrictions laid on the internal as well as the foreign trade of the colonies, and concludes with the just observation of Adam Smith, that "to prohibit a great people from making all they can of every part of their own produce, or from enjoying their own stock and industry in the way they judge most advantageous to themselves, is a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind." From a very early period, there were constant dissatisfaction, and mutual distrust. In fact, we cannot find a point of time during which any positive cordiality existed. The mother country looked with jealousy on the rapid increase and prosperity of the provinces ; it perceived a gradual attainment of strength and power injurious to the manufacturer and the merchant of England. It foresaw a further progress which might dissolve the political connexion.

"A very general opinion, also, prevailed in England, that the colonists, under these governments, aimed at independence. In 1701, a bill was brought into parliament, for re-uniting all the charter governments to the crown. It embraced Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, East and West Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Carolina, and the Bahama or Lucay Islands. The preamble declared, '*that the severing such power and authority from the crown,*' had been found, by experience '*prejudicial and repugnant to the trade of this kingdom and to the welfare of his majesty's other plantations in America, and to his majesty's revenue, arising from the customs, by reason of many of these plantations, and by those in authority there, under them, by encouraging and countenancing pirates and unlawful traders, and otherwise.'*

"The bill then declares the charters or letters patent of all the plantations abovementioned, to be utterly void and of no effect, and that the governments of the same, should be re-united and annexed to the crown. The agents of some of the colonies were heard before the house of lords, and the bill was defeated. The enemies of the charter governments, however, were unremitted in their exertions, and continued their complaints to the king, and the board of trade.

"Taking advantage of the just complaints of the people of Carolina, against the conduct of the proprietors of that province, the subject of annulling not only the charter of that province, but those of the other governments, was again brought before parliament, in the beginning of the reign of George I. ; and it was with no little difficulty that the charters of New-England were saved. Jeremiah Dummer, agent of Massachusetts and Connecticut, about this time, published a defence of the New-England charters, which he addressed to Lord Carteret, one of the Secretaries of state. This defence was drawn with great ability and judgment, and had no little influence in preserving the charter rights of his constituents.

"One of the greatest objections against these governments, was, that, 'from their increasing *numbers* and *wealth*, these colonies would in the course of a few years, throw off their *dependence* on the parent country, and declare themselves a free state, if not *checked* in time, by being made *entirely subject* to the crown.' This objection, says Mr. Dummer, '*one meets with from people of all conditions and qualities.*' A native of Massachusetts himself, Mr. Dummer well knew the strong attachment of the people of that colony, as well as of all New-England, to the rights secured by their charters; and he declared to the secretary of state, they would esteem 'the loss of their privileges a greater calamity than if their houses were all in flames at once. Nor can they be justly blamed,' he adds, 'the one being a reparable evil, the other irreparable. Burnt houses may rise again out of their ashes, and even more beautiful than before; but 'tis to be feared, *that liberty once lost, is lost for ever.*' "

And these apprehensions are openly avowed by the Board of Trade, in 1728, on a reference to them of a memorial from the General Court of Massachusetts, of which the author gives an interesting account. After noticing in some passages, not very well expressed, the unjust practice of exporting convicts to the plantations, and the impatience with which they were received; and after describing, more at large, the measures taken for the instruction of youth, and the cultivation of literature, Mr. Pitkin concludes his fifth chapter with the following well written paragraph:—

"The political, civil, and literary institutions, which we have thus briefly and imperfectly noticed, established principally by the colonists themselves, partook not a little, as the reader must have observed, of the character of their authors; a character, as has been often remarked, peculiar to the settlers in the new world, and in many respects different from that of the great mass of the people in Europe. Great Britain herself, at the commencement of the revolution, was ignorant of the character of her numerous subjects in America; and indeed, the American character, even at this day, is not perfectly understood in Europe. The difference in the circumstances and condition of the great mass of the inhabitants of the new and the old world, seems to have been overlooked by most of the Europeans. It could not have escaped, one would suppose, the attention of the most superficial observer, that no ordinary motives, no common energy of mind, could have induced the first settlers of America to leave their native homes for a wilderness; much less to encounter the dangers to which they were exposed; and to endure the hardships necessarily incident to their new situation. Though the motives and views of those who settled in the different colonies were different, yet their situation, in their new places of abode, being in many respects similar, naturally produced in all an energy of character, and a spirit of independence, unknown in the great mass of the people they had left in Europe. In most of the colonies, the inhabitants held their lands in fee simple, free from rents. Feudal tenures were unknown in America. Every man was a freeholder, and his freehold was at his own disposal. Attached to the farm on which he lived, and from which he supported himself and his family, he had every inducement to secure and defend it. This independent situation was immediately felt by the first emigrants to North America. Alluding to this situation, so different from that of many he had left in England, one of the first settlers in Plymouth, in a letter to his friend there, observes, 'We are all freeholders, and the rent day does not trouble us.'

"This independent condition of the colonists, with respect to the tenure of their lands, combined with that equality which existed among them, arising from an equal distribution of property, a general diffusion of knowledge, and a share which all had in the government, naturally produced a love of liberty, an independence of character, and a jealousy of power, which ultimately led, under

divine Providence, to that revolution, which placed them among the nations of the earth."

We proceed to the interval between the peace of 1763, and our declaration of independence. There are much fair narrative and sound sense to be found in relation to the events of this interval. The fatuity of Lord Grenville, and the delusion of his followers, in the imposition of the Stamp Act, are well contrasted with the stern and uniform resistance it met with. On this particular subject, there was little division of opinion among us. All resisted the first attempt, because all were concerned in the obvious illegality of internal taxation; and when the Rockingham administration consented to its repeal, an universal joy prevailed throughout America.

Of the proceedings of the first Congress in 1765, our author gives a somewhat ampler detail (for which we refer to the book) than we meet with in other historical works. He commences the eighth chapter with the second Congress, which met in September, 1774; and of their proceedings, as well as of those of the colonies at large, his account is lucid and faithful. Although a full description of military transactions forms no part of the plan, he is unavoidably led to mention the great turning point from which Great Britain may correctly date the irretrievable loss of her power over us.

"The preparations of the colonists for defence increased with the increase of danger. The manufacture of gunpowder, arms, and ammunition of every kind, was encouraged. In Massachusetts in particular, all was vigilance and activity. Every person capable of bearing arms, was to be ready at a moment's warning, and arms and provisions were collected and deposited at the towns of Worcester and Concord. Though a desperate conflict seemed inevitable, the people of Massachusetts, as well as the other colonies, were determined not to be the first to commence the attack; but were resolved to repel by force, the first hostile aggression, on the part of the British commander. An opportunity soon offered, to bring their resolution as well as courage to the test. On the 18th of April 1775, a detachment of troops moved from Boston, to destroy the warlike and other stores deposited at Concord; and the next day, the battle of Lexington and Concord followed, in which the British first commenced actual hostilities, by firing on the militia collected at the former place.

"The people of Massachusetts redeemed the pledge they had often given, to defend their rights at the hazard of their lives. The British were repulsed, and compelled, with no inconsiderable loss, to return to Boston. The news of this engagement soon spread through the colonies. All New-England was in arms, and thousands moving towards the scene of action.

"The provincial congress of Massachusetts immediately resolved that an army of thirteen thousand men should be raised, and the other New-England colonies were requested to furnish an additional number, for the defence of the country. The treasurer was directed to borrow £100,000 for the use of the province; and they declared that the citizens were no longer under any obligations of obedience to governor Gage. They immediately despatched to Dr. Franklin, their agent in England, an account of this hostile attack, accompanied with an address to the people of Great Britain."

War had now commenced. Subsequent military operations are slightly glanced at, and only mentioned when it is necessary to connect and explain the general civil history. The interven-

tion of the French, its effects upon both countries, and the final recognition of our independence, are successively, but somewhat drily, narrated. We seldom find any general remarks, any references to the state of the country, the pulsations of the public mind, or the principles on which the defensive combination was founded and preserved. The reader is commonly left to draw his own inferences, and it cannot be denied that the facts are sufficiently stated for the purpose. Some detached articles, perhaps not generally known, may be selected as specimens of the difficulties with which, in our infant state, we had to struggle, and which sufficiently evince the activity and the firmness of our Congress.

Spain, it will be long remembered, came reluctantly to our aid. The character of that government had, since the reign of Philip III., been marked by a high tone, not altogether consistent with the extent of its strength. Those who had so lately been mere provincial dependents, and who suddenly assumed the attitude and habiliments of an independent nation, were looked upon as much in scorn as in compassion. We were regarded as mendicants, assuming higher titles than we could prove our right to—as suppliants, whom it might be impolitic to assist, but no way dangerous to repel. It required greater talents than those of the Spanish minister, to foresee, that time would raise these feeble provinces into an empire mightier than their own—but it might have been foreseen, that one example would tend to produce a similar effort on her own American provinces. The idea of admitting us to navigate the Mississippi alarmed her. It was ardently pressed by us, and pertinaciously refused. The account of Mr. Jay's reception and negotiations at Madrid deserves to be copied:—

“In the mean time, congress came to the resolution of sending a minister to Spain; and the next day Mr. Jay was appointed envoy to the court of Madrid, and Mr. Adams to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain. Mr. Jay was intrusted with the important business of procuring the accession of Spain to the treaties the United States had made with France. In case his Catholic Majesty required additional stipulations, he was at liberty to propose such as should be ‘analogous to the principal aim of the alliance, and conformable to the rules of equity, reciprocity, and friendship.’ If Spain should accede to the treaties, and in concurrence with France and the United States continue the war, for the purposes therein expressed, he was instructed to offer her the Floridas, on the terms and conditions contained in the above mentioned resolution.

“For the beneficial enjoyment of the navigation of the Mississippi below latitude 31°, he was instructed to procure some convenient port on the Mississippi, below that latitude, for the use of the citizens of the states. He was, also, directed to obtain a loan of five millions of dollars; before making any propositions for a loan, however, he was to solicit a subsidy, in consideration of the guarantee of the Floridas.

“Mr. Jay sailed for Spain the latter part of the year, but being driven by a storm to the West Indies, he did not arrive in that country until March, 1780.”

“In consequence of the success of the enemy at the south during the year 1780, the state of Virginia, in order to induce Spain to accede to the treaty of

alliance, and to afford more effectual aid in the common cause, was willing to recede from insisting on the right of navigating the Mississippi, and of a free port below the thirty-first degree of north latitude; and on these points, instructed their delegates in congress to procure an alteration in Mr. Jay's instructions.

"Congress, therefore, in February, 1781, directed Mr. Jay no longer to insist on this part of his instructions, in case Spain should unalterably persist in her refusal; and provided the free navigation of the Mississippi, above latitude thirty-one degrees, should be acknowledged and guarantied by the king of Spain, to the citizens of the United States, in common with his subjects.

"This was done, as congress declared, because the Americans were desirous to manifest to all the world, and particularly to his Catholic Majesty, the moderation of their views, the high value they place on the friendship of his Catholic Majesty, and their disposition to remove every obstacle to his accession to the alliance subsisting between his most Christian Majesty and these United States, in order to unite the more closely in their measures and operations, three powers who have so great a unity of interests, and thereby to compel the common enemy to a speedy, just, and honourable peace."

"Soon after Mr. Jay's arrival at Cadiz, which, as we have before stated, was not until March, 1780, he sent his secretary, Mr. Carmichael, from that place to Madrid, to sound the Spanish court on the subject of his mission. As a preliminary, that court wished to obtain particular information, concerning the population, manufactures, commerce, military and naval power, and generally the wealth and resources of the United States, as well as the dispositions of the Americans to persevere in their struggle for independence.

"The Spanish minister, therefore, requested of the American envoy answers to various questions on these subjects. To these Mr. Jay returned very long and able answers; and afterwards went to Madrid, and had many conferences with the prime minister, count Florida Blanca. He was soon informed that the king of Spain would not accede to the treaties made with France; and indeed he was told, in the most explicit terms, that his Catholic Majesty was displeased with the king of France, for concluding those treaties without his concurrence.

"The letter of the king of Spain to the French king, of the 22d of March, 1778, in answer to one from the latter, announcing his determination to disclose to the court of London his connexion with America, bears strong marks of dissatisfaction.

"The American minister found the Spanish court very slow in all their movements. Having refused to acknowledge the independence of the United States, the king would not formally receive Mr. Jay as an American minister. This rendered his situation humiliating as well as embarrassing. His embarrassments were greatly increased, in consequence of bills drawn upon him by congress to a large amount, before any provision was made for their payment. Presuming on the good will of the Spanish court towards the cause of America, the national legislature ventured to draw these bills, making them payable at six months sight; trusting their minister would be able, before they fell due, to procure money from the king of Spain, either by loan or subsidy, to pay them. The Spanish minister, when informed of this, expressed no little surprise, that a step of this kind should be taken by congress, without a previous arrangement with his master; and it was not without great difficulty, Mr. Jay obtained from him, an engagement to furnish part of the amount for which the bills were drawn. When the American minister pressed the Spanish court on the subject of forming treaties with the United States, agreeably to his instructions, he was told, that as a preliminary, some definitive arrangement must be made respecting the navigation of the Mississippi; and he was informed, that his Catholic Majesty had determined to exclude all foreigners from entering the gulf of Mexico by the rivers from the north. The American minister was strongly pressed to yield on these points.

"Though Mr. Jay had the promise of assistance in the payment of the bills drawn upon him, yet infinite delays and difficulties were constantly interposed in the fulfilment of this promise. In consequence of this, the credit of the American government was put in great jeopardy, the embarrassments of Mr. Jay in-

creased, and his patience put to the severest trial. In order to meet the bills, he was obliged to apply to Dr. Franklin at Paris, and but for his assistance, the bills would have returned to America unpaid, and the credit of the American government greatly injured in Europe. While Mr. Jay was in this situation, and was pressing the Spanish minister to furnish the funds agreeably to his engagement, in order to save the honour and credit of the United States, he was informed, that if he would yield to the terms of Spain, respecting the navigation of the Mississippi, the money would be furnished. This was resisted by Mr. Jay, with great firmness, not only as contrary to his instructions, and inconsistent with the rights and interest of his country, but as an unwarrantable attempt to take advantage of his peculiar situation. The firm and patriotic conduct of the American minister, on this occasion, was afterwards highly approved by congress.

"After Mr. Jay received his instructions to recede from insisting on the free navigation of the Mississippi, and a free port below the thirty-first degree of north latitude, he proposed to the Spanish court, a plan of a treaty, one article of which was, that 'the United States should relinquish to his Catholic Majesty, and in future forbear to use the navigation of the river Mississippi, from the point where it leaves the United States down to the ocean.' This article was accompanied with a declaration, on the part of the American minister, that if the offer was not *then* accepted, but postponed to a general peace, the United States would not be bound by it in future. This offer fell far short of the views of the Spanish court—the proposed treaty was rejected, and the negotiation remained in this state, until June 1782, when Mr. Jay was called to Paris, and the negotiation was transferred from Madrid to that place."

The greatest necessity alone would justify the drawing of those bills on Mr. Jay by Congress; but his firm and dignified conduct entitles him to unbounded praise, as well in respect to this perplexing measure, as to the impediments which he encountered at the Spanish court. The man who in old age and retirement could look back to a life so well spent as that of Mr. Jay, enjoyed indeed an enviable lot.

Of the negotiations concerning the treaty of peace, nothing new is related, and nothing very impressive is observed. The establishment of the present Constitution of the United States formed a new era, and ranked next in importance to the achievement of independence. External force drove us to the latter, internal debility produced the Constitution. Thirteen sovereign states, mutually jealous, opposed in interests, prejudice, and feeling, nominally united by an impotent and fragile confederation, confessedly directed by a heterogeneous body, wholly destitute of power, presented merely a wild spectacle of ideal government. To convert these discordant materials into splendid, efficient, and self-preserving machinery, was one of the highest exploits of human intellect. The execution was as perfect, as the original conception was daring and sublime. We never properly stepped forth in the arena of nations, till this great fabric was complete. We were only states before; we thus became United States, a title which it was, until then, mere fallacy to claim. If the eyes of Europe were turned upon us with anxiety and distrust, while we presented to view thirteen small and separate heads, these sensations were softened into respect and acceptance, when the whole was thus transformed into one con-

tinuous body. But within ourselves, how deep, how solemn was the change! A majestic fabric, which may almost be said, in the language of holy writ, to have been cut out of the mountain, without hands,—since those whose work it was, certainly were not vested with powers competent for its formation—was suddenly exhibited to view. We beheld in it the grave of our former imbecility, dissensions, and disgrace, and the promise and the surety of future compactness, power, and glory. It became the office of the people, in their collective and original capacities, to adopt or to reject it.

The restricted governments existing in the separate states, were incompetent to the mighty task. The people of each state rose in their own sovereignty, and in the exertion of their own power freely and fearlessly discussed every part and member of the new theory displayed before them. The sound sense of the majority prevailed over petty cavils, and groundless apprehension, such as always are to be found, and always ought to be heard with patience among freemen. The Constitution was finally adopted. Cold must be the bosom that does not swell with emotion at the recollection of this great and redeeming event, and dim is the vision that does not perceive in what miserable anarchy, depression, and desolation, we should have been involved without it.

If sentiments similar to ours, ever arose in the mind of the author, he has not thought proper to avow them. We cannot discover that he partakes of that enthusiasm, which on such an occasion is pardonable in an American; nor, on the other hand, does he rank himself among the minority who were opposed to this noble, this all-healing measure. In this part of the work he contents himself with coldly copying from the journals of the convention, the minutes taken by Mr. Yates of New-York, and other publications of which the world has long been in possession.

In the same tone, and from similar materials, we are introduced to the commencement of the operations of the new government. This, however, is preceded by a summary view of the constitutions of the different states, which appears to be correctly drawn. We have always deemed it the peculiar charity of Heaven that such a man as George Washington was given to fill the high and novel station of first magistrate of the Union. One of different talents, one less endowed with exalted and uncommon qualities, one who was merely respected as a citizen, or known merely as a statesman of *routine*, in short, one who was not venerated as a father, would have brought to the first operations of this new and complicated government, nothing to enforce it beyond its own intrinsic merits. It would have been less impressive and efficient; and although republican principles

and habits would undoubtedly have carried it through, yet it would have been coldly, and sometimes reluctantly, adopted. The slow progress which it would then have made, the opposition which at times would probably have been presented by state administrations, feeling themselves somewhat shorn of their power, were prevented by the overbearing but unassuming influence of a name which memory ever found prominent in military recollections, and always safe in civil and domestic action.

Nor is it at all inconsistent with republicanism, that among men all politically equal, public preference should accompany those who are the most meritorious. There cannot be an Agrarian law of the mind. Talent and virtue must ascend, and must acquire the confidence and trust of the community. But is there no danger?—May not confidence and trust be carried too far?—The answer is found in a written constitution, full of checks and balances; and we may confidently throw into the scale the moderation and good sense of *our* citizens. Compare this country with all we know of other countries—the North American republic with every other republic, the petty, rancorous democracies of ancient Greece—the disjointed, venal Romans—the aristocracies of Venice and Genoa, and others of modern times—the ephemeral republic of France, and the southern part of our own continent in its present awful convulsions—do we not perceive that we have a natural character distinct from all of them? Here it would be impossible for a Julius Cæsar to array a military force against the liberties of his country; it would be unnecessary to expel an Aristides by ostracism. We adhere to the letter of the Constitution; it is the safest rule. No public instrument ever was so cautiously, so accurately framed. There is in it nothing superfluous, nothing defective; no one presumes to diverge from it in pursuit of what he might call its spirit. The letter is itself the spirit of it. We speak in reference to its great parts, its entire combination. On one or two points, broad constructions, liberal extensions, have, it is true, been adopted. The National Bank and the system of internal improvements may be quoted. On those points discussion has been lost in decision; and the decisions were right. The letter of the Constitution would support them both, though it expressly mentions neither.

But there is in our Constitution a corrective faculty unknown in the ancient codes. The judicial power, without assistance, can enfold the Constitution in its arms, press it to its bosom, and repel the shafts of domestic turbulence and assault. And it should ever be remembered, that this faculty does not depend upon the government for life and action. It may be set in motion by any private individual, it is quiescent till called upon to act, unspar-

ing and cogent in action, relapsing into quietude when the service is performed.

If the time ever shall arrive when military usurpation is triumphant, its success will be founded not on an abuse of the Constitution, but on a subversion of it. It will be insurrection and rebellion, not imputable to, nor facilitated by any particular form of government. But if such outrages might happen in this country, they could not be apprehended in men with minds like that of Washington; of him there was no fear. He appeared as the good and guardian genius of the empire, whose attributes were wisdom, benevolence, and firmness. All the profound principles, all the healing efficacies of the new Constitution, that fell to his lot to be explained and administered, passed through his hands in pure and pristine vigour, unimpaired, unenlarged, and unadulterated.

In the title of the present book, besides the error we have already noticed, we think there is what the lawyers call a misnomer. When the word civil is opposed to military, we readily perceive the author's meaning; but when it follows the term political, we are naturally led to expect something descriptive of manners, morals, and the condition of man. In this respect expectation is raised, but not gratified. A view of the condition of the inhabitants, their progress in trade, manufactures, agriculture and literature, with the general state of morals and religion, would properly and usefully constitute their *civil* history; and the comparison of the effects of the new Constitution, on those heads, with the situation before it was adopted, would form a valuable commentary on so great a text. Forty years have not yet elapsed since the whole continent presented an aspect of discouragement and dismay,—we had few manufactures, and little commerce. Real estate, after a sudden and inordinate rise, taken soon after the peace, sunk to half its real value. Our merchants were largely indebted to those of England, and the inhabitants of the interior were largely indebted to our merchants. Expedients of a bad kind were resorted to by state legislatures to relieve the debtors, and the creditor often became the unintended victim of them. Spectre, as a circulating medium, was scarce; confidence among individuals ceased; privations of many domestic enjoyments was unavoidably incurred,—emigration to the westward ensued, and the hardships of clearing suitable spots for cultivation, and of log huts, and earth floors, was substituted for better dwellings, though with little other comforts at home. These slight touches are sufficient to show the lines of a picture, which, in able hands, might become highly interesting and instructive. In its political character it would exhibit the imbecility of a number of contiguous but disjointed states, possessing many natural advantages, without the means of improving or

enjoying them. It would revive the history of the belligerent republics of Greece, nominally held together by the Amphycitonic council—it would resound with the murmurs of those states which had expended blood and treasure for the common defence, and which were refused a contribution by their confederates, when victory and peace were obtained. In both aspects, the remedy adopted would present to view, in its best colours, the specific American character, deliberately viewing its own difficulties, and extricating itself from them by its own pacific energies. State did not levy war on state. Lacedæmon did not invade Thebes. The contemptible insurrection of Shay's, in Massachusetts, scarcely deserves notice.

Such subjects can be best delineated by our own countrymen, by those who personally witnessed the daily occurrences, and do not depend on the printed evidence to which foreigners are obliged to resort.

In the Life of Washington, Chief Justice Marshall has occasionally gratified us by philosophic views of what may be termed the surrounding scenery of the Hero. It did not fall within his aim to enlarge upon it. But Mr. Pitkin, with the comprehensive title of his book, ought to have tried his talents beyond dry details; and we regret that we do not always find him quite correct even in those details, where error might have been avoided by taking a moderate degree of pains. In page 351, vol. 2. he tells us, that,

“On the subject of apportioning the representatives, a difference arose between the senate and house, with respect to the *ratio* to be adopted, and the *mode* of applying it. A bill passed both houses, fixing the ratio at one member for every thirty thousand; and the whole federal number in the United States, was divided by this sum, and the number produced by this division, was apportioned among the states by this ratio, giving to each state its number, and the residue was apportioned among the states which had large fractions. The president very justly considered the *mode* of apportionment, as contrary to the constitution, and returned the bill to congress with his objections. The first was, that the constitution had prescribed, that representatives should be apportioned among the several states, according to their respective numbers; and that there was no one proportion or division, which, applied to the respective states, would yield the number and allotment of representatives proposed by the bill. The second, that by the constitution, the number of representatives should not exceed one for every thirty thousand; which restriction, by the fair and obvious construction, was to be applied to the separate and respective states; and that the bill had allotted to eight states, more than one for every thirty thousand. This was the first instance, in which the president had exercised his qualified veto, to any act of congress. The bill not being repassed by two-thirds of both houses, was rejected. A bill was afterwards passed, apportioning the representatives, agreeably to a ratio of one for every thirty thousand in each state, which received the sanction of the president; and this mode of apportionment has since been pursued.”

Now the fact was, that the ratio of one for 30,000 was that which the President rejected, and the ratio of one for 33,000 was ultimately adopted. The Act of Congress could readily

have been seen in the statute book, and Mr. Marshall gives a full and accurate account of the whole proceeding.

This early use of the power to negative bills sent from the legislature, was also an important era in our constitutional history. The same power exists in England, but is cautiously and reluctantly exercised. The Crown, with all its *attirail* of pomp, power, and dignity, avoids its own lawful interposition whenever it may be avoided. Recourse is preferably had to artifice and intrigue with the Commons, or to an increase of the number of the House of Lords. The first exercise of this right, and consequently this duty, happily took place in the time of such a man as Washington, and in an instance when the legislature certainly were in the wrong. He had not the full support of his cabinet. Marshall gives us an account of their division. But he possessed a sound natural intellect, which led him to the truth, unbiassed by the sympathies of popular approbation, or the fear of popular dissatisfaction. Of this, his conduct on the proposition of the French court in 1778, for the invasion of Canada, formed a strong instance, and we were happy to find it inserted by Mr. Pitkin.

At this period, the nation was full of joy and gratitude, on account of the intervention of France, and it seemed almost treasonable to doubt the sincerity of her views, or the greatness of her aid. But the cautious mind of the general was not dazzled. While he openly represented to Congress the military difficulties of such an invasion, he disclosed to one of its members those ulterior apprehensions which it would have been imprudent to publish, but which were decisively fatal to the adoption of the plan. There is obvious reason to believe, that if the first exercise of the *veto* by a president of the United States, had devolved on a man of less consideration, or had been in itself erroneous, it would have much diminished the general satisfaction at the existence of the right to pronounce it.

One of the earliest subjects of legislative debate, noticed by our author, on which it will be recollected that much time was uselessly spent, was the question, whether the consent of the senate was not as necessary to the removal as to the appointment of an officer, which we all know was determined in the negative.

"This decision of a great constitutional question has been acquiesced in, and its consequences have been of greater importance than almost any other, since the establishment of the new government. From the manner in which this power has been exercised, it has given a tone and character to the executive branch of the government, not contemplated, it is believed, by the framers of the constitution, or by those who composed the first congress under it. It has greatly increased the influence and patronage of the president, and in no small degree made him the centre, around which the other branches of the government revolve.

"The experience of a few years has evinced that the supposed checks to exe-

utive influence have, in many instances, been too feeble and inefficient; nor can it be expected they will be more efficacious in future. While so many members of the national legislature are themselves candidates for office, the balance of power will incline to the side of the executive."

In this opinion of Mr. Pitkin we cannot coincide. It is refuted by fact. The executive has no inordinate influence with us; the people at large can neither be bribed nor intimidated—it is their *power* which influences the action of the legislature. A selected individual may sometimes barter his vote for court favour, but he cannot forbear to contrast what he loses with what he gains. And the traffic would degrade both parties, with a certain disadvantage to both. The penetrating eye of the public would readily discover, and the next returning election would assuredly punish, the dishonest traffic. In the general declaration which we have quoted, the author does not sufficiently discriminate between the unqualified power of appointment, if the Constitution had conferred it, and the unqualified power of removal. If any temptation existed, it would be the desire of obtaining an office, not the permanency of the tenure. We know not what is meant by "the balance of power inclining to the side of the executive." The legislative power is carefully separated by the Constitution from that of the executive. The former never can, nor ought to interfere with the latter, except in the corrective function of impeachment. The executive can never interfere with the legislature, except in giving a negative to its bills. The phrase employed is inappropriate and insignificant. It is needless at this day to enter into the merits of the main question; it is sufficient to say that a contrary solution of this constitutional doubt, would have been gradually to create an executive power independent of the President, and to have formed a body of place-men, responsible to the senate alone. The senate would thus become invested with a power not found in the Constitution, which without diminishing their legislative rights, must give them a control over the executive proceedings. The careful bounds of separation, so finely drawn in the Constitution, being thus broken down, the beautiful harmony of the whole would be destroyed. We may venture to say, that the clear and sound mind of Washington would have sent back the bill; and if it still had passed, he would have resigned the mutilated office, and returned to Mount Vernon.

The remaining, and the best part of the work, is occupied with the chief events of President Washington's administration. Among these we notice particularly the judicious declaration of neutrality between the two belligerents, the insidious conduct of France, and the arrogant tone and measures of Great Britain. The subject is introduced in Mr. Pitkin's best manner.

"On the 5th of March, the president took the oath of office, and entered upon the second term of his administration. It was fortunate for the United States that he yielded to the wishes of his country, not to decline a second election. The great events which had taken place in Europe, the effects of which were soon to be felt in America, required in a chief magistrate, all the wisdom and firmness for which he was so eminently distinguished, as well as all that popularity and weight of character, which he had so justly acquired. A most extraordinary revolution in France, was coeval with a change of government in the United States. A new constitution, with the assent of the king, was established by the French people. The legislative power was vested in a single body, styled a national assembly, and to their acts a partial negative only was reserved to the crown."

"This assembly was dissolved in 1792, and a national convention substituted. Soon after this, royalty itself was abolished, and the French nation declared a republic. The king and queen were arrested, and before this convention accused of various crimes against the state; and on the 21st of January 1793, the king was brought to the guillotine, and the queen not long after shared a similar fate. The convention, soon after the death of the king, declared war against Great Britain and Holland. The news of these important transactions reached America not long after president Washington had entered upon the second term of his administration; and presented a new state of things to the consideration of the government and people of the United States.

"Enjoying the blessings of liberty and self-government themselves, and remembering with gratitude the aid afforded by France in the attainment of them, the citizens of America had seen with satisfaction, and even enthusiasm, a revolution, by which the people of that country participated in the same blessings. And although in the progress of this revolution, in consequence of the frequent changes, as well as great defects in their systems of government, from the ferocity and cruelty of the rival factions, from the imprisonment and beheading of the king and queen, some were led to doubt whether a republican or representative government could be permanently maintained in that country; yet a great proportion of the American people seemed to have no doubt on the subject.

"They viewed France in the same situation America formerly was, contending for her rights against the tyranny of Great Britain and the rest of Europe, and many individuals were ready to join with her in the contest, or to engage in privateering against the commerce of the belligerent powers, regardless of the consequences to themselves or their country.

"The president, however, from his high station, was called upon to view these great events as they might affect his own country, whose destinies, under God, were intrusted to his care; and he felt himself bound to consult the dictates of his judgment, rather than the impulse of his feelings. He foresaw that the storm which was gathering in Europe, must soon reach the United States, and he felt it his duty, as far as possible, here to prevent its desolating effects. In the mighty conflict which was to ensue, a conflict in which all the great European powers either were or must necessarily be engaged, he was satisfied the best interests of his country dictated a state of neutrality; and he was convinced that this course might be pursued without a violation either of national faith or national honour."

The extravagant conduct of Genet is well described, and whoever peruses this chapter, will feel in full force that deep impression of the wisdom, moderation, and firmness of the President's conduct, which was then general, though not universal. Attachment to France, and aversion to Great Britain, had a strong effect on the minds of many, and created a division of opinion, which did not, however, defeat the steady progress of the well planned system of the President. Many of the wild measures of

the turbulent and indefatigable minister of France, are so generally known as not to require from us any recapitulation; but the endeavour to excite our western citizens to break through the prescribed rule of neutrality, by invasion of the Spanish provinces, is perhaps less familiar.

"The French minister projected also an hostile expedition against New-Orleans and Louisiana, from the state of Kentucky. This was put in a train of execution in a more bold and daring manner, than the enterprise against the Floridas from South Carolina and Georgia. Genet soon became acquainted with the views and feelings of the people of the west, concerning the navigation of the Mississippi, as well as their suspicions, that the general government had neglected to urge this subject with Spain in a manner its importance demanded.

"Taking advantage of these feelings, as well as the opposition of the people to the general government, as early as August, 1793, he formed a plan of an expedition from the west, against the Spanish possessions at the mouth of the Mississippi.

"The president, apprized of this, on the 29th of August gave information to the governor of Kentucky, that measures were then taking in Philadelphia, to excite the inhabitants of that state to join in the enterprise. And the governor was desired to attend particularly to any such attempts among the citizens of that state, and to put them on their guard against the consequences of committing acts of hostility against nations at peace with the United States, and to take all legal measures necessary to prevent them. Democratic societies were about the same time formed in Kentucky, and the subject of the navigation of the Mississippi claimed their attention.

"In October 1793, the society at Lexington declared, 'That the right of the people on the waters of the Mississippi, to the navigation, was undoubted; and that it ought to be *peremptorily* demanded of Spain, by the government of the United States.'

"Other publications appeared about the same time, calculated to inflame the people at the west, on a subject in which they felt so deep an interest.

"In this state of public sentiment, the French minister, about the 1st of November, sent four persons to Kentucky, by the names of La Chaise, Charles Depeau, Mathurin, and Gignoux, with orders to engage men in an expedition against New-Orleans and the Spanish possessions; and for this purpose they carried with them blank commissions. The governor of Kentucky was again informed of these movements by the secretary of state, in a letter of the 6th of November, and was furnished not only with the names of the persons then on their way, but a particular description of them—and he was requested to prevent any such enterprise from that state, and if necessary, to employ the militia for that purpose. These emissaries arrived in Kentucky about the last of November, and found not only many of the people of that state ready to engage in the expedition, but the governor himself disposed, if not to countenance, at least to connive at it. Aware, no doubt, of this disposition, two of these Frenchmen, La Chaise and Depeau, on the 25th of November, addressed notes to the governor himself.

"Depeau informed him that he had been despatched by the French ambassador, in company with other Frenchmen, to join the expedition of the Mississippi—but as strange reports had reached him, that his excellency had orders to arrest all who might incline to assist them, he wished to be satisfied on the subject.

"The answer of the governor to Depeau's letter, three days after, was as extraordinary as the letter itself.

"He informed the agent of the French minister, of the '*charge*' he had received from the secretary of state, in the month of August preceding, in nearly the very words of the secretary himself, and he only added, '*to which charge I must pay that attention which my present situation obliges me.*'

"This answer, no doubt, satisfied the French emissaries, and others who saw it, they had nothing to fear from the governor of Kentucky. The project which

now began to be developed, was, to raise two thousand men, under French authority; and for this purpose, French commissions were distributed and received among the citizens of that state. George Rogers Clarke, who had been a revolutionary officer, agreed to command the expedition, and issued proposals for raising troops. In these, he styled himself '*major general in the armies of France, and commander in chief of the revolutionary legions on the Mississippi.*'

"The proposals were, 'for raising volunteers for the reduction of the Spanish posts on the Mississippi, for opening the trade of that river, and giving freedom to its inhabitants, &c.'

"The pay and the share of plunder were also settled. All who served in the expedition were entitled to one thousand acres of land—those who would engage for one year, to have two thousand—and those who served two years, or during the war with France, were to have three thousand acres of any unappropriated lands that might be *conquered*—the officers in proportion, and pay as other French troops. All *plunder* to be divided according to the custom of war. Those who preferred money to land, were to receive one dollar per day.

"Governor Shelby, in his answer to the letter of the secretary of state of the 29th August, dated the 5th of October, referring to the supposed enterprise from Kentucky, says, 'I think it my duty to take this early opportunity to assure you, that I shall be particularly attentive to prevent any attempts of that nature from this country. I am well persuaded at present, none such is in contemplation in this state. The citizens of Kentucky possess too just a sense of the obligations they owe to the general government, to embark in any enterprise that would be so injurious to the United States.' After these assurances of co-operation, what must have been the surprise of the president, on receiving the following letter from the same governor, dated the 13th of January, 1794. 'After the date of my last letter to you,' he says to the secretary of state, 'I received information that a commission had been sent to general Clarke, with powers to name and commission other officers, and to raise a body of men; no steps having been taken by him, (as far as come to my knowledge,) to carry this plan into execution, I did not conceive it was either proper or necessary for me to do any thing in the business.

"Two Frenchmen, La Chaise and Depeau, have lately come into this state; I am told they declare publicly, they are in daily expectation of receiving a supply of money, and that as soon as they do receive it, they shall raise a body of men and proceed with them down the river. Whether they have any sufficient reason to expect to get a supply, or any *serious intention of applying it in that manner, if they do receive it, I can form no opinion.*' After requesting the president to give him *full and explicit directions* as to the steps he wished taken, to prevent the contemplated expedition, he added, 'I have great doubts, even if they do attempt to carry their plan into execution, (provided they manage their business with prudence,) whether there is any legal authority to restrain or punish them, at least before they have *actually accomplished it.* For if it is lawful for any one citizen of this state to leave it, it is equally so for any number of them to do it. It is also lawful for them to carry with them any quantity of provisions, arms, and ammunition; and if the act is lawful in itself, there is nothing but the particular intention with which it is done that can possibly make it unlawful; but I know of no law which inflicts a punishment on intention only, or any criterion by which to decide what would be sufficient evidence of that intention, if it was a proper subject of legal censure.

"I shall, upon all occasions, be averse to the exercise of any power which I do not consider myself as being clearly and explicitly invested with, much less would I assume a power to exercise it against men who I consider as friends and brethren, in favour of a man who I view as an *enemy* and a tyrant. I shall also feel but little inclination to take an active part in punishing or restraining any of my fellow-citizens for a supposed intention only, to gratify or remove the fears of the minister of a prince, who openly withholds from us an invaluable right, and who secretly instigates against us a most savage and cruel enemy.

"But whatever may be my private opinion as a man, as a friend to liberty, an American citizen, and an inhabitant of the western waters, I shall at all times

hold it as my duty to perform whatever may be *constitutionally* required of me as governor of Kentucky, by the president of the United States.'

"This letter precluded all expectation of aid against the meditated hostile expedition, from the state authorities of Kentucky. The president, therefore, on the 24th of March 1794, issued his own proclamation, apprizing the people at the west of the unlawful project, and warning them of the consequences of engaging in it. He, about the same time, directed general Wayne to establish a strong military post at fort Massac, on the Ohio, and gave him orders to prevent by force, if necessary, all hostile movements down that river. Soon after these orders were known, an address, 'to the inhabitants of western America,' supposed to have originated from one of the democratic societies, appeared in the gazettes, in which the people at the west were told, that 'the time is come when we ought to relinquish our claim to those blessings, proffered to us by nature, or endeavour to obtain them *at every hazard*. The principles of our confederation have been *totally perverted* by our Atlantic brethren. It is a fact incontestable, that they have endeavoured to deprive us of all that can be important to us as a people.

" 'To you, then, inhabitants of the west ! is reserved the display of those virtues, once the pride and boast of America, uncontaminated with Atlantic luxury—beyond the reach of European influence, the pampered vultures of commercial countries have not found access to your retreat. A noble and just occasion presents itself to assert your rights ; and with your own, perhaps establish those of thousands of your fellow mortals.

" 'Reflect that you may be the glorious instruments, in the hands of Providence, of relieving from the galling chains of slavery, your brethren of Louisiana.'

"The author of this address, alluding to the proclamation of the president, and his orders to general Wayne, says, 'before I close this address, I cannot but observe, with what indignation must the citizens of Kentucky view the conduct of the *general government*, towards them in particular. In answer to their decent and spirited exertions, they receive, instead of assurances of relief from oppression, denunciations from the executive ; and are held up to public view, as the disturbers of the peace of America. And a *miserable fragment* of the mighty legions of the United States, is destined to awe the hosts of freemen who seek but their right.'

"Previous to this address, the president had informed the governor of Kentucky, that negotiations with Spain were pending, and that every exertion was making to bring them to a close, and to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi. This extraordinary enterprise was not finally relinquished, until it was disavowed by the successor of Genet, and the French commissions were recalled."

In our commercial and diplomatic difficulties with the court of Great Britain, the treaty of 1794, and the circumstances attendant upon it, are perspicuously related.

Of the first insurrection which disgraced the state of Pennsylvania, Mr. Pitkin gives a full account, from which we shall make a short extract.

"While the president was exerting himself to prevent a foreign war, he was threatened with a civil war at home. For about three years, the inhabitants of the counties in Pennsylvania lying west of the Allegheny mountains, had opposed the execution of the laws imposing duties on domestic spirits. This opposition, notwithstanding all the exertions of congress and the executive to render the operation of those laws as little burdensome as possible, was now carried to such a length, as seriously to put at hazard the peace, if not the existence of the union. The revenue officers, in attempting to do their duty, were threatened not only with the loss of their property, but their lives ; and in many instances, were personally abused, and compelled to renounce their offices. In the summer of 1794, the marshal of the district, in attempting to execute process on

the delinquents, was attacked by an armed force, and fired upon, but fortunately without injury. He was soon after taken prisoner by an armed mob, his life threatened, and compelled, under the fear of immediate death, to engage not to serve any process on the west side of the Allegheny mountains. In July, the house of general Neville, the inspector, near Pittsburgh, was attacked, but defended with so much spirit, that the assailants were obliged to retire. Apprehending a second and more powerful attack, the inspector applied to the judges, civil magistrates, and military officers for protection. But he was informed that the combination against the execution of the laws, was so general in that quarter, that no protection could be given. The attack was soon after renewed, by about five hundred men. The inspector considering it impossible to resist with effect so large a force, and that his life must be the sacrifice, by the advice of his friends retired to a place of concealment. About eleven men, from the garrison at Pittsburgh, remained, with a hope of saving the property.

"The assailants demanded that the inspector should come out and renounce his office, but were informed, that he had retired, on their approach, to some place unknown. The papers belonging to his office were then required, and after a short but indecisive parley on the subject, the house was attacked, and a firing commenced between its occupants and the insurgents; in consequence of which, one of the assailants was killed, and a number on both sides wounded. The house was at last set on fire and consumed. The marshal and inspector made their escape down the Ohio, and by a circuitous route reached the seat of government. The excise laws, as they were called, were unpopular in some of the other states, and strong indications were given of a more extensive and open opposition.

"The insurgents were no doubt encouraged by individuals, particularly by the democratic societies, in different parts of the union.

"This created no little alarm in the mind of the president, and he entertained serious doubts, whether the militia, if called upon to suppress the insurrection, would obey the orders of the executive. Such, however, was the conduct of the insurgents, that no alternative was left, but either to surrender the government itself into the hands of the lawless and disobedient, or compel submission by military force."

We apprehend the author was under a mistake as to the unwillingness of the militia to concur in suppressing the insurrection. Whatever difference of opinion existed in respect to our foreign relations, however warm were the feelings of great numbers of the citizens in favour of France, there seemed to be but one common sentiment in regard to enforcing the laws at home. No other reluctance was manifested, except the natural and constant aversion of persons engaged in providing for their families, to leave their homes for a long march, and an indeterminate period. The regiments drafted by the orders of the Governor, in pursuance of the requisition from the President, appeared at their respective places of rendezvous with punctuality, and in the city of Philadelphia a volunteer corps of light infantry was formed, under the command of General M'Pherson, and rendered material services.

"The experiment was new, but necessary, and the fate of the republic depended upon the issue. The law had wisely provided, that before resort could be had to the last alternative, an associate justice or district judge of the United States, must declare and give notice, that the laws were opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or the powers vested in the marshals; and

that the president should also, by proclamation, command the insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective homes, within a limited time.

"Such a declaration or notice was given by James Wilson, an associate justice; and on the 7th of August, a proclamation was issued, in which, after stating the various acts and combinations of the insurgents, the president declared — and whereas it is in my judgment necessary, under the circumstances of the case, to take measures for calling forth the militia, in order to suppress the combinations aforesaid, and to cause the laws to be duly executed; and I have accordingly determined so to do, feeling the deepest regret for the occasion, but with the most solemn conviction, that the essential interests of the Union demand it—that the very existence of the government, and the fundamental principles of social order, are materially involved in the issue; and that the patriotism and firmness of all good citizens are seriously called upon, as occasion may require, to aid in the effectual suppression of so fatal a spirit." The insurgents were required to disperse and retire to their respective homes, by the first of the following September. At the time of issuing the proclamation, requisitions were made on the governors of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, for their quotas of about twelve thousand men, to be organized to march at a minute's warning. The number of troops was afterwards augmented to fifteen thousand."

We differ from the author in considering the legal provision, that before resort could be had to the last alternative, one of the judges of the United States should make the declaration mentioned above, as either wise, or constitutional. It was indeed directed by an act of Congress, and therefore the President deemed himself bound to comply with it, but it is inconsistent with the nice discrimination of power observed in every part of the Constitution, that the judicial should in any manner be blended with the executive authority.

The judges of the Circuit Court were at one time required to examine into the cases of pensioners, and make report thereon to the Secretary of War: they with one accord, although in different places, and without communication with each other, refused to execute the law, assigning as their reasons that the duty required of them was of an executive nature, incompatible with their judicial character. This manly proceeding excited both surprise and dissatisfaction among the members of Congress, but they were obliged to give way, and another provision for the relief of the pensioners was immediately made. It is obvious, that on the same principle, it is unconstitutional to call upon a judge to certify a fact, which, in its nature, properly appertains to the executive alone. The course of proceeding is very clear. The executive power is bound to carry the laws into execution. If an unlawful resistance takes place, the offending parties become the subjects of legal prosecution. The cases are then brought before the judicial authority, where every individual is entitled to be heard with the utmost impartiality—but of this his chance would be much diminished, if the judge, before whom he was tried, had already committed himself, by pronouncing that a powerful and unlawful combination already existed. The fact of such a combination should be proved, like all other facts, not

by *ex parte* affidavits, or reports made by executive officers, but on the same public and equal hearing, according to judicial forms, as the participation of the individual accused is investigated.

We may easily account for the introduction of this provision, from the jealousy, sincerely or affectedly entertained at that period, of the great extension of executive power. Fears were suggested, and perhaps felt, that the President might, if uncontrolled, needlessly draw out a hasty and domestic army, under one pretext, and make use of it for another; that the law, instead of being enforced, might be forgotten, and the freedom of the country be prostrated or endangered at his pleasure. Such apprehensions are idle and groundless; liberty is never subverted by a militia. He who aims at subjugating his country, must provide himself with other materials. Militia are bad soldiers, but they do not cease to be virtuous citizens. They are not separated and estranged by temporary campaigns, from the common sympathies and sensations of the general mass, if that mass is not itself corrupted. Those who are shortly to return to, and remain among them, will not be found to have lost their original principles in the promotion of the ambition of one man, and the subversion of the liberty and happiness of all the rest. A nation must be prepared for slavery, before it can be so enslaved. The people of Rome had greatly degenerated when the factions of Marius and Sylla began to arm against each other; they were still worse when the contest between Cæsar and Pompey took place; and the dagger of Brutus, instead of restoring the republic to life, only showed its complete extinction: but in this respect we have, (at least at present) another safeguard, on which, while it continues, we may confidently rely. In the days of which we are speaking, the city of Rome was the condensation of the whole empire. Whatever was done, or said, or thought, by the crowded multitude there, became the sayings, thoughts, and doings of all Italy, and of most of the provinces. Jugurtha's famous exclamation was confined to Rome, because in characterizing Rome he knew that he described the whole of the Roman world. But here, an immense surface of territory, a diffuse and independent population, a number of rival cities, the improbability that any of them can become so disproportionately large as to overpower the others, will keep alive the expanded and jealous spirit of original principle. To these considerations may be justly added the moral influences of state sovereignty. Nicely and wisely as the general government has been framed by the people, the state sovereignties still remain unimpaired to many and most useful purposes. Some particular subjects of action have been withdrawn from them, but the state itself remains. Individual feeling and attachment are, and ever will be, strongest towards the state alone; there will be no sacrifice of the free-

dom or the rights of the members of individual states to the military despotism in the general government—a despotism, which from its very nature would blot out the distinction of states, and resemble the separation of a domestic family. We may therefore consider the continuance of state sovereignties as the sure preservatives of general freedom, and we may hear without alarm the feverish anticipations occasionally uttered by other politicians, of future destruction from that cause.

The law which required the certificate of a judge, was short-lived, and the President was left to his own responsibility on similar exigencies.

It was natural that a communication of an event, so important and so creditable as the complete and bloodless suppression of a rebellion, which at one time appeared somewhat formidable, should be regularly made to Congress at its first ensuing session. The language made use of was pointed, forcible, and happy.

Another circumstance, connected with our national character, necessarily required the author's attention. It has too long been the disgrace of Europe, that a set of barbarians, seated along the southern coast of the Mediterranean, should have carried on, with so little control, an unsparing and unqualified hostility against the navigation of Christians. If these savage states are unassailable and indestructible on land, their maritime piracies might be wholly put down, or rendered completely inefficient, by a well concerted combination of the superior navies of the Christian powers. In the year 1793, the Algerines, the most formidable among them, were confined within the Mediterranean by the Portuguese, who then being in actual hostility with them, maintained a naval force, which not only prevented them from passing the Straights of Gibraltar, but reduced the number of their cruisers even along their own coasts. Few of our merchant ships, at that time, ventured within the Straights; our commerce with Portugal, and the Spanish and French ports on the Atlantic, was considerable. From Morocco we had nothing to fear. The liberal treaty of 1787, procured by Mr. Barclay, under the auspices of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, then our ministers at Paris and London, removed all danger from the cruisers of that empire. But we had not yet subscribed to the ignoble vassalage under which this contemptible republic held so many of the lofty sovereigns of Europe. We had not bartered for the privilege of trading within a sea which the God of nature had created for general use, by paying tribute to a colony of Moors and Arabs, situate on a small part of its sterile borders. The mean calculation of expense, the weighing of national dignity, and the Christian character, against cheapness of expenditure and the profits of commerce, had not yet tarnished our history. But

we were at this time thrown into a predicament both unexpected and distressing. It is thus related :—

“ Another event likewise occurred this year, peculiarly distressing to American commerce and seamen, and added not a little to this excitement. For many years, war had existed between Portugal and Algiers. In consequence of this, Algerine cruisers had been confined to the Mediterranean by a Portuguese fleet ; and the commerce of the United States, as well as that of Portugal herself, had been protected in the Atlantic, from the depredations of this regency. In September 1793, an unexpected truce for a year, was concluded between Portugal and Algiers. The dey's cruisers, therefore, immediately, and without previous notice, passed into the Atlantic ; and American vessels, while on their way to Portugal and other parts of Europe, and without the smallest suspicion of danger, became a prey to these lawless freebooters, and many American seamen were doomed to slavery.

“ This unexpected and extraordinary measure was brought about by a British agent at Algiers ; and the Portuguese minister declared to the American consul at Lisbon, that the same had been effected without his knowledge. The Portuguese government, he said, about six months before, had requested the aid of Great Britain and Spain, in bringing about a peace with that regency ; but as no person had been appointed on the part of Portugal, to effect this object, he supposed the business remained only in embryo. Some provisions in the treaty itself, indicated pretty strongly, the truth of this statement of the minister. The British government had guaranteed the performance of it on the part of Portugal ; and by a most extraordinary clause, the Portuguese government was restrained from affording *protection* to any nation against Algerine cruisers.

“ The British minister, Grenville, disavowed any intention to injure the United States ; declaring, that being desired by their friend and ally, to procure a peace with Algiers, the British government had instructed their agent to effect this object, and thereby enable the Portuguese fleet to co-operate with them against France ; and that finding a permanent peace unattainable, he had concluded a truce for a short period.

“ The British ministry, however, must have foreseen, that this measure, in its immediate consequences, would be fatal to American commerce in the Atlantic ; and that hundreds of American seamen must necessarily be consigned to slavery. Nor is it possible to believe, that it should not have occurred to them, that an Algerine fleet would also effectually co-operate in their favourite plan against France. Whatever were the real views of Portugal, she was too dependent on Great Britain to refuse a ratification of the treaty. On the application of the American consul, the Portuguese government furnished a convoy for the vessels of the United States trading to that country, until the treaty should be ratified.

“ The Americans were very justly incensed, that their property should be thus exposed to Algerine rapacity, and their fellow-citizens doomed to slavery without the least warning.”

The conduct of Britain on this occasion, evinced much arrogance and selfishness. It deserves to be more distinctly portrayed.

The depredations of Algiers on our commerce began in 1785. Two of our vessels, one of which was commanded by Captain O'Brien, (whose firmness of character during a long subsequent slavery rendered him conspicuous,) were taken on the coast near to Lisbon. Efforts were made by Congress to effect a treaty of peace and the liberation of the captives. The former was contemptuously refused ; and for the redemption of two persons, the precise amount demanded was 59,496 dollars. Extravagant sums

were also asked by Tripoli and Tunis. The Tripolitan minister at London required 30,000 guineas, as the price of peace with that state, and undertook to engage that of Tunis for a like sum.

The resources of Congress were inadequate to meet such inordinate demands, if it could have brooked an ignominy, which would indeed, in some degree, be lessened by not being peculiar. France, Spain, England, Venice, the United Netherlands, Sweden, and Denmark, were, in 1790, all tributaries to Algiers. Our only alternative was to withdraw our commerce from the Mediterranean. When the war began in 1793 between Great Britain and France, Portugal continued the honourable employment of her marine in restraining these pirates, till near the close of the year, when Great Britain, unquestionably actuated either by a desire to avail itself of the co-operation of the naval force of Portugal, which has been long considered as little more than a British province, or to injure the commerce of this country, suddenly took advantage of a former intimation from the court of Portugal, requesting their intervention "to induce a disposition on the part of the Dey towards the establishment of peace." These were the guarded expressions of Don Luis Pinto de Souza, the secretary of state, to Mr. Humphreys, our minister at Lisbon. The British minister eagerly seized the hint, and (still using the language of Pinto) "zealous over much for the happiness of the two nations, Portugal and Algiers, in order to precipitate this important business, very officiously authorized Charles Logie, the British consul-general and agent at Algiers, not only to treat, but to conclude for and in behalf of the court of Portugal, not only without authority, but without consulting it." A truce was in the first place agreed upon, between the Dey and her most Faithful Majesty, for twelve months, and the British court guarantied it. The Portuguese were to pay the Dey one-third of what he annually received from the court of Spain. But it was instantly declared to the British minister at Lisbon, that Portugal would not pay one farthing to procure a peace, however desirable. In the mean time, the truce was signed by Mr. Logie, and Portugal did not dare to reject it. Such was the controlling influence of Great Britain, and such (at that juncture) was its enmity to the United States.

When Mr. Pinkney complained to Lord Grenville of the injurious effects of this procedure, he was coldly answered, that they had not the least intention of injuring us by it—that they had been applied to by their friend and ally, the court of Portugal, to procure a peace for them, and that Mr. Logie had been instructed to use his endeavours for that purpose,—that finding the arrangement for a peace could not immediately take place, he had concluded the truce, and in this they had done no more than their friendship for a good ally required of them, but that

the measure was also particularly advantageous to themselves, as they wanted the co-operation of the Portuguese fleet to act against the common enemy, which it was at liberty to afford when no longer employed in blocking up the Algerine fleet. The fleet of Portugal, all-powerful against the Algerines, was of little value in the naval war between Great Britain and France; but whatever service it could have rendered, would not have been impaired by providing for the protection of American commerce during the continuance of the truce. The same spirit which a few months before dictated the Orders in Council, to seize and bring into British ports all vessels bound to France, and laden wholly, or in part, with corn, flour, or meal—an order chiefly aimed at American commerce, unquestionably produced the omission both of including us in the benefits of the truce, and of giving any notice to us of its being effected. It is true, that on Mr. Pinkney's informing Lord Grenville that the Portuguese government had promised a convoy to the American vessels *then in their harbour*, he condescended to say, that they would give no opposition to that measure; indicating, in the very answer, the power which they conceived they held over their submissive ally. In respect to all Americans, not then in a Portuguese harbour, those who were cruising the Atlantic, and approaching the coast, there was no sympathy experienced, no kindness extended.

But it was not merely omission in the formation of the truce, of which we had to complain. Mr. Logie ventured to go further. Mr. Church, in a letter to our Secretary of State, from Lisbon, informed him that one of the articles of the truce which was communicated to him by Pinto de Souza, expressly restricted the Portuguese from affording protection to any one nation without exception. Now, such a procedure must have necessarily brought into view those nations which were likely to be affected by it. It was at once telling the Algerines, you are now at liberty to cruise against the Americans, as well as any other nation with which you have no treaty. The American commerce was the most valuable subject of depredation, and the most likely to fall in their way. It would soon be known over Europe that the British had thus opened the kennel of the blood-hounds of Barbary,—but the distance of America rendered it impossible to stay the further progress of ships which might within two months or more proceed to the seat of danger.

The Algerines speedily took advantage of this opportunity and encouragement; a strong squadron was immediately sent through the Straights, many captures were made, and the number of our fellow-citizens in bondage was greatly increased. The compassionate feelings of the President were strongly excited. There were but two modes of extending relief and preventing future outrage; one of these was to declare war, and a sense of national

honour would have immediately suggested this decisive measure. But the war would necessarily be of a naval character. Were it possible to land a force sufficient to take and destroy the town, the punishment would at best be temporary. A greater force than could be spared, must be left to preserve it against the vindictive hordes that would soon be collected. When the conquering party retired, the town would soon be rebuilt, the naval force replaced, and the piracies resumed. The only practicable warfare is by sea, and this in the two modes of blockade and cruising.

On this subject, the sentiments of Count D'Estaing, in a letter to Mr. Jefferson in 1787, appear to us to be just, although we lay no claim to nautical science—"I am convinced," he says, "that by blocking up Algiers *by cross anchoring, and with a long tow*, that is to say, with several cables spliced to each other, and with iron chains, we might always remain there—and there is no barbarian power, thus confined, which would not sue for peace." He then refers to the blockade of Morbihan, on the coast of Brittany, by ships at anchor, continued during the winter; and proceeds a little more in detail, to the auxiliary organization of the blockade; some vessels to be always ready to put to sea, in case any of those in port should go out, while the rest remain at their posts, forming part of the plan, the success of which, if properly managed, he considers indubitable. Even an imperfect blockade, if persisted in with patience and courage, would occasion a perpetual evil to them. But a measure of the sort ought not to rest upon a single nation: it ought to be supported by all the Christian and commercial world. It is the commerce of Christians that is assailed. No hostilities are waged against the Tripolitans, or Tunisians, or the subjects of the emperor of Morocco. The cupidity of the corsair is stimulated by his fanaticism, and the pleasures of lawless acquisition are heightened by his hatred of the Christian sufferer.

If an alliance were formed for the sole object of clearing from these miserable pirates, the beautiful sea, of which one half is margined by flourishing towns, and a peaceable, industrious population, while the other is debased by ferocious barbarians, such an alliance would well deserve the title of a holy one. But for a single power, and particularly for us, so remote, and at that time with a navy so weak, this mode of warfare would be scarcely practicable. Our Constitution having invested Congress alone with the right to declare war, the question was properly submitted to them. Negotiations for peace were proposed. The Dey at first refused to listen to them; he would not make peace with the Americans; he would not admit a minister from them to land upon his shores. The depredations continued, and the captives despaired.

The French government had at that time considerable influence at Algiers, and its policy, contrary to that of Great Britain then, was to assist our commerce—its intervention was asked by our minister, and was readily afforded. The sternness of the Dey was relaxed; Mr. Donaldson was permitted to have access to him, and a treaty of peace was concluded, bearing date the 5th of September 1795, which the Dey and his divan promised to observe, on consideration of the United States paying annually the value of 12,000 Algerine sequins, in maritime stores. The captives were all released at extravagant prices. But this was not the whole of our humiliation; some delays occurred in transmitting the money and other articles; the Dey became incensed, and threatened to break the treaty. To pacify him, Joel Barlow, who had joined Mr. Donaldson, offered, in concurrence with that gentleman, the additional present of a new frigate; after some hesitation, and an increase of the size proposed, it was accepted. A fine vessel of this description was built for the purpose, completely armed, and delivered to him, and thus precarious peace was purchased at the total expense of near a million of dollars.* We continued to pay the tribute, and were occasionally obliged to submit to mortifications which would scarcely have been imposed by a civilized power.

The case of the *Allegheny* may still be fresh in the minds of some of our readers; but its connexion with the subject induces us shortly to recall it to view. This vessel was sent to Algiers with our homage of naval and military stores, in 1812. The Dey, on her arrival, affected to be dissatisfied with the quantity. The accounts were examined by his officers, and by our consul,—the balance found to be really due was within the value of the *Allegheny's* cargo; but the Algerines insisted that the year should be computed by the Mohammedan calendar, according to which it consists of 354 days, and by these, and some other exactions, he nearly doubled the balance. The Dey threatened that if the sum he claimed was not paid in eight days, he would detain every American then at Algiers in slavery, confiscate the ship and her cargo, and declare war against the United States. There was no remedy but to submit. The fate of this vessel afterwards, was unfortunate. She sailed from Algiers on the 25th of July, bringing with her all the Americans, including Mr. Lear, the consul, and his family. The declaration of war of the 18th of June was probably unknown to him. He might, however, have counted on an application of those principles of humanity which are *sometimes talked of*, as part of the law of nations, and which withholds the severity of war from shipwreck-

* The Secretary of the Treasury, in his report of January 4th, 1797, states it at \$992,463 25.

ed mariners, and other sufferers of a similar character. But on arriving at Gibraltar, the *Allegheny* was seized and detained as a prize.

We forbear to notice the proceedings with Tripoli, because our business is to review, and Mr. Pitkin's book is not carried down so low in point of time; but we hope that the period may yet arrive, when the surface of the Mediterranean shall exhibit only the "freighted Argosies" of the merchant, or the flag and guns of the Christian. In our frequent recurrence to this view of the subject, we wish not to be charged with bigotry, or with affectation. But we feel a deep and sincere interest in upholding the profession and the practice of our religion, against all direct or indirect invasion. The imposture of Mohammed has been disseminated and enforced by arms and violence. The Arabian conquerors did not reason with those whom they subdued; the Koran or the sword was the proclaimed alternative; and thus its prodigious extension is accounted for: but of all those whom they subjected, none were more contemptuously or severely treated than the Christians; and even now a Christian may exempt himself from punishment, for almost every crime, by abjuring his religion, and adopting that of Mohammed. We do not seek to extend the knowledge of Christ by means like these. Our missionaries carry no weapon but the Bible, and use no arms but those of reason and persuasion. To unite in the design of preventing infidels from *compelling* apostacy, is not aggression, but defence. To reduce the authors of these invasions of conscience, to future inability, and thus to co-operate with those whose pious office it is to enlighten the blind, and to draw converts from a false to a true religion, is the full extent that we are authorized to go. And while we believe in the pure and holy doctrines which were sealed upon Mount Calvary, while we remember the solemn and parting injunction to preach the Gospel to all nations, we cannot think that to remove impediments to its extension is other than our duty.

The residue of the work before us, is chiefly occupied with the public transactions concerning the treaty of 1794, the conduct of the French ministers, Genet and Fauchet, in this country, and the hostile feelings of France in respect to us, which were manifested after the ratification of the British treaty.

The treatment of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, whom the President had sent to Paris in the room of Mr. Monroe, strongly resembled the insolence of the Dey of Algiers, in respect to whom we have already noticed the friendly interference of France at a previous period.

The ulterior proceedings, on the arrival of Messrs. Marshall and Gerry, did not fall within the limits of the work. It is concluded with a short account of the President's retiring from his

station, and a few extracts from his valedictory address, which has lately, by the labours of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, been clearly proved to be the sole composition of George Washington.*

Upon the whole, Mr. Pitkin's book will not rank him among the highest class of historians; his style is not always pure, his manner is not elevated, he seldom attempts delineation of character, seldom presents general views—but his principles are commonly sound, and his narrative impartial.

ART. VII.—THE STEAM-ENGINE.

- 1.—*The Young Steam Engineer's Guide*; by OLIVER EVANS. Philadelphia: H. C. Carey & I. Lea: pp. 140.
- 2.—*An Account of some of the Steam-boats navigating the Hudson River, in the state of New-York. In a letter from JAMES RENWICK, Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Chemistry, in Columbia College, to Captain Edward Sabine, R. A., Secretary of the Royal Society. From Brande's Journal for October 1828.*
- 3.—*Popular Lectures on the Steam-Engine*; by the Rev. DIONYSIUS LARDNER, LL. D., Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in the University of London, &c. &c., with additions by JAMES RENWICK, Professor, &c.: New-York: Elam Bliss. 12mo. pp. 172.
- 4.—*History of the Steam-Engine, from the earliest invention to the present time*; by ELIJAH GALLOWAY, Civil Engineer: London: B. Steill: 1827: 8vo. pp. 220.
- 5.—*A Descriptive History of the Steam-Engine*; by R. STUART, Esq. Civil Engineer: London: Knight & Larey. 8vo. pp. 228.
- 6.—*Historical and Descriptive Anecdotes of Steam-Engines, and of their inventors and improvers*; by R. STUART: London: Weightman & Co.: 1829. 2 vols. 18mo.
- 7.—*The Steam-Engine: comprising an account of its invention, &c.*; by T. FREDGOLD, Civil Engineer: London: J. Taylor: 4to. pp. 370.
- 8.—*Notice Sur les Machines à Vapeur*; Par M. ARAGO—from the "*Annuaire pour l'an 1829: Présenté au Roi par le Bureau des Longitudes*;" Paris: Bachelier: 1828.

* See Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, vol. I. p. 232.

- 9.—*On the Early History of the Steam-Engine*; by A. AINGER; from *Brande's Journal* for October 1829.
- 10.—*A Treatise on the Steam-Engine, Historical, Practical, and Descriptive*: by JOHN FAREY, Engineer: London: Longman & Co. 4to. pp. 728.

WE shall make no apologies for presenting to our readers an article upon the steam-engine. The subject is, no doubt, hackneyed and familiar; but its importance is such, that it cannot become uninteresting even by repetition. At the present moment, too, a dispute has been renewed as to the priority of discovery between the nations of France and England: while countrymen of our own have claims, that both French and English writers appear too willing to overlook, and which it is our duty as Americans to maintain.

Limited in its original form to a single, and that by no means very important object, the steam-engine has, within our own recollection, become the most useful and extensive in its application, of all the prime movers of machinery. No resistance, however intense, appears to withstand its power; no work, however delicate, is beyond its action; it is alike remarkable for its force and for its versatility; it cannot only lift the heaviest and crush the most refractory substances, but is capable of being directed and regulated in such a manner as to perform the nicest operations of manufacturing industry. It may be seen raising ships of the line from the water, and placing them upon firm ground, rolling and fashioning iron, slitting steel into ribbands, and impelling ships against the united force of the winds and waves; or spinning the wool of Saxony and the cotton of Georgia, and directing the motions of the tambouring needle. A recent writer on the steam-engine, has compared this flexibility of its power to that of the trunk of an elephant, which can alike take up the finest needle, or uproot the firmest oak. But this comparison gives only a faint idea of the properties of the steam-engine.

Our own country has, perhaps, already derived more direct and important benefits from the steam-engine, than any other nation, or we might say, than all the rest of the world united. A population thin and widely scattered, has, by the steam-boat, been brought into more close and active communication than is possessed by any equal number of people in any district of the globe, if we except the most thickly peopled portions of England and Holland. We may leave Philadelphia in the morning, to fulfil an engagement to dine in New-York; or may, within twenty-four hours, be landed at the head of navigation of the Hudson. An inhabitant of New-Orleans, who wishes to visit the eastern states, will find it his easiest, and frequently most expe-

dition course, to embark in a steam-boat on the Mississippi, ascend by it and the Ohio to Cincinnati, cross the state of Ohio to Detroit, and embark there in a steam-boat for Buffalo. After descending the New-York canal, he may embark in a steam-boat on the Hudson, and will find his most ready and easy way to Boston to be by New-York and Providence. In this circuit he will perform, with ease to himself, in a few days, what twenty years since would have been the laborious exertion of months.

To England, a priority in the use of the steam-engine, supplied money and men for the most obstinate struggle that history has recorded ; money by opening new sources of manufacturing wealth, and men by dispensing with the use of a great portion of the labouring population. She was thus enabled, on the one hand, to keep in check a malecontent subject nation, and on the other, to resist the united strength of the whole of Europe ; until at length the same fertile source of riches enabled her to set in motion, not only the people of middle Europe, but the distant nations of Liberian steppes and Caucasian mountains, until the greatest captain the world ever saw bowed at length before the genius of Watt.

Such are the effects that the use of the steam-engine has already produced. Even greater and more important triumphs seem yet to remain. But we wish to indulge in no visionary speculations, no anticipations of future improvements. To show what has already been done, and develop the steps by which the useful application of steam has attained its present importance, will be a task of sufficient extent and difficulty.

Were we to limit our inquiries solely to those who had actually applied the fruits of their researches to useful purposes, we should begin at once with Savary, who was by universal admission the first who constructed a steam-engine except in mere model. He, too, claimed the honours of originality, and supported his claim with much appearance of justice.

Savary had been in early youth employed in the mines of Cornwall, but had afterwards pursued the calling of a mariner. He states, as the origin of his discovery, that happening to throw upon a fire a flask containing a small quantity of wine, he perceived the wine to boil, and the whole of the flask was filled with its steam. The observation is a familiar one, and the same fact must have been witnessed before in innumerable instances. What ideas the sight of it produced in his mind we know not ; but they must have been extremely just, and founded upon a full acquaintance with all the pneumatic science of the day ; for he immediately seized the flask and plunged the neck into water. The result, whether expected or unexpected to him, is familiar at the present day ; the steam was condensed, and the flask was filled with water. His early associations led him to consider the re-

sult as important, and suggested to him the idea of applying the principle to the raising of water from mines. We have no good reason for doubting the truth of his statement, and it besides derives corroboration from the very form of his engine. It is in fact no more than a large flask, and differs in this respect wholly from all the engines which have been brought forward as prior to his in point of time. Others, no doubt, had preceded him in the investigation, but they had brought their inventions to no practical result; and although numerous names, of the highest reputation, are combined in support of a charge of plagiarism against him, we must say that we can see no cause for considering it as well founded. So little, in truth, had been done, or was known in respect to the value of steam as a moving power, that when Savary proposed his engine, and even after it had been brought into limited use, he was compelled to defend himself against the charge of being a mere schemer; yet no sooner were his anticipations realized, than it was attempted to rob him of all merit in the discovery.

His defence against the former charge we shall quote.

"I am not fond of lying under the scandal of a bare projector, and therefore present you with a draught of my machine, and lay before you the uses of it, and leave to your consideration whether it be worth your while to make use of it or no. I can easily give grains of allowance for your suspicions, because I know very well what miscarriages there have been by people ignorant of what they pretend to do. These I know have been so frequent and so promising at first, but so short of performing what they pretend to, that your prudence and discretion will not suffer you to believe any thing without a demonstration, your appetite to new inventions of this kind having been balked too often; yet after all, I must beg you not to condemn me, before you read what I have to say for myself; and let not the failures of others prejudice me, or be placed to my account. I have often lamented the want of understanding the true powers of nature, which misfortune has of late put some on making such vast engines and machines, both troublesome and expensive, yet of no manner of use; inasmuch as the old engines used many ages past far exceeded them. And I fear, whoever by the old causes of motion pretends to improvements within the last century, does betray his knowledge and judgment; for more than one hundred years since, men and horses could raise by engines as much water as they have ever done since, or, I believe, according to the law of nature, ever will do."

Savary's fate has been singular: his cotemporaries endeavoured to rob him of the merit of originality, and in modern days, an author, who has done much to re-establish his credit in this respect, ascribes his discoveries to pure chance, and doubts his acquaintance with any of the scientific principles that are concerned in the operation of his engine.

The apparatus of Savary may be compared in principle to the combination of a common with a forcing pump. Steam, generated in a separate boiler, is first admitted into a vessel of an ellipsoidal form, from which it expels the air; a communication is next made between this vessel and the body of water to be raised, by opening a valve in a long pipe that connects the steam-vessel

with the reservoir, and at the same time the communication with the boiler is closed; the steam within the vessel would be condensed by the contact of the cold water from beneath, but this condensation is rendered more rapid by pouring water upon the outer surface of the steam-vessel. As the steam is condensed, the water of the reservoir is forced up into the vessel by the pressure of the atmosphere.

This part of the process is of course similar to the action of a common pump, and is in theory limited to the same altitude of 34 feet; but the difficulty of obtaining a perfect vacuum, by the condensation of steam, opposes an obstacle, and water cannot be raised by this part of the engine to a height of more than 25 feet.

Water, which boils under the ordinary pressure of the atmosphere at a temperature of 212° , rises in vapour at all temperatures, and boils under diminished pressure at regularly decreasing temperatures; thus it happens, that as one mass of steam is condensed, fresh vapour is formed, which resists the atmospheric pressure, and lessens both the velocity of the ascending water, and the height to which it can be raised.

When, by the process we have detailed, the steam-vessel has been filled with water, the rising pipe is closed, and the communication with the boiler re-opened; at the same moment, a valve in a lateral pipe is opened. The steam, rushing from the boiler, acts upon the surface of the water, by its elastic force, and compels it to rise in the lateral pipe, from the top of which it is discharged. This part of the process has its limits in the strength of the materials, and in the force of the steam employed. The vapour of water boiling in an open vessel, has a force only equivalent to the pressure of the atmosphere, and hence is incapable of acting against that pressure, and thus raising water at all; high steam, as it is styled, or that generated under pressure in a close vessel, must therefore be used. In the engines constructed by Savary, steam was used of sufficient force to raise water by this part of the process, which resembles the action of the forcing pump, to a height of 65 feet, which, added to the 25 feet it is elevated by the pressure of the atmosphere, makes a total altitude of 90 feet.

This engine of Savary's was limited, therefore, to a single object, that of raising water, and even this it did to great disadvantage. One of its defects was the imperfection of the vacuum formed, but this was wholly unimportant, when compared with the waste of heat growing out of the necessity of filling the steam-vessel alternately with water of a low temperature, and steam of high pressure. The latter would be condensed against the sides of the vessel and the surface of the water, and would not begin to act mechanically until both were raised to the tem-

perature of boiling water, nor would it produce its full effect, until both were heated to the degree necessary to maintain the steam of an elasticity appropriate to the height of the place of discharge. In this way, it has been found, by careful experiment, that eleven-twelfths of the steam were condensed, and of course a similar proportion of fuel wasted. Still, however, the introduction of this engine was not only important as a step to the construction of more perfect ones, but was itself susceptible of applications that were valuable, when compared with previous modes of raising water. In mines, however, it was of little use, as it became necessary to use several tiers of engines in those of any great depth; and moreover, its use would, even in the present state of the mechanic arts, have been attended with danger, from the force of the steam it demanded; and was at that time still more liable to explosion.

In opposition to the claims of Savary as an inventor, the French set up those of their countryman, Papin. These have been recently fully set forth by Arago, in the little memoir placed at the head of this article. The engine usually figured as Papin's, an account of which was not published until 1707, nine years later than the date of Savary's patent, is abandoned by Arago, as not suited to his argument, and he rests for his proof upon a prior form, explained by Papin in the *Leipzig Transactions* for 1688, and exhibited to the Royal Society of London the previous year, (1687.) The engine, as described by Arago, consisted of a cylindrical vessel, open at top, and having a valve, opening upwards, in its bottom. It was proposed by Papin to form a vacuum beneath the piston, which would thus be caused to descend by the pressure of the atmosphere. For this purpose, he first attempted to employ gunpowder, but was compelled to abandon it as unfit to accomplish his object. "I then endeavoured," he adds, "to accomplish my object in another manner; and as water has the property, when turned into steam by heat, of being elastic like air, and of being condensed so completely by cold that no trace of this elasticity remains, I have thought that it would not be difficult to make machines, in which, by means of a moderate heat, generated at small cost, water might form the perfect vacuum I had in vain sought by means of gunpowder."—The water was heated within the cylinder by the application of fire to the bottom, and was also condensed within the same vessel. Ainger, however, denies that there was any valve in Papin's apparatus, and we are rather inclined, from the perusal at second hand of the paper, to believe that he is right. If so, it was neither more nor less than the same with Wollaston's apparatus, to illustrate the generation and condensation of steam, and incapable of any useful application whatever. It is very clear, we conceive, that there is nothing in this description

that could have given the least hint to Savary. There is no analogy in any part of the action of the two engines, except that both are moved by the aid of steam, alternately generated and condensed ; and even the separate boiler, which undoubtedly required a greater effort of mind on the part of Savary, to add to his original apparatus, than would have been necessary to adapt it to Papin's cylinder, does not appear to have occurred to the latter. However well adapted, as a philosophical apparatus, to illustrate the alternate formation and condensation of steam, it was obviously (even if we admit it had the valve described by Arago beneath it) unfit, from the slowness of its operation, for any practical use. The first model made but one stroke per minute, and he was never able to increase the number beyond four. It is, however, of great interest in one respect, as being the germe of an engine formed of a cylinder, in which a piston moves with an alternating motion, a mode of action that is common to every valuable variety of the steam-engine at present in use. Savary's claims have also been disputed among his own countrymen, who have accused him of borrowing all that is valuable in his engine from the Marquis of Worcester. This nobleman lived during the troubled times of the two Charles' and the Commonwealth. He was himself no unimportant actor in the eventful scenes of that era ; an era, perhaps, more fertile in great names than any other age, except that of Pericles, and the revival of letters in Europe. Induced by his rank, his station, and his connexions, to take the royal side, he suffered, with the rest of that unfortunate party, the pains of exile, imprisonment, and poverty. During this melancholy period, he appears to have devoted himself to mechanical pursuits. The fruit of his labours he has recorded in a little work styled "A Scantling of One Hundred Inventions," better known as his "Century of Inventions." In this book he announces, in quaint and almost unintelligible language, that number of discoveries made by himself. The merit of the Marquis of Worcester is variously appreciated ; some are almost inclined to find, in this little work, the germe of every important invention that has occurred since his day, while others look upon it as wholly visionary. The truth appears to lie between the two opinions ; for it seems now evident, that many of his plans were actually brought to the test of experience, although some were unquestionably the vague conceptions of a speculative mind. Some of those, the most extravagant to appearance, have since been found practicable ; and of all, the steam-engine, as announced by him, would, to one unacquainted with its action, appear the most unlikely to be successful. We shall quote the description in the author's own words :—

"An admirable and most forcible way to drive up water by fire, not by drawing or sucking it upwards, for that must be, as the philosopher calls it, *infra sphæ-*

rum activitatis, which is but at such a distance. But this way hath no bounder, if the vessels be strong enough; for I have taken a piece of a whole cannon, whereof the end was burst, and filled it three quarters full, stopping and screwing up the broken end, as also the touchhole, and making a constant fire under it; within twenty-four hours it burst, and made a great crack; so that having found a way to make my vessels, so that they are strengthened by the force within them, and the one to fill after the other, I have seen the water run like a constant fountain-stream forty feet high; one vessel of water rarified by fire driveth up forty feet of cold water; and a man that tends the work is but to turn two cocks, that one vessel of water being consumed, another begins to force and refill with cold water, and so successively, the fire being tended and kept constant, which the self-same person may likewise abundantly perform in the interim, between the necessity of turning the said cocks."

The amount of the evidence furnished by this extract is, that the Marquis of Worcester had unquestionably executed a machine capable of raising water, by the action of the expansive force of high steam; but, on the other hand, he gives so vague a description, that, while it might excite curiosity, and the ambition of rivalling him, it could furnish no aid to the researches of subsequent inquirers.

The engine described by Papin, in 1707, is upon the same principle as that of Worcester, and although more convenient and safe than the description of the latter would appear to warrant his to be, is not superior in effect. It has the disadvantages common to his and Savary's, and wants the atmospheric action which the latter possesses, and which increases its power materially. He now admits an acquaintance with the engine of Savary, from whom he has evidently borrowed the separate boiler. In Papin's engine, however, is to be seen the first application of that most important addition, the safety valve; an apparatus which he had originally adapted to his own Digester, and now proposes to add to the steam-engine. The value of this in increasing the safety and consequent utility of the steam-engine, is very great; and we are the more indebted to him for it, since, simple as its principle is, it had escaped Worcester and Savary, as well as all their predecessors.

Of those it is now time to speak; for however unimportant any of their plans may have been, from having never been applied to any practical use, still it cannot be doubted that a knowledge of their inquiries must have had an effect in exciting the curiosity of those who were finally successful.

First on the list must be placed the elder Hiero of Alexandria, who lived under the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 120 years before the Christian era. He describes, in one of the three works which alone remain out of many that were composed by him, a machine, to which a rotary motion was given by steam issuing from a pipe and reacting upon the apparatus. Possessed of but little power, it is still interesting as a proof of the advance of that remote age in physical knowledge, and of the acquirements

of the pupil of that philosopher, to whom we owe the pump, and the wheel and pinion. Of the vast power of aqueous vapour, the ancients, however, do not appear to have been ignorant; and Aristotle in particular attributes earthquakes to the sudden formation of steam in the bowels of the earth. This formation is, according to him, effected by subterranean heat.

The apparatus of Hiero was one in which a rotary motion was produced by reaction. Steam issuing from jets placed in the direction of tangents to the circumference of a circle, caused it to revolve in a direction opposite to that of their openings. The same principle has frequently been tried by others, but without producing any powerful effect. An elastic fluid, particularly one which rapidly condenses, is incapable of the powerful effects of a liquid under similar circumstances. The most ingenious attempt of this sort we recollect to have seen, was one of Count Real, who, during his residence in this country, sought to make a steam-boat without paddle wheels, in order to fit it for the navigation of canals.

After the time of Hiero, no attempts are to be found in ancient times to apply steam to any mechanical object, and the historians of the Steam-Engine have usually passed directly from him to Branca. In 1826, however, Navarette, a Spaniard of high scientific attainment and research, communicated to the "Correspondence Astronomique" of de Zach, a notice of a document preserved among the Royal Archives of Spain, whence he attempts to claim for his countrymen not only the merit of being the first to make a useful steam-engine, but even that of constructing the first steam-boat.

The letter of Gonzalez, the director of the Royal Archives at Simancas, to Navarette, is as follows:—

"Blasco de Garay, a sea captain, proposed, in the year 1543, to the Emperor Charles V., a machine to propel vessels and flotillas, even in times of calm, without either oars or sails.

"In spite of the obstacles and opposition which this project had to sustain, the Emperor ordered that an experiment should be made upon it, in the harbour of Barcelona, and this was actually done, on the 17th June 1543.

"Garay was unwilling to disclose the detail of his discovery. It was notwithstanding seen, at the moment of the experiment, that it consisted in a great vessel of boiling water, and in wheels attached to each side of the vessel.

"The experiment was made upon a vessel of 200 tons, called the Trinity, which had arrived from Colibra with a cargo of grain, under the command of Captain Pedro de Harga.

"The experiment was witnessed, at the command of Charles V., by Don Henry de Toledo, the Governor Don Pedro de Cardona, the Treasurer Ravago, the Vice-chancellor, and the Intendant of Catalonia.

"In the reports made to the Emperor and the Prince, all approved of this ingenious invention, particularly on account of the readiness and ease with which the vessel was tacked.

"The Treasurer Ravago, who was an enemy of the project, says that the vessel could move at the rate of two leagues in three hours; but that the machine was too complicated, and cost too much; besides, that there was danger of the

boiler's bursting. The other commissioners asserted that the vessel was manoeuvred with as much ease as a galley of the ordinary description, and went at least a league per hour.

"After the experiment was made, Garay carried off all the apparatus with which he had fitted the vessel; he placed only the wooden parts in the arsenal of Barcelona, and retained all the rest for himself.

"In spite of the opposition of Ravago, the invention of Garay was approved, and had not Charles V. been at the moment engaged in matters he considered of more importance, he would without doubt have encouraged it.

"In spite of all this, the Emperor promoted the inventor one step, made him a present of 200,000 marvedis, ordered the treasurer to pay all the charges and expenses of the experiment, and granted him, in addition, several favours.

"The above is the substance of the documents and original registers preserved in the Royal Archives of Simancas, among those which relate to the commerce of Catalonia, and those of the offices of the Secretaries of War and the Navy for the said year 1543.

"(Signed)

THOMAS GONZALEZ.

"*Simancas, 27th August, 1825.*"

We must say, that if, as the characters of the two witnesses give us every reason to believe, the documents are authentic, and the extracts correct, this looks much like a successful experiment, not only on the steam-engine, but on the steam-boat. And we cannot enter into the views of Arago, who, wishing to retain the honour of both for his own countrymen, disputes the inference of Navarette, that steam-boats were originally invented in Spain, nearly three centuries since, and only re-invented in our own days. The objection of Ravago is conclusive evidence that the boiler contained high steam; and this, applied to the reacting machine of Hiero, is capable of producing all the effects described by the commissioners: certainly neither as economically nor as safely as a modern steam-engine, but still with power adequate to the object.

A claim, bearing the date of 1615, is likewise made for a Frenchman named de Caus, as inventor of the steam-engine; but we are satisfied that it was of so imperfect a character as not even to have furnished a hint to subsequent investigators. At all events, it was incapable of any useful application, as will appear from the simple fact, that it was limited in its action to the raising of the water contained in the same boiler in which the steam was generated.

The Italian, Branca, also describes, in 1629, a machine, where, the vapour issuing from an Eolopyle was made to act upon a wheel and turn it around. This, however, is a worse application than the reaction used by Hiero, and was certainly no step to the machines of Savary or Newcomen.

The limited action of the machine of Savary, and the danger attending it, prevented its coming into general use, or being followed by any important advantages, either to the inventor or the public. The first machine which can be cited as of any real utility, was that of Newcomen. In the importance of his invention, a recent writer has even been inclined to place him far

above Watt. We must, however, dissent from his opinion, inasmuch as had his engine been even as complete in its action as Watt's, it was limited to a single object, while Watt's is commensurate in its applications with the wants of the human race, and the progress of mechanical industry.

Newcomen had for a partner a person of the name of Cawley, and it is by no means settled what share each had in the invention, although the general impression seems to be that the former is entitled to the greater part of the merit of discovery, while the latter had no other agency than one purely mercantile. Newcomen, although exercising the petty trade of an ironmonger, in an obscure town in a remote part of England, was not destitute of scientific knowledge, as is manifest from his being in active correspondence with Hooke, the secretary of the Royal Society, who combined the skill of practice with profound theoretic knowledge of Mechanics, in a degree superior to most men.

The principle of Newcomen's engine may be thus illustrated:—

If a piston be fitted air tight in a cylinder, and attached to a balance beam by a rod and chain, and if the other end of the balance beam be loaded with a heavy weight; so long as the cylinder has a free communication with the external air, the beam will rest in an inclined position, determined by the space which the weight can descend before it reaches the earth or any other support. If the cylinder be made to communicate at bottom with a boiler in which steam is generated, the steam will enter and fill the cylinder, driving from it all the air it previously contained. If the communication with the outer air be closed, the flow of steam cut off, and the steam within the cylinder condensed, the pressure of the air acting upon the upper surface of the piston, will tend to force it down; and if the weight with which the opposite end of the beam is loaded be not too great, the piston, thus pressed by the air, will preponderate, and descend until it reach the bottom of the cylinder, raising the weight through an equal space on the opposite end of the apparatus. If the steam be again permitted to flow from the boiler, the pressure on the opposite sides of the piston will be equalized, and the weight will again descend, causing the balance-beam to oscillate, and raising the piston to its primitive position. A repetition of the operation will cause another oscillation; and if to the end of the beam that carries the weight be attached a pump rod, a saw, or any other apparatus working with an alternating rectilineal motion, it may be driven by such an engine.

Papin merely states that the steam in his cylinder may be condensed by cold, but points out no means of producing it. Savary, on the other hand, found, that to pour cold water on the

surface of his vessels, was efficient in the condensation of the contained steam. This mode was at first adopted by Newcomen, but was so obviously the invention of Savary, that the latter was successful in establishing his claim to it, and in procuring that his name should be associated with those of Newcomen and Cawley, in the patent they were applying for.

The separate boiler of Savary might also have furnished another fair ground of claim; for although the phraseology of the Marquis of Worcester is to us satisfactory proof of his having used a boiler distinct from his vessels, still, it is by no means such a description as would have conveyed that intelligence to one who had never seen it used. Arago maintains, that the machine of Newcomen is an exact copy of the first apparatus of Papin, and that in expressing that the steam might be condensed by cold, he had pointed out the method, by effusion of cold water, used both by Savary and Newcomen. In this we think his argument is unsuccessful; for in the experiments performed by Papin, it is clear that this simple and obvious method had never occurred to him.

The engine of Newcomen was susceptible at once of applications for which Savary's was unfitted. It was perfectly safe, because steam of a pressure greater than that of the atmosphere need never be employed; yet with steam of little or no expansive force, it was capable of raising water, by means of a pump, to any height compatible with the strength of the materials of which the pump was composed. It hence was introduced, immediately after its invention, into the mines of England, and gradually diffused itself over the continent of Europe; nor has it ceased to be used even at the present day, in places where fuel is abundant. The defects of Savary's engine, of which we have spoken, viz. that it was impossible to form a perfect vacuum, and that the cooling of the cylinder at each condensation of the steam within it, caused a great waste of steam, and consequent expenditure of fuel, were still to be found in Newcomen's. It was besides limited to but one species of action, namely, an alternating one, and even in that it could exert power only in one of the directions of the reciprocating motion. Hence it was incapable of all the more important uses to which we apply the steam-engine at the present day.

We are compelled, for want of space, to pass over the history of the various improvements and additions made to the engine of Newcomen, by which its action was rendered more simple and effective, and by which it was relieved of the expense and trouble of constant attendance upon the opening and shutting of its valves. In the hands of Smeaton it became wholly self-acting, except so far as the supply of fuel was concerned.

All the world knows, that it is to Watt that the discovery of

the causes of the principal defects of Newcomen's engine, and of the methods by which they were remedied, is due. The labours of his predecessors, when compared with his, would sink into utter oblivion, were it not that he commenced his career, not from simple first principles, but in the attempt to remedy the imperfections of Newcomen.

James Watt* was born at Greenock, in Scotland, in the year 1736, of respectable, but poor parents. His constitution was feeble, and promised no long life ; but this apparent misfortune gave birth to the habits of retirement and close application, so important in all matters that require the exertion of mind. He owed his education to one of those establishments for which Scotland is so deservedly celebrated, in which the children of the poor receive an elementary education, equal to the best that can be obtained by the rich. In these institutions, all are equally instructed in the rudiments of classical literature and the lower branches of the mathematics. Leaving the grammar school at the age of sixteen, he served an apprenticeship to the trade of a maker of mathematical instruments, in which he continued for four years. Passing thence to London, he worked as a journeyman at the same trade, but was compelled to return to his natal climate by the state of his health. He settled at Glasgow, and was immediately appointed, by the University of that city, to the charge of their cabinet of models and philosophical apparatus. In virtue of this employment, he had a lodging in the college, and permission to carry on his business for his private account. Professor Robinson, who became the historian of his improvements, was then a student of the University, and had, it seems, a project for propelling carriages by steam, on which he consulted Watt, and induced him to enter into the examination of the methods proper to carry it into effect. Their plans and experiments were, however, failures.

In the year 1764, it became his duty to repair a model of Newcomen's engine, which was a part of the apparatus of the University : astonished at the smallness of the effect he found it to produce, when compared with the expenditure of fuel, he was led to the investigation of the cause, and actually discovered, in respect to the vapour of water, the law of latent heat, which Dr. Black, a professor of the same University, was at the moment investigating in a more general manner.

Although the vapour of water has a temperature no higher than the water whence it issues, yet, in the change of physical state, a quantity of heat much greater than is required to raise the same water to the temperature at which it begins to boil, is absorbed, or becomes insensible. The same heat is given out

* Arago. *Annuaire* for 1829—p. 188.

again in a sensible form, when the vapour is condensed; and the condensation of steam is due to the giving out of this heat to the bodies in contact with it. Hence, when in the engine of Newcomen the steam begins to flow into the cylinder, coming into contact with its cold sides, it condenses upon them, until they acquire a temperature equal to that of the water in the boiler. When, again, the condensation is to be produced, the jet of water, which is admitted for that purpose, must be cold, and will cool the cylinder down again to its original temperature. The heating of the cylinder must again be completed, before the steam can collect in it. These alternate heatings and coolings take place at each stroke of the engine, and the steam consumed in them is not less than five times as much as will suffice simply to fill the cylinder. On the other hand, as we have once before stated, the vacuum arising from the condensation is far from perfect, in consequence of the formation of new elastic fluid at lower temperatures, under the diminished pressure. For the first of these defects, a remedy at once presented itself, which was to condense the steam in a separate vessel, kept constantly cool by being placed in water, while the cylinder itself should be free from the refrigerating influence of the jet. The remedy for the second was less obvious, and the discovery is even claimed; but we think with little probability, by another. It consisted in adapting to the separate condenser, an air pump, by which the vacuum within it was rendered as perfect as is possible, by exhaustion. The cylinder, before the time of Watt, had been but badly bored; and to render the piston air tight, it had been necessary to keep a mass of water floating on its surface. This concurred, with the condensing water, to lower the temperature of the cylinder. We have not before mentioned this as a defect in Newcomen's engine, for it was one merely of mechanical construction, and not like the others we have spoken of, inherent in the principle of the engine. This would, however, have rendered the other improvements of no value, and was therefore obviated by a more perfect method of boring, and by a packing for the piston, of oiled hemp, in the place of the water before used.

Even the influence of the atmosphere upon the temperature of the cylinder, was thought by Watt worthy of attention; he therefore found means to use steam instead of air, to press the piston downwards. The cylinder was closed at top, and the piston rod made to work through a collar; the return of the piston to its original position, under the action of the counterpoising weight, was effected in a manner equally simple and ingenious.

To diminish the loss of heat still farther, the cylinder was enclosed within another, and the intervening space filled with steam; the heated water from the condenser was pumped back

to the boiler. So great was the saving of fuel produced by these several improvements, that the patentees demanded no more than one third part of the value of this saving, as a remuneration for the use of their privilege, and a single mine in Cornwall, where three of their engines were employed; this was commuted for the sum of £8000 sterling per annum. Such were the changes in the atmospheric engine introduced by Watt, and such their enormous value.

The engine was still incapable of performing any continuous work, but was solely applicable to pumping water, or operations of a similar description, where the return of the piston, without exerting any force, was consistent with the nature of the work to be performed. Watt was not contented to stop here. Indeed, the state of England seemed imperatively to call for the introduction of some new natural agent applicable to general purposes. The whole of the sites of water power had been occupied, and were insufficient for the growing improvement of manufactures; while wind is too uncertain and precarious to be of any value in a regular and orderly business.

Watt, having introduced steam to work his piston in its descent, instead of atmospheric pressure, must have speedily seen that the former would be as efficient in forcing the piston up, provided he could form a vacuum above it. For this purpose, he contrived a communication between the lower part of his cylinder and the boiler, while another was made between the upper part of the cylinder and the condenser. The piston thus became capable of rising and descending with equal force. The old mode of connecting the piston rod with the beam, now became objectionable; for although the chains which united them were well fitted to convey the action of the descending piston to the beam, and thence to the pump rod, they could not transmit a pressure upwards. To make the piston rod act with equal power upon the beam both in its ascent and descent, Watt invented the parallel motion. This is composed of a parallelogram, whose sides are connected by pivots in such a manner as to have a free motion at the angles: two of the pivots are situated upon the balance beam; one at the head of the piston rod; the fourth is connected to a fixed point in the frame of the engine, by a rod, turning also upon a pivot. The two points in the working beam describe circles, whose centre is the centre of motion of that part of the machine; the last mentioned of the four pivots describes a circle, turned in the opposite direction, around the fixed point with which it is connected, and the head of the piston rod is thus constrained to pursue a path, which, although in truth a portion of curve of contrary flexure, does not, within the limits of the machine's motion, differ sensibly from a straight line. Thus the piston rod is guided in such a manner as to perform a rectilinear

path, while it acts constantly, and with but small obliquity, upon a point which describes an arc of a circle, with a reciprocating motion.

The corresponding motion of the opposite end of the beam is also circular, and reciprocating. But in most of the useful arts and manufactures, the motions must be continuous, as well as circular. To adapt such motions to those of the engine, and enable the latter to produce them efficiently, Watt fell at once upon the obvious method of the crank, which he proposed to attach to the balance beam by a connecting rod. One of his workmen, however, becoming aware of his intention fraudulently, posted to London, and pre-occupied the ground by taking out a patent. Unwilling to involve himself in a contest, Watt abandoned the crank, and contrived to effect the object by another apparatus, which he styled the sun-planet wheel. We shall not describe this, as it ceased to be used with the necessity that produced it; at the present day, it is worthy of notice only as a specimen of the mechanic resources possessed by the mind of Watt.

The crank is made to turn a heavy fly-wheel, by which the varying motion of a reciprocating piston is rendered equable and continuous in its effects upon the attached machinery. No contrivance can, in truth, exceed a crank in its advantages, when applied to such a purpose. At the time when the engine, having reached its limit of motion, is about to return in an opposite direction, the arm of the crank moves exactly at right angles to the connecting rod, and thus the motion of the fly-wheel neither interferes with that of the engine, nor is checked by the change of the direction of its motion. The sun-planet wheel possesses the same property, which is not to be found in any other of the innumerable substitutes that have been proposed for them.

A fly-wheel is only efficient in regulating a motion that varies within certain prescribed limits, but is incapable of controlling any constant acceleration or retardation in the varying motion itself. It would do no more than render this variation regular. If then the force of the steam should increase or diminish, or the work to be performed should vary in quantity, the fly-wheel will have its rate of motion accelerated or retarded in consequence. But as all nice processes in manufactures must be performed at a uniform rate, it becomes necessary to control the action of the moving power in such a manner that the oscillations of the piston shall not exceed or fall short of a certain number in a given time. To meet this, Watt placed an additional valve upon the pipe that supplies the engine with steam, and caused it to be opened or shut, or its aperture to vary in size, with the velocity of the engine. A conical pendulum, called the *governor*, is set in motion by the engine, and communicates by

a series of levers with this, called the *throttle valve*. When the velocity of the engine exceeds the proper rate, the balls of the conical pendulum fly out, and by the intervention of the system of levers, lessen, or cut off altogether, the flow of steam; but when the velocity becomes too small, the balls collapse, and enlarge the opening of the throttle valve.

When the fire is too intense, or the governor permits but little steam to pass the throttle valve, steam may accumulate in the boiler, and its expansive force will be increased in consequence. All fear of danger arising from this cause is removed by the application of Papin's invention of the safety valve. But as the escape of steam through this valve would be wasteful, a contrivance has been adapted by which the consumption of the fuel itself is regulated. A piston works air and steam-tight in a tube inserted vertically in the upper surface of the boiler. To this is attached, by a chain passing over a pulley, a damper, that drops in a groove across a horizontal part of the chimney. An increased pressure of steam causes the piston to ascend, and the damper to close the flue; the lessening of the pressure of the steam, permits the piston to descend, and raises the damper, and thus the draught of the fire will be adapted to the demand for the steam.

The admission of water into the boiler is regulated by a valve, worked in a similar manner, by a float upon the surface of the liquid within it. Were the steam to flow constantly from the boiler to the steam valves, the piston would be urged forwards until it reached the top or the bottom of the cylinder, and there act with violence. The inertia, too, of the machine, would resist the change of motion, and in these two actions a considerable quantity of power would be expended, while the engine would be liable to much wear in consequence. Such was the case with all the earlier engines, and the defect exists in many even to the present day. But in his later engines, Watt introduced a valve that cuts off the steam when the piston is in the middle of its ascent and descent; the steam will still act expansively for a time, but its force will gradually diminish, and the friction will finally become sufficient to overcome the inertia of the engine. The use of this valve has not only a tendency to render the motion of the machine more steady and equable, and to diminish its wear, but it will enable it to exert an equal power at a less expense of steam.

With these additions, and the aid of the best and most careful workmanship, the steam engine has assumed a regularity and accuracy of working, that are almost incredible, when compared with its vast power. The sound produced by the motion of the parts is little more than that of a clock, and its regularity is almost as great as that piece of mechanism. Such are the machines used in the finer manufactures of Great Britain, which in per-

fection of workmanship and smoothness of motion, no other part of the world has yet equalled. With us, cheapness and power have been the objects most in request, and the steam-engine has not yet been applied, in any extent, to purposes that require great regularity. The great application of our engines is to the propulsion of steam-boats, and in them the obvious desideratum is to make the engine perform as many oscillations as possible, without any care as to the equality of these among themselves in number, at different intervals of time.

Beautiful in principle, and perfect in execution as the engine of Watt is, the time is notwithstanding rapidly approaching, when it will be superseded by one of more efficient action, although less indebted to science for its form and character. This is the high pressure engine.

The vapour of water increases in its expansive force in geometric ratio, while its temperature increases in arithmetic only; and the latter increase is produced by quantities of fuel proportioned to its quantity simply. Hence a double quantity of fuel produces steam of four times the expansive force. A high pressure engine, in its simplest form, works loaded with the pressure of the atmosphere, and hence steam equal in force to two atmospheres, is only equal in its action in a high pressure engine to what is performed by steam of the force of a single atmosphere in Watt's engine. But since the improvements which constant practice in the structure of engines has introduced, it has become safe to use steam, equal in force to four or five atmospheres, or even more. Now, since steam of a force equal to four atmospheres, is generated by only twice the quantity of fuel, while no more than one atmosphere is lost by the want of condensation, and the friction is also lessened, there is an economy of more than one third in using the high steam. In addition, the high pressure engine of equal force is simpler, smaller, and less costly, and the boiler smaller; and thus not only is there an economy in the daily consumption of fuel, but one of considerable moment in the original capital. The waste steam too, may be made to pass through the cistern of water whence the boiler is supplied, and an additional economy thus obtained. All that is necessary, therefore, to secure the success of the high pressure engine is, that it shall be rendered equally safe with that worked by steam of lower temperature. This, as we shall see, is possible in almost every case.

Arago claims the invention of the high pressure engine, as well as the atmospheric, for his countryman Papin; we, however, conceive, without sufficient evidence. Leupold, however, who in 1720 constructed a high pressure engine, is said by Arago to quote one proposed by Papin, whence his idea was borrowed. Leupold's engine was double, being formed of two cy-

linders, into the lower part of one of which the high steam was introduced, while it was escaping from the other, and *vice versa*; and although it was applied by him to work two pumps, it is obvious that through the intervention of a crank it might have been applied to produce a continuous rotary motion. In the then state of the mechanic arts, however, its use was dangerous, and we are not aware that it was ever applied to any purpose of practical utility.

The next attempt at the structure of high pressure engines took place in this country. Oliver Evans, well known as an ingenious practical mill-wright, and to whom that once important branch of manufacture, flour, owed much of its value and success, asserts, that as early as 1772, when he was still an apprentice, the idea of propelling wagons by high steam occurred to him. The possibility of so doing, was ascertained by experiments on a small scale; and in 1786 he actually applied to the legislature of the state of Pennsylvania, which (under the old confederation) had not yet parted with this attribute of sovereignty. It was, however, the year 1801, before he was able to procure the means to build an engine of sufficient size to perform any important work. This was first applied to grinding gypsum, and afterwards to sawing marble; and was exhibited performing the latter operation in Market street, Philadelphia. In 1804, having constructed for the corporation of that city, a dredging machine to be worked by steam, it was mounted upon temporary wheels, at his works, a mile and a half from the water, and propelled upon them to the Schuylkill: on reaching this river, a paddle wheel was adapted to the stern, and it was thus propelled down that stream to the Delaware, and up the Delaware to Philadelphia. Evans is therefore the first person who constructed a high pressure engine of general powers, and the first who employed the friction of wheels upon their truck, when made to revolve by a steam-engine, to impel a carriage. That part of the experiment which consists in moving the apparatus when afloat, is of less moment, for as much had been previously done by other experimenters. His idea of obtaining a continuous rotary motion from the alternating motion of a steam-engine piston, is six years earlier than that of Watt, who did not commence his researches on this particular part of his subject until 1778.

Evans's original experiments were performed with a gun-barrel, and this appears to have influenced him in the choice of a form for his boilers. These were cylindric, and we thus owe to him, the figure which is unquestionably the best for containing large masses of water, whether the steam to be generated be high or low, in consequence of the uniform and powerful re-

sistance which a circular section opposes, both to internal and external pressure.

High pressure engines were not introduced (although Watt has, as early as 1769, spoken in his patent of the possible use of high steam,) in England, until 1803, when a patent was taken out for one by Trevithick and Vivian. This does not show the originality of views possessed by that of Evans, and it thus happens, that engines of this character, constructed in that country, which are modifications and improvements upon that of Trevithick, are inferior to those which the ingenuity of our own artists have engrafted upon the original plan of Evans. We have examined and compared perhaps the best engine of this sort ever constructed in Great Britain, one imported within a few months, for the Hudson and Delaware Canal Company, with those made in New-York, and the comparison is much to the advantage of the latter.

We have referred to one case in which high pressure engines are certainly unsafe. This is in their application to steam-boats. In these there is no limit to the velocity, growing out of the nature of the work to be performed. Cases will arise, in which the engineer and masters of the vessels, will urge the vessel to its utmost speed, and be induced, by a desire of rapid progress, to load the safety valve with more than it ought to bear. Explosions may, and must be the consequence. They may also occur in low pressure engines, but there will be a vast difference in their effects in the two instances. In a low pressure engine, the smallest rent in the boiler will reduce the steam to a pressure not greater than that of the atmosphere; while in one driven by high steam, the formation of any rent, however small, will be seen to cause an explosion.

In order to render high pressure engines safe, various precautions have been proposed. The safety valve, loaded with a weight considerably less than the boiler has been proved to bear, should be locked up; but there is another precaution which will be effectual, which is to form a second safety valve, soldered into its flue by a metallic alloy, so fusible as to melt at the temperature of the highest steam that the boiler ought to be permitted to bear.

Even in low pressure engines, dangerous explosions may occur when the flues return or pass in metallic tubes through the water. When these are so placed, that if the boiler be not properly supplied with water, they may be left dry, it is possible for them to be heated red hot. In this event, the vapour may be decomposed, and thus a violent explosion ensue, even when the safety valve is loaded with but very little weight. When an engine has boilers of this description, too much care cannot be taken to keep the water of the boiler always sufficiently high.

When steam-boats navigate salt water, another cause of danger may exist. The constant evaporation of the water will leave a continually increasing quantity of saline matter. This may at length, if the boiler be not emptied from time to time and cleansed, settle upon the sides and bottom of the boiler. Whenever such a deposit takes place, the boiler will become red-hot, and may oxidate and decompose the water in contact with it. In which case the boiler becomes too weak to bear the internal pressure, and an explosion must ensue. The metal of the boiler is also capable of decomposing the earthy muriates, which form a portion of the saline deposit; and the disintegration is thus accelerated. This danger can only be obviated, by frequently emptying the boilers, and scraping off the salt which adheres to them.

The cylindric boiler of Evans has been stated to be the best, where considerable masses of water are confined in it. It has however been attempted to make boilers where there can be hardly any risk of explosion, by reducing them to the size of mere tubes. A number of these connected together will expose as great a surface to the fire, and consequently generate as much steam as a large boiler containing many times the quantity of water. The earliest idea of this sort occurred to the elder Stevens, who sought to make a boiler to be heated by anthracite coal, of tubes forming the grate in which the coal was burnt. One upon the same principle has actually been brought into use by Babcock: his original project was, to flash a small quantity of water, by means of a forcing pump, into dry and red-hot tubes, at each stroke of the engine; but in the boilers he has made on a large scale, the tubes are kept partly filled with water. A practical difficulty manifestly exists in uniting the tubes in such a way as not to be liable to separation by the expansion of the metal they are composed of; but this it is said has been obviated by the skill of the artists recently employed in its construction.

We observe, by an account of Gurney's steam-carriage, which has just reached us, that the boiler used in it is of the same description; we must however record our claim to it as an American invention, not only projected, but used, upon a much greater scale, at least two years previously.

Another American has for some years been employed in planning a boiler or generator for high steam, with which he has produced the most prodigious effects. There are, however, so many practical difficulties in the case, that we are almost warranted in doubting whether he will ever be able to bring it into use in such a way as to be valuable. At any rate, the pledge of constructing an engine upon a large scale has not yet been redeemed. His difficulties however seem to lie in the very nature

of the materials; and it will be no disparagement to his ingenuity, if he cannot compel them to perform more than they were intended to do by nature.

To recapitulate: the energy of the vapour of water has been known from a remote era; it was actually made to act as a mechanical first mover by Hiero of Alexandria, 120 years before the Christian era; it however remained without any attempt to apply it to a practical purpose until the experiment of Garay in 1543; this experiment was forgotten, and produced no result, even in awakening attention to the subject. On the revival of the taste for the cultivation of physical science, the power of steam was examined, and the possibility of making it move machinery or elevate water ascertained; but no good consequence or useful application ensued until the time of Savary, and even he would have been unworthy of notice, if we confined ourselves to those who had actually accomplished some purpose of real utility, were it not that a part of his plan was absolutely essential to the success of Newcomen, who has the merit of first introducing such an engine as was fitted to insure confidence, and is therefore the leader of all those who have since derived useful effects from the agency of steam. Watt discovered the defects of Newcomen's engine, and remedied them; applied steam as the moving power, instead of simply using it to form a vacuum, and finally extended its applicability to every possible description of mechanical industry; while Evans and Trevithick, each pursuing a separate course, succeeded in constructing high pressure engines.

Such is the small number of names to which the world is under any real obligation, in the introduction of this most important instrument, which has more than doubled the power of civilized man over time, space, and the elements. Hiero and Garay produced no sensation in their own times, and held out no example to posterity; a long list of others, among whom are Papin and the Marquis of Worcester, have only been raised from oblivion because others have since been successful; Savary can hardly be said to have done more than awaken the attention of the world to the power of steam; while the action of the engines of Evans and Trevithick, would have been incompetent, had not they adopted the parts by which the alternating motion of the piston is converted into one continuous and circular, and which we owe to Watt. Two names then alone remain to be quoted with full honours, and these are Newcomen and Watt. Had not, however, the apathy of his contemporaries, and the scantiness of his means, prevented Evans from pursuing his early intentions, he might, probably, have made a third, to be enumerated with Watt and Newcomen, among those who have made important steps and real improvements on the steam-en-

gine. As it is, he stands on a far higher level than Trevithick; for the latter had the aid of all the knowledge obtained by Watt, and of the mechanical perfection introduced into England, while Evans was left, unassisted, to his own resources.

In the case of the Steam-Engine, as in all other valuable discoveries, no other persons are worthy of being named, than those who have had a direct agency in bringing it into practical use, by either exciting public attention, or adding valuable practical improvements. A historian of the art of engraving would travel out of the direct path, were he to endeavour to draw from oblivion the artists, however distinguished, who laboured upon silver plate, or monumental brasses; the era of the invention is, when it was discovered that such sculptures were capable of being transferred to paper, and the impressions of being multiplied to a vast extent.

The historians of the steam-engine have sinned against this obvious rule, and if we have mentioned any of the names on which they seem to delight to dwell, to the prejudice of the real inventors and improvers, it is with a view of showing how little they really effected, and how unworthy they are of the space they occupy in the annals of practical mechanism. Some of the histories, too, are loaded with accounts of abortive attempts, and among these the rotary engines, so often attempted, and so often found unfit for service, are by far the most numerous. To us the search for a rotary engine appears to be a sheer waste of ingenuity. Its structure must be difficult, and liable to immense resistance from friction; while even one of easy construction, and subject to but little resistance, would add but very little to the power of a given quantity of steam. Those who have devoted themselves to such researches, appear to have commenced under erroneous and exaggerated notions of the disadvantages of a crank. They seem to have considered it as equally defective, when moved by the piston of a steam-engine, and by human force. It is no doubt true, that a man who is capable of exercising a constant force equivalent to seventy pounds, can act upon a crank with a power of little more than a third of this quantity. But this grows out of a disadvantageous exercise of his strength on particular parts of the crank's revolution, and his not being able to turn it entirely round, when loaded with a resistance greater than that he can overcome in this most disadvantageous position. But no such difference occurs, when it is turned by a steam-engine. We have stated, that at the dead points of the motion, or in passing the centre, as it is called, a crank, furnished with a fly-wheel, is possessed of great advantages; and when by the use of an expansion valve, the inertia of the machine no longer raises nor depresses the cylinder, no other force is wasted than a small fraction, which tends to drag the axis of the

crank sideways, and this is so small as hardly to render the wear of the gudgeons upon their socket unequal.

The same principle we have stated in respect to the invention of the steam-engine itself, applies with even greater force to the adaptation of it to boats, and would compel us, in writing the history of this most important use of the power of aqueous vapour, to begin with the name of Fulton. He unquestionably holds, in this application, the rank which Newcomen and Watt hold jointly, in the general history of the steam-engine; for he not only was the first to satisfy the world, that a steam-boat was not the mere vision of vain projectors—but he gave it a form which has hardly been varied, and but little improved, since his death. Yet, in acquiring this high rank, Fulton was as much indebted to accident as to merit; for a powerful competitor was but a fortnight behind him in navigating the Hudson with a steam-boat; and he had, too, strong support and pecuniary aid, from one whose repeated experiments, all ending in failure, had, instead of discouraging, only served to confirm him in the belief, that a vessel might be advantageously propelled by a steam-engine.

That we may show the reasons of our claiming this pre-eminence for Fulton, and exhibit in a clear light the respective merits of his partner and his competitor, we must enter into the history of the attempts which preceded his triumph. That of Garay, may be here, as in the other case, left out of view, for it is an experiment, which, however honourable to him that performed it, was attended with no beneficial consequences, and did not even remain as a matter of history to stimulate others to the attempt.

Savary and Papin have both stated their idea, that it would be possible to propel boats by their engines; but the former seems to have had in view the working of a common water wheel within the boat, by the stream raised by his apparatus, and which might thus be applied to work the propelling apparatus. We think it requires no argument to show, that even if a boat could have been thus propelled, it never could have been usefully employed. His views were extremely vague, and reduced at no time to the test of experiment; aware, indeed, of the power of steam, he was safe in predicting, that it might be applied to all purposes to which any other natural agent could be directed; but in this case, the whole difficulty consists in the manner, and not in the principle. We know that a stream of water exerts a force sufficient to tear away and roll into pebbles the hardest rocks, but this knowledge of its power is hardly a step to the discovery of a mill-wheel. Papin's plan was to apply his steam cylinder to produce a rotary motion by the intervention of a rack and pinion. Now, in the first place, we have seen how very inadequate

his apparatus was to any rapid and powerful effort ; and, in the second, a rack and pinion would never have given a continuous motion, but would have conveyed only the irregular action of the piston, uncorrected, to the propelling apparatus. Here, too, the argument of the invention having never been subjected to the test of a fair experiment, is, in our minds, conclusive against any claim on behalf of Papin.

In 1737, an Englishman, of the name of Jonathan Hulls, took out a patent for a vessel to be propelled by steam, and to be used in towing ships. He proposed to propel the steam-boat by paddle wheels, while an engine of Newcomen's was employed to turn them. This invention, which might at a later day have been successful, was obviously impracticable with Newcomen's engine ; it fell at once into oblivion, from which it has only been raked, in order to lessen the merit of Fulton ; nor does it appear that any vessel was ever propelled by it. So completely, in truth, was Hulls' patent forgotten, that the application of the crank to produce circular motion, as proposed by him, was afterwards made the subject of a new patent by another person, and maintained by him on the ground of originality ; and even Watt, as we have stated, thought it most prudent to acquiesce in the claim.

Arago states, that Perier constructed a steam-boat in France, in 1775 ; that the Marquis de Jouffroy made an experiment on a larger scale in 1778, at Baume les Dames ; and finally, in 1781, built a vessel 46 metres in length, and 4½ in width. This vessel contained two engines, and was therefore similar to Hulls' ; it was tried at Lyons, and in full confidence of its success, Jouffroy applied for an exclusive privilege, which application was referred by the ministry of the day to the Academy of Sciences, in 1783. Arago ascribes the neglect of this experiment to the emigration of Jouffroy ; but as eight years, at least, elapsed, between even the latter date and the first emigration, we think we are warranted in the belief that the machinery had not accomplished its object.

In 1786, Fitch made, upon the Delaware river, an experiment upon the steam-boat ; the vessel passed with great facility from Philadelphia to Bordentown and back again ; but however successful it may have been in appearance, it did not acquire such a character as to enable him to raise the funds for carrying it into operation. We are, in truth, compelled to believe, that this, like all preceding attempts, was a failure, not from any fault in the parts intended to move the boat, but because the steam-engine was yet too imperfect to work them to advantage. Fitch's experiment, however, is the first that can be referred to as having had any influence upon the exertions of his predecessors, and did no doubt stimulate Livingston and Stevens in their exertions.

The experiments of Miller, in Scotland, are next in date. In a work published in 1787, he states that he has reason to believe that the steam-engine may be employed to turn wheels, such as he was proposing to use instead of oars, in such a manner as to make them move more quickly. It was not, however, until 1791, that he brought this opinion to the test of experiment among the improvements in Great Britain. Lord Stanhope is next to be named, who attempted to construct a steam-boat in 1795; and last, Symington, who had been employed by Miller, and who, in 1801, had a steam-boat in motion upon the Forth o' Clyde canal. All of these were considered, at the time, failures, both by the public and the projectors, and would have fallen into oblivion had it not been for the success of Fulton. This must be obvious, when we consider, that at least in the cases of Miller and Lord Stanhope, there was neither wanting fortune, nor the influence of high character, to induce others to adventure with them; while the state of the country, and the demands of commerce, would have called into active employment any plan that promised to be sufficient. To prove that the last is no unfounded opinion, we may cite the immense development which steam navigation assumed almost instantly in Great Britain, so soon as the success of the American boats was fully known, and their structure imitated.

John Stevens, of Hoboken, commenced his researches in steam navigation in 1791. Possessed both of fortune and science, he was yet wanting in the intimate acquaintance with practical mechanics necessary to success; he was hence, at first, compelled to employ men of far less talent and genius than himself, but who had the advantage of being operative machinists. His first engineer turned out an incorrigible sot; his second became consumptive, and died before the experiment was completed. Mr. Stevens then determined to depend upon his own resources, and the practical skill he had acquired, and built a workshop upon his own estate, where he employed workmen, first under his own immediate superintendence, and afterwards under that of his son, Robert L. Stevens.

In this workshop, several engines of various sorts were constructed, and placed in boats, some of which passed through the water at the rate of five or six miles per hour, and one actually crossed the Hudson. This was furnished with the tubular boiler, of which we have already spoken, but which, from the difficulties attending its structure, failed just as it touched the New-York shore. About the year 1800, Mr. Stevens associated with himself Chancellor Livingston and Mr. Nicholas Roosevelt, in order to make an experiment upon a larger scale. This also failed; but from no defect of principle or plan, but because the boat was too weak for the engine, whose parts were dislocated by the

change of the vessel's figure. The propelling apparatus was composed of a system of paddles placed on each side of the boat, and set in motion by a condensing engine of the construction of Watt. We now know that such a plan would answer the purposes in view; and it so far encouraged the parties interested, as to induce them to pursue the object with greater perseverance. Chancellor Livingston, soon after, departed as ambassador to France, where he interested Fulton in his inquiries; while Stevens, with his son, continued their researches at Hoboken.

The preliminary experiment of Livingston and Fulton, was made upon the Seine in 1803; and gave them such encouragement, that the latter proceeded to Birmingham, to obtain from Watt one of his best engines, and of large size. This reached New-York in 1806, accompanied by an artist to put it up, and thus was brought all the practical skill of Watt's best workman in aid of the ingenuity of Fulton.

Upon his return, Livingston offered to Stevens to renew the partnership; but the latter, having already made, in his own opinion, great steps towards success, declined. Their experiments were therefore conducted separately, and were both successful. Fulton's boat was, however, first ready, and thus became entitled to the monopoly held out as a reward by the state of New-York.

Stevens's boat, which was in motion but a few weeks later than Fulton's, plied for a while as a ferry-boat; but was finally prevented from navigating the Hudson, by the action of the exclusive grant to Livingston and Fulton. Unwilling to abandon the fruit of his long labours, he formed the bold plan of navigating the ocean; and passing out of the harbour of New-York, entered the Capes of the Delaware, and established his vessel upon that river as a passage boat between Philadelphia and Trenton.

We cannot but think that there can be no doubt that it is to Livingston and Stevens, and particularly to the latter, that the world is indebted for the steam-boat. Had they not possessed sufficient intelligence to see, in their original, abortive, and most expensive experiments, the evidence of future success, they might have, like Papin, De Causs, and Worcester, like Jouffroy Miller, and Symington, have been named by those who wish to diminish the honours of actual success; but we have reason to believe that the steam-boat might still have been, like the guidance of the air-balloon, a matter of theoretic speculation; to be sneered at by *practical* men. But high as we may rank their services, it is one of those inventions, so obvious in theory, but so beset by practical difficulties, as to confer more honour, in the eye of the world, upon the engineers, than upon the projectors. Hence the reputation of Livingston will be more than shared by Fulton; and that of the elder Stévens by his son.

Among the workmen brought by Fulton, from the shops of Soho, was one of the name of Bell; who, after assisting in the construction of more than one boat, returned to Europe, with all the experience acquired in Fulton's service, and incontestable evidence of his success. He was the first to construct a successful steam-boat in Great Britain, the *Comet*; which, after running for a time from Greenock to Glasgow, was carried to Liverpool in 1815, and served as the model for all the steam-boats of Europe. This boat was not however built until 1812, or five years later than Fulton and Stevens had each placed boats in successful action upon the Hudson.

We had an opportunity of seeing the *Comet*, and observing how exactly all the parts necessary to success, and which in the case of Fulton had been the fruit of successive accidents, and improvements called for by them, were adopted. Thus the wheel-guards, the form of the rudder, the manner of steering, all were found in it; although in the river Clyde, the necessity for them could hardly have been ascertained by experience. Even in the English boats that navigate the ocean, the wheel-guards, which are in stormy waters rather a defect than an advantage, are retained, as if to serve as a perpetual remembrance of the American origin of the steam-boat.

From that time until the present, although the perfection of English workmanship has given their engineers most important advantages, the steam-boats of our country have been in constant advance of those of Great Britain; this has been most marked in those constructed under the direction of the younger Stevens, whose last boat, the *North America*, is possessed of speed, and other valuable properties, not only far beyond any yet built in Europe, but exceeding those, which a most powerful competition in our own, has caused to be brought forward, with the avowed intention of rivalry, and with strong hopes of being able to excel that magnificent vessel.

The history of steam navigation is in many respects most gratifying to our national spirit, and it is not less a subject of gratulation, to see that the venerable Stevens, to whom we and the world are so much indebted, should be rewarded, if not in pecuniary emolument, at least in the pleasing feelings of gratified paternal pride, for the labours of a life, and the expenditure of a fortune, in bringing this most important branch of the useful arts into successful operation.

We also look with pleasure to the success of the Stevens' in another point of view, as establishing the superiority of education and intelligence, in difficult and novel cases of civil engineering, over mere mechanical acquirements. It has been believed, that because every country surveyor might be converted into a levelling machine, and any respectable mason

intrusted with the erection of a canal lock, such men were engineers, and might be charged with the direction of any enterprise, however new in principle, or difficult in execution. We hope that the superiority of education in the case of steam-boats, even if no other instance could be cited, will establish how very far science, assisted by proper opportunities for practice, must excel that knowledge, which has its source no deeper than the workshop, or consists wholly in manual dexterity.

When we reflect on the other parts of the history of steam-boats among us, we cannot but be sensible, that the stigma of ingratitude lies against us as a nation. It is a point of sound policy, that the person who brings any important invention to maturity, shall receive a national reward, in the form either of a monopoly, or an equivalent for the use of the invention by the public. The state of New-York, deeply sensible of the vast importance of steam navigation to her prosperity, proposed to the first who should place in her waters a successful steam-boat, a monopoly for a limited time. This offer was dictated by justice as well as policy. It was obvious, that the powers of the steam-engine were sufficient to produce the desired effect; all that remained in doubt, was the exact manner. To test the practicability of the various plans which had been partially tried, or to discover and experiment upon new ones, required both capital and ingenuity, and it could not be hoped that either would be brought into action, without the prospect of an adequate reward. It might also have been anticipated, that any plan, to be successful, must be of extreme simplicity, and that its very simplicity would prevent its protection by ordinary patent laws. Such was, undeniably, the fact. Place a pair of paddle wheels on the axis of the crank of Watt's engine, and we have Fulton's method, which is equally effective and simple. A workman in the employ of Messrs. Livingston, Stevens & Roosevelt, suggested this method to them; but while they clearly saw the objections which are still urged against it, they were not prepared to appreciate its advantages. It was, indeed, as one of the parties frankly states, too simple to suit their views at the time it was proposed; so easy, that they did not believe it could succeed. Yet this very simplicity and ease of application constitutes its most valuable quality. Of all the plans which have ever been proposed, it is the least complex, and yet it is the only one that has been successful.

The truth is, that the construction of a successful steam-boat was attended with innumerable petty practical difficulties. It was several weeks after the first trial of Fulton's boat, before he ventured to make a passage up the river; and it was more than a year of constant alterations, additions and corrections, in which the most consummate ingenuity was brought into action, before

any but the most sanguine believed that he had effected more than his predecessors. Now, however, it appeared before the public in a finished form, and so simple and obvious in all its parts, that the least intelligent might have fancied that they also could have effected as much as Fulton. He shared the same fate with many other benefactors of the human race, to be ridiculed as an unsound projector, until his success was beyond all question, and to be denied the honours of a discoverer, from the simple character of his apparatus.

Innumerable competitors at once appeared to claim equal honours, and to contest with him the sole reward that remained within his reach. Hence, his grant from the state of New-York, was to him a source not of wealth but of constant litigation, in the fatigues incident to which his life fell a sacrifice; while the final solemn decision, that this grant was untenable, entailed poverty upon his family.

Such has frequently been the history of those, who, by genius or industry, have made the more important improvements in the arts. Jealousy and envy detract from their merits; the public grudge or deprive them of a due reward; and their useful labours procure for them only vexation, poverty and distress.

We are far from questioning the correctness of that decision which made the grant to Fulton void, but we may lament that the stern impartiality of the law should have compelled the court to pronounce such a decision. At any rate, we are satisfied, that upon every principle of policy and justice, a national reward is due to the heirs of Fulton, in return for the useful and unrequited services of their father.

That the same end would shortly have been attained by the efforts of another, is no bar to such a claim. Each fairly adventured for a prize that could be adjudged to but one, and his competitor at once acquiesced in the justice of the grant to Fulton, and was content to seek the reward of his ingenuity in another direction. The opposition to Fulton's privileges, and the contest by which they were annulled, were excited by persons who had no merit whatever, and had added nothing to the stock of experimental knowledge, of which the steam-boat was the fruit. Yet before such pretenders the claims of Livingston and Fulton were forced to succumb. We still hope, however, that our national representatives may be awakened to a sufficient sense of public honour and decent gratitude, to make some, however inadequate, remuneration to the descendants of Fulton, for that grant, which the cession of its sovereignty to the general government prevented the state of New-York from making good.

ART. VIII.—*Life of Arthur Lee, LL. D. Joint Commissioner of the United States to the Court of France, and Sole Commissioner to the Courts of Spain and Prussia, during the Revolutionary War. With his Political and Literary Correspondence, and his Papers on Diplomatic and Political Subjects, and the Affairs of the United States during the same Period.* By RICHARD HENRY LEE: Boston: 1829. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 431 & 399.

WE welcome every contribution to the history of our Revolutionary Diplomacy, the most important portion, at last, of the annals of that era. The success which attended the resistance of the colonists, is apt to leave unquestioned the justice of resorting to such an extremity; but it is only in the diplomacy of the times, that we can find the real sources of dissatisfaction; and, more especially, in what manner redress was previously sought;—in fine, from which alone we can collect the spirit of the Revolution. This is the plainest of political axioms; yet that it has been too little inculcated or remembered, appears manifest to us from the infrequency with which the subject has been entertained as a theme of national gratulation. Our orators and writers have been, in general, negatively unjust to the silent services of the cabinet, and to the peculiar merit of those statesmen who encountered the lion in his very den, throwing the rebukes of their injuries and insults into the houses of Parliament, and who in *London* personally appealed to the sympathy of the English people. Embassies were, in those days, no sinecures, no insignificant appendages of state; they were the hope of this nation; and they proved its efficient helpers.

The means of attaining a knowledge of these services, have not, indeed, until within a few years, been generally accessible. The mass of the people are satisfied with the manifesto of the Declaration of Independence, which is an admirable epitome of the wrongs endured under the British sceptre, but which furnishes a single sentence only in justification of the decisive measure it promulges.—“In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury.” Yet it was, doubtless, the pertinacious tyranny which redoubled the oppressions of the colonies, in proportion as they made the most loyal and affectionate representations of their distress, that exasperated them to renounce their allegiance. Several late publications, however, indicate that public curiosity has awakened to a sense of the deficiency of which we have spoken. The *Secret Journals of the Old Congress*, Mr. Pitkin’s *Political and Civil History of the United States*, Mr. Lyman’s *History of Ame-*

rican Diplomacy, and various particular biographies, are diffusing a correct appreciation of the national councils and agents. The life of Arthur Lee is an essential part of the series; his posts as a diplomatist, were the most conspicuous and perilous. One of the American deputies to England itself, and at a critical period their only representative with the most powerful crowns of the continent, upon him mainly depended the success of our infant country in procuring the indispensable alliance and countenance of those powers. To his exertions, open and secret, private and official, may be attributed the excitation of popular feeling, which must have had its effect in postponing some of the devices of British despotism, until its intended victim had better prepared for resistance.

The sketch of the life of Mr. Lee does not occupy one half of the first volume; the remainder of the work is filled with his political and literary correspondence, documents, a short memoir of the Revolution which he left unfinished, and private journals. The biography itself is principally defective in clearness of arrangement; the chronology of the events is sometimes confused, and several dates appear to be wrongly expressed. A strain of panegyric, throughout a professed biography, is always in bad taste, and the Revolution and its men are already embalmed beyond all new arts of eulogy; we should, therefore, have been pleased to find that the present author had allowed the characters he introduces into his narrative, to speak for themselves, in the simple record of their deeds. These blemishes, however, subtract nothing from the main merit of the work, which is full of interesting matter, in the perusal of which, the reader will soon forget all objections. In endeavouring to frame from the whole mass, an outline of the life and services of Mr. Lee, we must presume upon the acquaintance of our readers with the general history of the period, the detail of which would entrench too much upon our proposed gleanings of the less known particulars of these volumes.

The family of our author belongs to the only circle of *primores* acknowledged by our institutions—they were distinguished amongst the founders of the republic. The services of Richard Henry Lee have been detailed in a separate biography,* by his very respectable grandson, the author of the work now before us; and his name, with that of his brother, Francis L. Lee, is ennobled by its place among the signatures of the Declaration of 1776. Two other brothers, Thomas L., and William, were in public life, and the latter held several important public posts abroad with credit. The father of this patriotic brotherhood was not permitted to enjoy the extraordinary happiness of seeing

* Memoir of the Life of Richard Henry Lee, and his Correspondence, &c. by Richard H. Lee. 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1825.

five sons thus pre-eminently distinguished. He died when Arthur, the youngest, was but ten years old. Arthur was born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, on the 20th of December, 1740. After receiving the rudiments of learning from private instruction, he was sent to the school at Eton, in England; and upon the completion of his course there, entered the University of Edinburgh, and, after his graduation, commenced the study of medicine in the same celebrated, and at that time unrivalled institution. He took his degree of M. D. with great distinction, winning a medal for the best botanical Latin treatise, which was published by order of the University. Having made a tour of Holland and Germany, Dr. Lee returned to Virginia, and commenced the practice of his profession at Williamsburg, then the metropolis. The bent of his mind, however, was decidedly to politics: he was present at the parliamentary debate on the Stamp Act, and when the duty bill was passed, he seconded the arguments of the "Farmer's Letters," by a series of anonymous publications in England. Before his return, he established a plan of correspondence amongst the leading patriots of the Colonies, and secured, from his friends in London, the means of obtaining the earliest intelligence of the movements of the mother court.

Mr. Lee, having engaged thus earnestly in the question, it was not to be expected that he would remain content with the limited exertions which his profession would allow: he accordingly adopted the resolution of abandoning his lucrative business, and devoting himself wholly to the cause of his country. To effect this, he determined to return to England, and apply himself to the study of the law, that he might acquire familiarity with the science of politics and government, and furnish such information as concerned the colonies, and could only be gathered by personal observation. In 1766, he went to London, which city he found "the strong-hold of popular opposition, and the society of the Supporters of the Bill of Rights, the most active in conducting it:" with the design of connecting the grievances of the two nations, he became a member of the society, and purchased the freedom of the city, which qualified him as a voter in municipal affairs. His brother William was, at this time, an alderman and sheriff of London; but, upon the rupture, he took the side of his native country. Mr. Lee associated with Wilkes, introduced the complaints of America into the Middlesex petition, and successfully proposed a resolution, that the members of the club would support no candidate for parliament, who would not pledge himself to promote the granting of the power of self-taxation to America. The mysterious Junius was an adviser of this body, and had an amicable discussion with Mr. Lee on some points of American policy, on which they hap-

pened to differ. Mr. Lee adopted the signature of Junius Americanus, in his political publications; and these writings gained him the acquaintance of Mr. Burke, Dr. Price, and others, the most noted of the popular leaders. When the propositions of Lord North to extend the royal authority, in the control of the East India Company, furnished a new topic of discontent, Mr. Lee became a proprietor in the Company, hoping not merely to subserve the direct interests of the English people, but to divert the attention of government from the colonies. He was delegated on a special committee of observation and advice, and was deputed by that committee, with another member, to represent the discontented party at the bar of the Commons, but through diffidence declined the appointment. The attempts of the opposition failed, and Mr. Lee anticipated that the consequence would be fatal to British freedom:—

“In this prospect there is but one consolation. That liberty, when she abandons this country, will not, like Astræa, relinquish us for ever; but will fix her favourite seat in the rising regions of America. There may she rest, and spread her happy influence, till time shall be no more. But if we too must lose her, when she ascends the skies, we shall at least have the prerogative of showing her last, her parting steps.”

Mr. Lee extended his acquaintance wherever there was a prospect of exerting his influence to advantage; with this supreme object, he entered the literary circles of London, became a fellow of the Royal Society, and cherished an intimacy with its conspicuous members. In one of his journals, he makes a retrospect of this part of his life:—

“I was placed in chambers in the temple, which looked into a delightful little garden on the Thames, of which I had the key; I could go in and out at all hours, and have what company I pleased, without being questioned or overlooked.

“I was near the Royal Society, of which I was a fellow, where, every week, whatever was new and ingenious in literature, was communicated. Not far from me was the hall of the Society of Arts and Agriculture, of which I was an honorary member; and where I had access to all the new discoveries in arts, agriculture, and mechanics.

“The play houses and the opera were equally convenient, where I could select the opportunity of seeing the best tragedies and comedies represented, and of hearing the most exquisite Italian music. I was a subscriber to Bach and Abel’s concerts, where the most masterly performers in the world, (Bach, Abel, Fisher, Tassot, Ponto, and Crosdal,) played to a most polite and fashionable audience, in one of the most elegant concert rooms in the world. In the field of politics, from the politician in the cider-cellar, to the peer in his palace, I had access and influence. At the Bill of Rights, the city of London, the East India house, and with the opposition in both houses, I was of some consideration. Among my particular friends, to whom I always had access, were Lord Shelburne, Mr. Downing, Col. Barré, Mr. Wilkes, Serjeant Glynn, and several others. I was so well with several of the nobility and gentry, that I could spend all my leisure time at their country seats. At Bath I had a very extensive acquaintance; and there is not in the world a more agreeable place to one so circumstanced. As one of the law, I enjoyed the protection and distinction of that body, with the prospect of rising to place and profit, which all of that body,

who have even moderate abilities, enjoy. So circumstanced, nothing but the peculiar and extraordinary crisis of the times, prevented me from being entirely happy, and pursuing the fortune which sat with golden plumes within my reach. But every thing was absorbed in the great contest which I saw fast approaching; and which soon called upon me to quit London, and take an open part in the revolution, as a representative of the United States at the court of France."

In 1770, he commenced the practice of the law under the most promising auspices. In that year, the Assembly of Massachusetts appointed him their agent in case of the absence or death of Dr. Franklin, who then held the office; and before either of the contingencies occurred, he assisted the venerable sage with his hearty co-operation. It is said that he was recommended to the Assembly for this office, by Samuel Adams—in itself an honour—who, although personally unacquainted, requested his correspondence. Mr. Lee cordially met this advance, and addressed to him one of the most interesting letters in these volumes. In acknowledging the honour conferred on him by the colony, Mr. Lee expressed the impressions on his mind, which are reiterated throughout his correspondence, of the utter hopelessness of any mitigation of the severity of Great Britain; and urged the opinion, that the colonies should rely with unyielding confidence upon their own strength:

"America must depend on herself for obtaining the security and redress she wishes. From this country, a *secondary* support only is to be expected. It appears to me, that nothing can be more necessary, than that this truth should be well understood, lest too much confidence in others should lull us into a fatal security, or slacken those patriotic exertions, which, to be effectual, should be ardent and unremitting. America must work her own salvation. His majesty's present ministers have brought the trial so fully forward, as to render unremonstrating submission, perfect slavery. They have substituted discretion for law, and set the principles of the constitution, which should be fixed and free, afloat upon the merciless and fluctuating sea of arbitrary will. Not to oppose this most pernicious system would be a crime; to oppose it unsuccessfully will be only our misfortune. After juries have been abolished by the present establishment of admiralty courts, or rendered nugatory by the partial conduct of prerogative judges, our assemblies, to every great purpose of the constitution, almost annihilated, property disposed of without the consent of the people, in short, when the representative part of the constitution, the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, are completely torn from us, and vested in our arbitrary rulers, what farther badge of slavery have ministers to impose, or we to wear? Yet if force and lawless power must at present prevail, still it behooves us to protest against that which we cannot prevent, and bear our testimony before God and man, that we did not submit without a struggle to this humiliating state of absolute bondage; that our posterity, when they have power, and power they will have, may not want spirit and example, to reclaim those liberties which their forefathers reluctantly resigned. You will pardon me, sir, if I have trespassed upon your patience. 'Out of the fulness of the heart, the mouth speaketh.' My heart is filled with grief and indignation for the oppressions of my country; and my tongue shall sooner cease to move, than to remonstrate against them. Convinced of the righteousness of the cause in which we are engaged, since nothing tends more to debase, vitiate, and abuse mankind, than the tyrannic system we are opposing, we may well trust that heaven will assist our earnest endeavours, and direct them to a happy issue out of all our difficulties."

As early as 1767, he wrote to his brother:—"Let me remind you that no confidence is to be reposed in the justice or mercy of Great Britain, and that American liberty must be entirely of American fabric." And in 1769—"Persevere in the plan of frugality and industry; encourage and confirm a spirit never to submit or yield, and you will compel them to be just—*hæ tibi artes, hæc arma.*" And still more earnestly in 1772, addressing Samuel Adams:—

"Nothing can, in my opinion, do more injury to our cause, than withdrawing the attention and confidence of our countrymen from themselves, to a reliance on the promises of this country. To be redressed, they must be respected, to be respected they must be formidable, to be formidable they must be united. You are now in a fair way of establishing that union; for God's sake let no delusive expectations divert you from it. Were this country to grant you every thing they who call themselves our friends think we deserve, it would not be half so much as we ought to demand. Their utmost concessions flow from policy, not from principle. It is our business, when we do demand a bill of rights, so to frame it, that no question hereafter may arise, touching the liberties we ought to enjoy. The indignity of having endured so many flagrant violations of our rights is now over, and we may coolly and circumspectly form our plan, and prepare for its effectual execution."

He inveighed strongly against the obstinacy and prejudices of the government, which forbade a hope that it could be brought to reason by any other means than compulsion; and yet he does not once insinuate the policy of separation. Four years previous to that consummation, he wrote from England:—"The first wish of my heart is that America may be free—the second is that we may ever be united with this country."

"I must confess to you, that I wished the dispute might be accommodated, without urging it to its utmost. I foresaw great present misery to America, in bringing it to such a decision at this time; and ruin to this country, which I cannot help revering as the noble nurse of generous freedom. It seemed to me, that drawing a line between internal and external legislation, would leave us room enough to thrive and prosper in, and this country sufficient power to maintain her ground against her European enemies. Something, I thought, was to be yielded to the parent state; and as we were rising and she sinking, I felt it more desirable that we should gradually arrive at the full enjoyment of liberty by inheritance, than, by violently grasping at it, precipitate her fall."

That a disjunction, however, might be the ultimate effect of the refusal of the claims of the Americans, is more than once hinted. In the very letter we have last quoted, he says, that the parent government, "from charging us with aiming at independency, have brought us to consider, then to claim, and I think will bring us to confirm it." And the expressions of indignation and contempt, in which he speaks of the king and his ministry, indicate the wide alienation of his affections from that personal loyalty, which we are told is the essence of British patriotism. In the spring of 1774, Mr. Lee set out on a tour to France and Italy; published at Paris an "Appeal to the people of Great Britain;" and attempted to convert Lord Rawdon, whom he met in Rome. Hearing of the dissolution of parliament, be-

fore he had completed his journey, he hastily returned from Turin to London. He looked upon the king's opening speech to the new parliament as a declaration of war; and his apprehensions were more confirmed, when Lord Dartmouth refused to receive at his hands a petition from the Assembly of Delaware, on the pretence that Mr. Lee was not known as the authorized representative of that colony. On the return of Dr. Franklin to America, in the same year, Mr. Lee became the sole agent of Massachusetts; and thus commenced his active career as an American deputy. He recommended a general Congress, and pressed the essential importance of putting a total stop to importations from England, as "the only advisable and sure means of defence:" this measure was adopted by Congress in the autumn of the same year. His interest in the strict maintenance of this resolution, may be judged of by his language in 1771, when private conventional agreements of non-importation had been subscribed, but not faithfully regarded.

"When I speak of my country, it is in the despair and grief of my heart. She is undone. That virtue which alone could have saved her, does not exist. There is, in my apprehension, a fatal sympathy between the merchants and the people. The former would never have hazarded such copious importations, had they not been assured that the latter would purchase them. And if our liberties are not worth the difference between a homespun and a broadcloth coat, between a worsted and a silk stocking, in the estimation of the people, on what are we to found our hopes of retrieving our rights? We have demonstrated our slavery, and submit to be enslaved for the most contemptible of all human gratifications, that of vanity. We have rattled our chains through all Europe, that all Europe might see we have not spirit to shake them off. It is not a doubtful business, a plausible usurpation, but an avowed, demonstrated, and acknowledged tyranny. We are not deluded, but driven into slavery. And this, not by the valour, the wiles, or the wisdom of the tyrant; but by our own intolerance of every honourable and virtuous effort to redeem us from bondage," &c.

In this state of despondency, he went so far as to say,

"There is, however, one event to which I yet look forward with some confidence; an event which cannot be at any great distance; that of a war. One noble and united struggle *then*, would yet redeem us. I therefore took the liberty of proposing to your consideration, whether it would not be proper to prepare for that opportunity, especially in point of union; for unanimity among the colonies is absolutely necessary to success, whatever may be the measure pursued."

In October 1774, Congress adopted a petition to the king, which was transmitted to their agents for presentation; this was effected in due form, and the only notice taken of the paper, was the impertinent declaration of Lord Dartmouth, that "no answer would be given." The same fate attended a similar appeal in the next year. When the Hutchinson and Oliver correspondence was detected, the Massachusetts Assembly instructed Dr. Franklin to pray the King for their deposition from office, and to employ Mr. Lee as counsel, who then being in his novitiate, was not competent to act in that capacity, but addressed an anonymous remonstrance to Dartmouth, on the claims of the

petitioners—the petition was dismissed as “groundless, vexatious, and scandalous.” In the same year, Lee wrote a spirited protest to Parliament, in the name of the mayor and livery of London, against the ministerial course; for this exhibition of good-will, Congress directed a formal acknowledgment; and it is somewhat curious, that Richard H. Lee drafted the letter of thanks, and neither of the brothers knew of the other’s authorship until after the war.

The Secret Committee of Congress appointed Lee their London correspondent. The principal object of this regulation, was to learn what was to be hoped from the several European powers. In furtherance of this design, Lee directed his inquiries particularly to the French ambassador at the British Court; through whom he succeeded in obtaining assurances from the Count de Vergennes, that his government would secretly furnish to the Colonies two hundred thousand pounds worth of arms and ammunition; to be transported from Holland to the West Indies. Mr. Lee visited Paris, where he diligently laboured, by personal intercourse, and by his writings, to warm the sympathy of the government and people. Soon after his return to England, he received the notification of his appointment, by the now independent United States, as one of the commission to the court of France, in conjunction with Silas Deane; to whom Dr. Franklin was soon afterwards added. With what devotedness the commissioners entered upon their duties, may be judged from the following obligation into which they entered.

“It is further considered, that in the present perils of the liberties of our country, it is our duty to hazard every thing in their support and defence; therefore, resolved unanimously, that if it should be necessary to the attainment of any thing in our best judgment essential to the defence and support of the public cause, *that we should pledge* our persons, or hazard the censure of the congress, by exceeding our instructions, we will, for such purpose, most cheerfully resign our personal liberty or life.”

The general history of the proceedings of this commission, is too familiar to our readers to allow a repetition of their detail. Besides the correspondence of Mr. Lee during this period, the present volumes contain copious extracts from his private journal, which, with the letters of instruction and information, from and to the congressional committee of foreign affairs, and secret committees, afford interesting particulars of the manner in which the trust was executed. The tenor of the communication on both sides is of the most dauntless and determined spirit. Under all circumstances, they speak with unwavering confidence and decision. Unwilling as they were to embrace the only alternative, yet the deed of the 4th of July being accomplished, they repudiated the idea of a reconciliation with Great Britain, on any other footing than that of independence, as unworthy of

themselves, and inconsistent with their professions to the European powers, whose alliance they sought, and from some of whom they had already received secret assistance.

The Court of Versailles lingered in doubt and fear, as to the avowed course it should pursue, until the defeat of Burgoyne; when it acceded with great alacrity to the propositions of the commissioners; and to compensate for the delay, expressed its intention to make the terms of the treaty such "as they might be willing to agree to, if their state had been long since established, and in the fulness of strength and power; and such as they should approve of when that time should come."

"That his majesty was fixed in his determination not only to acknowledge, but to support our independence by every means in his power. That in doing this, he might probably be soon engaged in war, with all the expenses, risk, and damage, usually attending it; yet he should not expect any compensation from us on that account, nor pretend that he acted wholly for our sakes, since besides his real good will to us and our cause, it was manifestly the interest of France that the power of England should be diminished by our separation from it. He should, moreover, not so much as insist, that if he engaged in a war with England on our account, we should not make a separate peace: he would have us be at full liberty to make a peace for ourselves, whenever good and advantageous terms were offered to us. The only condition he should require and rely on, would be this, that we, in no peace to be made with England, should give up our independency, and return to the obedience of that government."

At this period of our history, we may adopt the sentiments of wonder and admiration at the career of the infant republic, which Dr. Franklin expressed to Mr. Lee in conversation, in the following terms:—

"He told me the manner in which the whole of this business had been conducted was such a miracle in human affairs, that if he had not been in the midst of it, and seen all the movements, he could not have comprehended how it was effected. To comprehend it, we must view a whole people, for some months without any laws or government at all. In this state, their civil governments were to be formed, an army and navy were to be provided by those who had neither a ship of war, a company of soldiers, nor magazines, arms, artillery, or ammunition. Alliances were to be formed, for they had none. All this was to be done, not at leisure, nor in a time of tranquillity and communication with other nations, but in the face of a most formidable invasion by the most powerful nation, fully provided with armies, fleets, and all the instruments of destruction, powerfully allied and aided, the commerce with other nations in a great measure stopped up, and every power from whom they could expect to procure arms, artillery, and ammunition, having by the influence of their enemies forbade their subjects to supply them, on any pretence whatever. Nor was this all; they had internal opposition to encounter, which alone would seem sufficient to have frustrated all their efforts. The Scotch, who in many places were numerous, were secret or open foes, as opportunity offered. The Quakers, a powerful body in Pennsylvania, gave every opposition their art, abilities, and influence could suggest. To these were added all those whom contrariety of opinion, tory principles, personal animosities, fear of so dreadful and dubious an undertaking, joined with the artful promises and threats of the enemy, rendered open or concealed opposers, or timid neutrals, or lukewarm friends to the proposed revolution. It was, however, formed and established in despite of all these obstacles, with an expedition, energy, wisdom, and success, of which most certainly the whole history of human affairs has not hitherto given an ex-

ample. To account for it, we must remember, that the revolution was not directed by the leaders of faction, but by the opinion and voice of the majority of the people; that the grounds and principles upon which it was formed, were known, weighed, and approved by every individual of that majority. It was not a tumultuous resolution, but a deliberate system. Consequently, the feebleness, irresolution, and inaction, which generally, nay, almost invariably attends and frustrates hasty popular proceedings, did not influence this. On the contrary, every man gave his assistance to execute what he had soberly determined, and the sense of the magnitude and danger of the undertaking, served only to quicken their activity, rouse their resources, and animate their exertions. Those who acted in council, bestowed their whole thoughts upon the public; those who took the field did, with what weapons, ammunition, and accommodation they could procure. In commerce, such profits were offered, as tempted the individuals of almost all nations, to break through the prohibition of their governments, and furnish arms and ammunition, for which they received from a people ready to sacrifice every thing to the common cause, a thousand fold. The effects of anarchy were prevented by the influence of public shame pursuing the man who offered to take a dishonest advantage of the want of law. So little was the effect of this situation felt, that a gentleman who thought their deliberations on the establishment of a form of government too slow, gave it as his opinion, that the people were likely to find out that laws were not necessary, and might therefore be disposed to reject what they proposed, if it were delayed. Dr. Franklin assured me, that upon an average, he gave twelve hours in the twenty-four to public business. One may conceive what progress must be made from such exertions of such an understanding, aided by the co-operation of a multitude of others upon such business, not of inferior abilities. The consequence was, that in a few months, the governments were established; codes of law were formed, which, for wisdom and justice, are the admiration of all the wise and thinking men in Europe. Ships of war were built, a multitude of cruisers were fitted out, which have done more injury to the British commerce, than it ever suffered before. Armies of offence and defence were formed, and kept the field, through all the rigours of winter, in the most rigorous climate. Repeated losses, inevitable in a defensive war, as it soon became, served only to renew exertions that quickly repaired them. The enemy was every where resisted, repulsed, or besieged. On the ocean, in the channel, in their very ports, their ships were taken, and their commerce obstructed. The greatest revolution the world ever saw, is likely to be effected in a few years; and the power that has for centuries made all Europe tremble, assisted by 20,000 German mercenaries, and favoured by the universal concurrence of Europe to prohibit the sale of warlike stores, the sale of prizes, or the admission of the armed vessels of America, will be effectually humbled by those whom she insulted and injured, because she conceived they had neither spirit nor power to resist or revenge it."

Such a view of the great political miracle accomplished for America, cannot be too generally disseminated and studied.

The disclosures of the existence of most unfortunate dissensions among the commissioners, are too frequent in these volumes to be passed entirely unnoticed; but shunning the disagreeable task of exhibiting the whole grounds of complaint, we must dismiss the subject, by expressing our judgment on the controversy to be shortly this: that Mr. Deane was at least guilty of unjustifiable neglect of Mr. Lee's privileges as a joint-commissioner; and that Mr. Lee should have lost no time in making the most explicit communications to Congress itself, of the suspicions he

entertained.* With respect to the reflections on the conduct of Dr. Franklin, we think it sufficiently shown and admitted by Mr. Lee himself, that the good nature of him who was then called "*Pater Patriæ*," was imposed upon; that he never entered into any connexion inconsistent with his duties as a functionary, and that his advanced age may fully excuse any apparent contradiction of his general character for unsuspected honesty.

During this time, Mr. Lee acted also as agent for Virginia, and had the address to procure, under circumstances of special favour, from the royal arsenal, warlike stores, to the amount of nearly 260,000 pounds sterling.

In December 1777, Congress delegated him sole commissioner to Spain; still retaining him on the commission to France. The British ambassador remonstrated against his reception; in consequence of which he was detained at Burgos, on his way to Madrid; but upon sending a spirited reply to the remonstrance, no further interruption was attempted, and he proceeded to the capital. He there pursued the same policy which he had practised in London and Paris; ingratiating himself and his cause with the men of influence, and appealing boldly and directly to the government; from which he finally procured a large pecuniary loan. Having accomplished all that seemed practicable, he returned to Paris; when, the commissioners having determined on the expediency of conciliating Frederic of Prussia, and prevailing with him to withhold his assistance from England, Mr. Lee was selected for that duty, and repaired to Berlin, where he was allowed to reside in a private character, and to correspond secretly with the Court, through the prime minister, Baron Schulenburg. The republican deputy, not satisfied with so slow and formal a procedure, addressed a memorial to the monarch, setting forth the advantages offered to his dominions by a commercial intercourse with the new states, combating the objections which would be likely to arise in the councils of the king, asserting the independence of America, urging precedents from the histories of Portugal and Sweden, and citing Vattel to remove all doubt of the lawfulness of acknowledging an enemy of England. Schulenburg replied, that his master could not, "in the present circumstances of things, affront the court of London."

"He succeeded in obtaining from Frederick an assurance that he would afford no facilities to Great Britain, in procuring additional German auxiliaries, and that he would prohibit the passage through any part of his dominions of any troops which that court should hereafter engage in Germany. He obtained also permission for the citizens of the United States to carry on a direct com-

* Our readers are referred for an exposition of the Beaumarchais business, to Pitkin's History, vol. I. ch. x.

merce with the subjects of Prussia; and for himself to purchase for the use of the United States, arms at the armories from which the king supplied his armies. Mr. Lee left Berlin with an understanding that a correspondence should be kept up between Schulenburg and himself, on the affairs of the United States. He was desired to keep the king constantly informed of the events of the war with Great Britain; and was assured that Prussia *'would not be the last power to acknowledge the independency' of his country.*"

Whilst in Berlin, his papers were stolen from his chamber; but, upon an order from the king to investigate the affair, they were secretly returned. The blame of this act Mr. Lee cast on the British envoy, who, on the representation of the Prussian monarch, was recalled. The diligent commissioner maintained a correspondence with Prussia from Paris, whilst he was actively engaged there in forwarding supplies, and maintaining the credit of his constituents for payment.

In forming the commercial treaty with France, Lee objected to two articles, in which it was stipulated that no duties should be charged by the respective governments on any merchandise exported to the French West Indies which yielded molasses, or on the molasses exported thence to the United States. This, he sagaciously observed, was "tying both our hands, with the expectation of binding one of her fingers." His fellow commissioners unwillingly receded from their assent to these articles, and on the suggestion of France, the decision was left to Congress, who directed that they should be expunged. Upon the recall of Mr. Deane, John Adams was appointed his successor, between whom and Mr. Lee entire confidence and friendship subsisted. Their services were soon afterwards superseded by the appointment of Dr. Franklin as minister plenipotentiary.

The peculations of the subordinate agents who were employed to conduct the commercial details of the public business, had excited the vigilant inspection and unsparing reprehension of Mr. Lee. This interference created a multitude of complaints and insinuations, which were artfully disseminated at home. These rumours were, in some measure, successful in exciting the suspicions of some members of Congress; and when, in 1779, it was determined to send a minister to Spain, and Mr. Lee was certainly so prominent a character as to be at once suggested as the fittest candidate, he was not appointed, although nominated. It is proper, however, to quote the opinion of John Dickinson, to show that the result was partly owing to other causes. In a letter to Mr. Lee, he says:—

"In mentioning these things, I cannot forbear saying, that it appeared plain to me, that if some of those who truly loved you, had not mingled too refined a policy with their affection, the vote would not have looked so severe as it does. When they perceived that some gentlemen, who thought that employing you in Spain was unadvisable, were at the same time averse to any resolution that might, though only by implication, reflect on your honour, they seemed to expect some advantage, even from the harshness of the question."

Upon learning this virtual censure, Mr. Lee resigned his other appointments, and returned to America in August, 1780. He prepared an elaborate report of his official proceedings, and direct answers to all the charges which had been circulated to his prejudice; but upon requesting leave to vindicate himself with these in Congress, that body expressed their full confidence in his patriotism; asserting that they had no accusations to make: and requested him to communicate his views and information acquired during his residence abroad.

He intended to withdraw to private life; but, in 1781, was elected to the Assembly of Virginia, and by it returned to Congress, where he continued to represent the state until 1785, taking a full share in the laborious duties of the committees. In 1784, he was sent on a delegation to make treaties with the Indians on the northern frontier:—

“He kept a regular journal of his travels from Philadelphia to the lakes, and Fort Stanwix, through the western part of Pennsylvania. He examined the country through which he passed, with the eye of a statesman and a philosopher. He traces the course of its rivers, and their possible connexions; and describes the various soils, productions, and minerals, which his time and duties permitted him to ascertain.

“He turned his acute and active mind, at this time, very earnestly to the study of the origin, languages, customs, and character of the aboriginal inhabitants of North America. To aid his investigation of this interesting subject, he obtained the acquaintance and correspondence of several learned Moravian scholars at Bethlehem and Leditz, in Pennsylvania, who had, at a very early period of the settlement of that state, been sent by the pious and benevolent sect of Christians to which they belonged, as missionaries among the Indians. From one of those excellent men, he obtained a learned essay on the origin, customs, religion, and language of the Algonquin and Iroquois races. This learned Moravian, who had long and profoundly studied these subjects, had been convinced, particularly by the similarity of languages, in their roots especially, that our Indians are descendants of the lost tribes of the Jews, whose ancestors, at some remote period, he supposed, had crossed over the Straits of Behring from Asia. Some additional interest was imparted to this journey of Mr. Lee, by the presence of our national favourite and friend, Lafayette, who, with his characteristic zeal for our country, accompanied the commissioners, to assist them by the influence of his name, in conciliating their red brothers.”

He remained at Fort Stanwix during an inclement winter, and in the spring satisfactorily concluded several treaties. Of his journal, a small portion is extant, and is published as the 11th appendix of the biography; unfortunately, it ends before the negotiation commenced. The following is his record at *Pittsburg*: the augury, then so natural, will now be read with amusement:—

“Pittsburg is inhabited almost entirely by Scots and Irish, who live in paltry log-houses, and are as dirty as in the north of Ireland, or even Scotland. There is a great deal of small trade carried on; the goods being brought at the vast expense of forty-five shillings per cwt., from Philadelphia and Baltimore. They take, in the shops, money, wheat, flour, and skins. There are in the town four attorneys, two doctors, and not a priest of any persuasion, nor church, nor chapel. The rivers encroach fast on the town; and to such a degree, that, as a gen-

tleman told me, the Alleghany had within thirty years of his memory, carried away one hundred yards. The place, *I believe*, will never be very considerable."

He was next called to the Board of Treasury, in association with Samuel Osgood and Walter Livingston, in which he continued from 1784 to 1789. Within that period, he served in a legislative committee to revise the laws of Virginia. On the dissolution of the Treasury Board, he once more sought the relief of retirement, and established himself on a farm on the Rappahannock.

"One of the most abundant sources of enjoyment which contributed to his pleasures in private life, was his correspondence with his political, literary, and scientific friends in America and Europe. Among these, were many distinguished men in England, Burke, Barré, Wyndham, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Sir William Jones, and the Earl of Buchan, in Scotland; on the continent, the Marquis of Rosignan, Baron de Breteuil, Count de Moustier, Abbés D'Arnou and Baynal, the Duke of Rochefoucault, and other persons of literary and political eminence. He enjoyed the correspondence of most of the distinguished men of the United States."

Like the father of his country, he fixed upon agricultural occupation, the most natural and congenial rest, after the toils of his active life; but, as in his case, this prospect was prematurely closed. Whilst assisting in the planting of an orchard, in December, 1792, the cold and rain to which he was exposed produced an attack of pleurisy, that proved fatal on the 12th of the month, when he was but 52 years of age. Mr. Lee's person was finely proportioned; his face handsome; his manners and conversation attractive. He was not married. His biographer states, that he was "an enthusiastic admirer" of, and a "favourite with," the other sex; and quotes one of his journals for the reasons he assigned for his bachelorship—they are certainly too romantic to be of native growth:—

"With my sentiments of love and marriage, I am not likely to find a wife. An Emma, an Eloise, or a Constantia, would alone answer the high enthusiastic ideas I possess of wedded love. I am afraid I should regard any one, unacted by their ardent and absolute sentiments of love, as a house-keeper; not as the wife of my bosom, from whose glowing tenderness, love would 'light his constant lamp,' 'would reign and revel.' I am convinced that love is the most cordial drop that heaven has poured into the cup of man. But as it is precious, it is rare. I have seen ladies whom I sincerely loved; but the tempest of my fortune bore me from them before I had time to know their real dispositions, or woo them 'to approve my pleaded reason;' for they were like Eve, 'endued with a conscience of their worth,' that would be wooed, and not unsought be won."

Mr. Lee's abilities as a diplomatist, were characterized by indefatigable zeal, the purest integrity, and political skillfulness. In his negotiations, he was open and direct, and above all *tracasserie*. His earnestness in the cause sometimes led him to measures of boldness and bluntness, which temporizing men would have industriously avoided. He was present in the House

of Commons, when Mr. Wedderburne, (Lord Loughborough) charged the colonists with preventing British merchants from recovering their just debts: upon the rising of the house, Lee sent Wedderburne a note, contradicting the accusation, and calling on him to retract it publicly, on penalty of being published "as a propagator of mischievous calumnies against America." Of the same species, are his letter to Lord North on the treatment of American prisoners, signed by the Commissioners, (vol. i. 102,) his memoir to the king of Prussia, (i. 91,) and his interruption of the philosophical disquisition of Turgot, whom he found calculating the freezing point in a thermometer; and upon his expressing his preference of Reaumur's scale to Fahrenheit's, Mr. Lee abruptly "told him that finances were what required most of our attention now; we want a system of finance." But these are honourable traits, however singular as departures from the obsequiousness usually witnessed in bureaux. Mr. Lee's genius, like that of his associate, Franklin, was eminently practical, and the ardour of his patriotism could ill brook the delays and flourishes which the comparative insignificance of ordinary subjects of diplomacy may render harmless.

His good sense and talents are amply developed in his correspondence, and corroborated by the frequency with which it was sought by the most conspicuous men of the revolution, and the deference paid to his views. The second volume of his *Life* contains letters from a large and honourable list of correspondents, who seem to have placed the highest value on his friendship. The principle expressed in a letter from John Adams, was eminently exemplified in Mr. Lee's course:—

"As to jobs, I never had and never will have any thing to do in any, let the consequence to me and my family be what it will. The trusts with which you and I have been honoured by our country, are too sacred to be tarnished by the little selfish intrigues, in which the little insects about a court are eternally buzzing. If I had neither a sense of duty, nor the pride of virtue, nor any other pride; if I had no higher principle or quality than vanity, it would mortify this, in an extreme degree, to sully and debase so pure a cause by any such practices."

The same patriot, writing from the Hague, in 1785, on the politics of Holland, says:—

"A spirit of opposition has pervaded this middle rank of citizens; volunteer corps are formed and disciplining. You observe their children even going through the exercise in playing about the streets, and every thing among them makes us recollect the year 1775 in America. This party views America with a venerating partiality, and so much attached are they to our opposition, that they seem fond of imitating us wherever they can, and of drawing parallels between the similar circumstances in the two countries. Not long ago an officer of one of the patriotic corps, lost the spirit of opposition, and went over to the opposite interest; he was immediately branded with the opprobrious name of the *American Arnold*."

There are several letters from Samuel Adams, full of fire and

intrepidity. Those from John Dickinson, are more calm in their style, but equally decided in their tone : he indeed confesses, in 1769, that he had "no idea of our happiness, unless we are dependent on Great Britain;" and continues to hope that the event of separation would be unnecessary :—

"No force, no emigration, is necessary for our protection. Divine providence has put it into our power, properly to resent the indignities offered us, the injustice done us, in a manner suitable to our loyalty for our prince, our affection for our parental country. Homespun clothes are all the armour, spades and ploughshares the weapons we shall use in this holy war. So gentle and so effectual are the means we shall employ. Yet, to speak freely, my heart bleeds at the prospect of our success. How mournful a reflection is it, that a just regard for ourselves must wound Great Britain, the mother of brave, generous, humane spirit, the chief bulwark of liberty on this globe, and the blessed seat of unspotted religion."

He says, in another epistle—

"My countrymen have been provoked, but not quite enough. Thanks to the excellent spirit of administration, I doubt not but proper measures will be pursued for provoking them still more. Some future oppression will render them more attentive to what is offered to them ; and the calm friend of freedom, who faithfully watches and calls out on a new danger, will be more regarded than if he endeavours to repeat the alarm on an attack that is thought to have been in some measure repelled. I do not despair. Our mercenaries have been defeated. Our native troops are firm. Afflicted I am, and ever shall be, that so considerable a class of men as the mercantile should have failed. But there is a spirit and a strength in the land-holders of this continent, sufficient to check the insolence of any infamously corrupt minister ; and so the most daring of them, perhaps sooner than he expects, may find."

And in writing an account of the Lexington murder, by the army of General Gage, he concludes with the firmness of a patriot :—

"We are a united, resolved people ; are, or quickly shall be, well armed and disciplined ; our smiths and powder-mills are at work day and night ; our supplies from foreign parts continually arriving. Good officers, that is, well-experienced ones, we shall soon have, and the navy of Great Britain cannot stop our whole trade. Our towns are but brick and stone, and mortar and wood. They, perhaps, may be destroyed. They are only the hairs of our heads. If sheared ever so close, they will grow again. We compare them not with our rights and liberties. We worship as our fathers worshipped, not idols which our hands have made."

We find the following notice of our late countryman, Benjamin West, in a letter from Mr. Lee to Edward Rutledge :—

"I am very desirous of engaging Mr. West to exert his faculties, in immortalizing the conduct of the ladies in Charleston, on canvass, with their husbands and friends, when they were sent to St. Augustine. It appears to me that a conduct so noble, so virtuous, and so patriotic, as never to have been exceeded, seldom equalled, should be perpetuated by a pencil the most powerful that the present age has produced. Such is the pencil of Mr. West. You will oblige me, sir, if you will give me such a description of that event, together with any anecdotes touching it, as you may think will aid the painter in expressing it well. Should Mr. West enter into the plan, such of the ladies and gentlemen as were present at that scene, and have good pictures of themselves, would perhaps take the trouble of sending them to Mr. West, in order that from the resemblance of persons, the piece may be more interesting, at least for some generations."

Among the friendships formed by Mr. Lee, whilst pursuing his studies in the Temple, was that of Sir William Jones, then also a student, and untitled. There are two letters of his in the present collection, and we eagerly copy the greatest part of that from Bengal, dated September 28, 1788.

"My dear Sir,—I am just escaped from Calcutta to my cottage, about a hundred miles from it, where I can repose but a few days, after a degree of judicial labour, of which an English bar can afford no example. We have been sitting seven hours a day, sometimes whole nights, for three months together; and that without any assistance from juries, except in criminal cases. The length of our sittings has left us hardly any vacation; and I have so large an arrear of letters for the ships of the season, that I must divide my mornings between all my friends, and write concisely to each, with a promise of longer letters the next season.

"The interesting picture you give of your country, has both light and shade in it; but though some rocks and thickets appear, to obstruct the foreground, I see the distant prospect brighten, and have a sanguine hope that I shall live to admire your constitution, in all the blaze of true liberty and universal justice. If young Englishmen had any English spirit, they would finish their education by visiting the United States, instead of fluttering about Italy; and strive to learn rather political wisdom from republicans, than to pick up a few superficial notions of the fine arts, from the poor thralls of bigotry and superstition. If I live, I seriously intend to make the tour of your states, before I retire to my Sabine farm; and my wife, who is much better than when I wrote last, often speaks of the scheme with delight.

"I have read the original of Halheld's book, which is not properly a code, but a short compendium or digest, compiled about ten or twelve years ago by eleven Brahmans, of whom only five are now living. The version was made by Halheld from the Persian, and that by a Musselman writer from the Bengal dialect, in which one of the Brahmans, (the same who has corrected my Sanscrit copy) explained it to him. A translation in the third degree from the original, must be, as you will easily imagine, very erroneous. The texts quoted in the original, are ascribed to the Gods; that is, they are of indefinite antiquity; but I cannot believe any of them to be more than three thousand years old. I am superintending a new work of the same kind, but more extensive, on the plan of Justinian's Digest, which some of the most learned of the native lawyers are compiling; they are stimulated to diligence by handsome monthly salaries. I shall not, if my health continues firm, think of leaving Asia, until I see the completion of a work, which will be the standard of justice among ten millions of men; and will, I trust, secure their inheritable property to their descendants."

When in Edinburgh, Mr. Lee became acquainted with Earl Buchan, then Lord Cardross, and they cherished an enduring esteem for each other throughout their careers. In 1775, the earl wrote,

"I have, for a long time, had views of becoming a vassal of my kinsman Fairfax, on the banks of the Potomac. I should be much obliged to you for information relating to his unsettled tracts, and the circumstances to be attended to in such speculations."

There are several agreeable letters from Dr. Richard Price, and from the Marquis de Rosignan; in the letters of the latter are some pithy sentences.

"If one has the jaundice, I consult him no more on colours, I know beforehand that he sees every thing yellow. Unfortunately, moral jaundice is far more universal among our species, than physical jaundice."

"The wicked do more business than those that are honest, because they do not hesitate about the means."

With Lord Shelburne, (Marquis of Lansdown,) he was in habits of intimacy whilst residing in England, frequently spending weeks at his mansion. There are letters of his from 1769 to 1791 ; we extract a passage from one of the latest :—

"Dear Sir,—Your nephew will tell you that it has not been my fault, that I have not seen more of him. He may depend on my attention and services. He will of course inform you of events here as they pass. But you know the causes of them far better than he can tell you, for the data continue exactly the same as you remember them. The character of the reign has suffered not the least variation ; and though Lord Rockingham is no more, his party persevere exactly in the principles you remember, *fighting up*, as they called it, against the king and people, unconvinced by above twenty years' experience, of the impossibility of arriving at their end by such means ; and still more so, of the unworthiness of that end, which you know too well, to make it necessary for me to dwell on the description. As to myself, I stand more single than ever ; and the utmost to which I aspire is, by so much dint of character as the respective parties may leave me, or rather as consistency of conduct may procure me in spite of parties, and great moderation of conduct, to avert great calamities ; or at least to blunt the edge of them, as far as I am able. I have no great virtue to boast of in adopting this line, for you are fully sensible that the reign is not disposed to delegate a regular course of power to any one, and I never had a passion for emolument."

Many of the political letters are almost unintelligible, in consequence of the obscure and allusive manner in which they were unavoidably written, and sometimes cyphered, lest they should fall into tory hands ; but even these help to describe the dangers and difficulties of the times. We have not selected much from the documents, and the exclusively political correspondence, because their interest, in a great measure, depends upon their being read entire and consecutively ; and with regard to all historical materials like those furnished in the present volumes, we would rather quicken than allay the curiosity of the public.

ART. IX.—*History of the Republic of San Marino.* By MELCHIOR DEL FICO. Naples.

THIS is the only complete digest of the annals of a commonwealth, insignificant as to size and power, but celebrated in modern story almost in proportion to its diminutiveness. *San Marino* is the dwarf among the republican sovereignties—an object of wonder for its longevity, and of admiration for its moral qualities. The volume of the learned Neapolitan is a goodly quarto, elegantly and zealously written. A distinguished American—*George Washington Erving, Esq.*—who represented his country, as minister plenipotentiary, in Spain, during many

years, and with great ability, was so much struck with its contents, that he caused an English version of it to be made, at his own expense, which is yet inedited. From him we borrowed the original and translation, intending to present our readers at once with a compendium of the annals of San Marino; but considerations of expediency induced us to postpone this offering for a future number. In conversation with Mr. Erving, we expressed our desire to obtain from him, in some shape, a sketch of a tour in Italy which he performed some time ago, and particularly of his visit to San Marino, with the recent condition of which the world is scarcely at all acquainted, though it be doubtless an interesting subject. He obligingly assented to our request, in relation to his visit, and preferred the form of a letter. In lieu, therefore, of any historical synopsis of our own, we insert the following communication from his pen, without having altered the instructive and racy text, and with the certainty that it will prove acceptable to the American public. We trust that the translation of Del Fico's History, which appears to us exact and terse, will be printed, either entire, or abridged suitably for this meridian.

“*Washington, November 1st, 1829.*”

“I should not hesitate to comply with the wish which you have expressed, of receiving from me some account of my tour in Italy during the years 1812–13, could I find sufficient materials for the purpose amongst the notes which I made at the time; but by the winds which have carried me into different quarters of the world since that period, my papers have been scattered like the leaves of the Sibyls: in that portion of them which I find here, are but a few desultory memoranda, and the greater part of the letters which I wrote from Italy to my correspondent in Washington, I destroyed, myself, on a former visit to the city. Whatever your partiality may have expected from my authorship, certainly the public will not suffer by my silence, for we have ‘*Travels in Italy*’ in all languages, and to satiety.—There is not an object of rational or idle curiosity in that region, which has not been minutely described over and over again, in all forms, and by all calibres of taste and stupidity;—by the smellfungi and the mundungi, as by the inquisitive, classical, and the philosophical; in fine, by every species and degree of travelling genius. Certain it is, that I could not add any thing of interest to this profusion of narration, good, bad, and indifferent; and after all I doubt not but that literature and taste could well dispense with five-sixths of what has been already written. Though Sancho, (who with me is great authority,) says ‘who travels far sees much,’ I must avow, after having traversed Europe in many directions, that I have seen but

few objects compensating all the pains and inconveniences of the travel.—This is a confession which few travellers will make, for it implies a sort of dupery; and yet I am persuaded that the most rational part of them cannot in their candour say otherwise;—confessing, with John Moody, that ‘whoam is whoam be it ever so whoamly.’ The fact is, that but few men know how to be happy where they are; hence the desire to be where they are not,—the locomotive mania; and it is not till after the repeated sacrifice of all our comforts to this travelling passion, that we are able duly to estimate the ‘dulce domum.’ Gratuitously to consent to be jolted and jumbled about for weeks and months at the discretion of coachmen and postillions—to be thus kept in a state of perpetual slow fever, whilst half smothered with dust, or bespattered and begrimed with mud—one’s limbs always exposed to fracture or dislocation—to be fed as chance may direct—to sleep in filthy and damp beds—to be cheated every where and by every body, from the money-changer to the hostler—withal to be momentarily in danger of being robbed by wholesale, if not murdered, on the highway;—this would seem to approach to delirium, and yet, what in general is the compensation? Why, to see hills, and dales, and trees, variously disposed; houses of various construction, some with gable ends, and some with their fronts towards the street;—the animal man speaking various jargons, guttural or nasal; and variously accoutred, some in short jackets, some in long cloaks, some with three pair of breeches, and some without any. I will confess, however, that a tour in Italy is the most *justifiable* of tours, that is, the least irrational, and that I saw there even six objects worth the pains of travel, viz. the passage over the Simplon, the city of Venice, the antiquities of Rome, those of Naples, i. e. Herculaneum, Pompeii and Pæstum, Vesuvius, and then above all the Republic of San Marino, the most deserving of notice, and the least known. I make no account of Milan, Florence, or Naples itself—of Isola bella, or Isola madre, of the lake of Como more than of the Pontine marshes, nor of the Pope of Rome more than of our Lady of Loretto.

“The passage from Martigny to Domo d’Ossola, as a work of art, is unequalled;—the finest road in Europe, traversing a chain of its most elevated and rugged mountains, penetrating its most tremendous gorges, springing over its profound and precipitous torrents, perforating deep and gigantic towering masses of its granite, the gradual ascent and descent regulated every where with such mathematical precision as to enable the traveller to pass with nearly as much speed as he could on a level,—this certainly is worthy of a visit. Venice is also in another kind unique, as a stupendous monument of human industry;—to go ‘on board’ a city at anchor in the Adriatic is worth some trouble; to see

a vast population living in abundance in a place where there is not space for a blade of grass, where there is not a drop of fresh water, and consequently not a domestic animal, either of those which assist in our labour, furnish our nourishment, or contribute to our pleasures; this is highly interesting. The antiquities of Rome, as well as those scattered in the way to it, are but uncouth masses of ruins for the general traveller, though in their reference to history and classical reminiscences, they may afford ample occupation to the studious or contemplative:—so of the antiquities of ‘magna Græcia,’ with however the additional gratification, common to the most stupid, of walking in the streets, and entering the very houses of Pompeii. The ever-burning and groaning Vesuvius unites all tastes; for, as a natural phenomenon it is within the comprehension of all intellects, though every one has not an opportunity of seeing its lava flow, and still fewer of seeing the fiery torrent arrested in its course by the procession of Saint Januarius.

“But leaving all these ‘meaner things,’ repeatedly described, I am rather disposed to indulge myself by giving you a slight sketch of San Marino, for though it is the object which is most worthy of observation, it is that which has been the least observed; perhaps the only spot in Italy untrodden or undescribed by the ‘travellers’ and ‘tourists:’ and this I am the better able to do, since I happen to have in my possession more ample notes respecting my visit to this most interesting republic, besides the history of it, published in 1804, by the learned Neapolitan, Melchior Del Eico.—To say the truth, a pilgrimage to San Marino was the principal purpose of my visit to Italy; and here I cannot but express to you my astonishment, that of all the Americans who had travelled there before me, only one, (Mr. Huger of South Carolina,) had been at San Marino!—and his visit preceded mine by fifteen years! Surely, though there may be many interesting objects in Europe, that single mountain ought most to engage the attention of an *American* traveller,—and yet there are many who are not acquainted with even its geographical position; others there may be, (less to be blamed,) who have never visited it, because only they have never heard of its existence. I say that it was the principal object of my journey: following, then, the ‘via Emiliana,’ I crossed the Rubicon where Cæsar crossed it, and on the 17th October, 1812, entered Rimini, (the ancient Ariminum,) where is preserved the pedestal from which he harangued his troops; so at least says the inscription—the authenticity of which learned antiquarians will never dispute; but which I, having no similar interest in the matter, pronounced, at the first glance, to be comparatively modern:—

‘C. Cæsar Dict; Rubicône separato civili Bel:
commilit: suos hic in foro ar: (meaning ariminio) adlocuit.’

"At Rimini I obtained a letter of introduction from Sigr. Belmonte, commandant of marine, '*Al ornatissimo Sigr. El Signor Antonio Onosri Representante de la Republica de San Marino.*' The Republic is about ten miles (twelve by the road) south-west of Rimini, in that district of Italy comprised between the Appenines, the Po, and the Adriatic; a portion of the ancient Umbria, which was afterwards called by the Romans, Gallia Cispadana—now Romagna, or more properly, Romagnola. The original name of its mountain was 'Titano;' it has its present name from the first settler on it, one Marino, a stone-cutter, from Dalmatia, who, in the fourth century, chose it as a religious retreat, and in due time became a saint. It was his piety which first settled the place; his disciples formed a religious community; out of this grew a political society founded on moral principles, industry, and equality, the most solid basis for just and rational civil institutions;—and here we have the principal cause of the durability of this republic. Its small territory was slowly and gradually extended till the twelfth century, by purchases from bordering states and owners of land; in fine, by peaceful acquisition; and has since remained as it now is within a circumference of forty miles: advancing thus by slow steps, it acquired degrees of strength always in proportion to its extent, and formed, in the same progress, its institutions, so as to ensure their permanence. When the Republic had attained such an extension of territory and increase of population as gave to it political importance, this, and its fortified position, made it an object for the ambition of its neighbours; and it was thus compelled, for a long course of years, to support a struggle for its independence; but its isolated situation exempted it from a participation in the violent commotions which for some centuries agitated Italy, nor did it ever voluntarily interfere in those contests, almost continual, amongst the little dukes and princes who bordered on its territory. Free from the civil disorders and disorders which raged around it, its progress was necessarily prosperous; when even it was inevitably involved in the frenetic struggle between the Guelphs and Gibbelines, which devastated Italy during the twelfth century, yet the elements of its happiness remained uninjured, and it issued from that disastrous period with its liberty and independence entire. With the genuine energy of liberty and patriotism, it was able to resist and defeat even the intrigues and ambition of the papal see, and the never-ceasing episcopal cabals of the 13th century. During each period of calm, the Republic was occupied in perfecting its legislation and modifying its administrative system, so as to adapt it to the always augmenting prosperity of the state; thus, (in the year 1295,) it regulated in a more strictly republican form the executive power, then first styled 'Captain and Defender;' limiting

his term of service to six months, making him dependent on a council of twelve, and decreeing that no person but a native born citizen should be intrusted with public authority; so subsequently in 1353, and again, in 1441, there were revisals of the code of laws, and many meliorations introduced.

“The end of the last century, which so changed the face of Italy, affected this republic no otherwise than in its foreign relations, and, in that respect, advantageously; for, surrounded before by the states of the church, it found itself suddenly in the midst of sister republics. It is generally supposed that it remained undisturbed at that epoch, because it did not present a sufficient temptation to the conquerors of Italy; but this is a gross error. Whoever has read the history of our time with attention, will have seen that much less important cities and communities, that even the smallest social fractions, have been absorbed by conquest, wherever they had a greater or less dependence on, or connexion with, a superior state; or whenever their conduct authorized a suspicion of a tendency to hostility. No;—it was the real independence of San Marino, its perfectly just and innocent policy—its total exemption from all suspicion of any concealed and perfidious hostility, which protected it. Indeed, far from considering San Marino as opposed to the dominant opinions, it was natural to consider her as specially favourable to them; she herself furnished, by her duration of ages, the best proof of the feasibility of the proposed regeneration. The generous and enlightened mind of the conqueror not only respected her principles, but offered his homage to this sanctuary of liberty by a solemn embassy, in the person of Monge, to express sincere sentiments of friendship and fraternity, to make offers of an extension of territory, and to carry presents in artillery, and other means of additional security: the presents were accepted by the Republic as monuments of the benevolence of the French people, and of the magnanimity of the ‘Hero of Italy,’—but, at the same time, adhering to its sage principles and circumspection, it declined the offer of territorial aggrandizement. What a glorious epoch this! when pure liberty, established for ages, couchéd on the summit of its mountain, whilst all the states about it were adopting its principles, received the homage of the first people in Europe, brought to its foot by the first of men and the greatest of conquerors. From that period to this, no change of any importance has taken place in the affairs of the Republic.

“But to return to my visit: the road not being of the best, the latter part altogether precipitous; as well on that account, as to arrive in the most modest form amongst this simple people, I left my carriage at Rimini, and took my way on foot.—All ‘travel tainted’ as I was, Don Antonio, as well as his brother, received me with open arms;—these brothers, both bachelors passed the

middle age, I found in a spacious mansion of granite, poised upon a beetling rock, whose dark lengthened shade seemed to frown over the surrounding territory of Rimini, and even the distant Adriatic. It is scarcely possible for me to convey to you an idea of the delight with which they received me as an *American*:—their manner was not merely hospitable—it was affectionate in the warmest degree;—I was of their kindred from the moment of my arrival.—Both men of letters and of superior information, they had a sincere and profound devotional attachment to our country; they looked up to it with reverence and gratitude, as the grand exemplar and conservator of their own pure principles;—nor have I ever met in Europe, even amongst the most intelligent of those who have visited the United States, men so intimately acquainted as these were, with our institutions, and the details of the administration of our affairs at home, and of its relations abroad, though neither of the brothers had ever gone out of the limits of the republic, except once, when the elder had been sent to Milan to compliment Napoleon on his coronation as king of Italy.—As nothing concerning the United States was indifferent to them, probably there is not any where a private library so well furnished as is theirs, with books, pamphlets, and documents of all sorts relating to America. They earnestly pressed me to reside with them several days, but as not expecting such a fraternal reception, I had not come prepared to stay, I passed but a day with them; and their questions respecting all things relating to our affairs were so incessant, so ardent was the interest which they manifested in our concerns, that I found it impossible to obtain all the information I desired.—Indeed, it had been an ungrateful return for their hospitality to occupy their attention by pressing on them the many questions which I also was eager to make:—we had materials for conversations of a month when I took my departure, —and to supply the information which they had not time to give to me, they referred me by letter of introduction to their friend Del Fico of Naples, author of the work before mentioned,—Don Antonio assuring me that it was the only one worth reading, and that all the brief accounts of the republic which had been previously published, were full of errors and prejudices. I did not fail on my arrival at Naples to find Mr. Del Fico, and he made me a present of his book; this, on my return to America, I caused to be translated;—I may hereafter print it: for this most curious history ought to excite peculiar interest in the United States; I think also, that it offers some excellent lessons, of which even Americans may profit. Del Fico, who, during the troubles of Italy expatriated himself, and became a citizen of San Marino, where he resided several years, had free access to the archives

of the Republic ; so that his work is complete, besides being distinguished by a rare spirit of impartiality and philosophy.

"I have said that the actual territory of San Marino, is a circumference of forty miles ; I learned from Don Antonio, that its population was then 7000 ; there are no extraordinarily rich, nor any abjectly poor amongst them :—strangers are permitted to settle, and after six years residence may be naturalized and hold inferior offices, (but not executive.)—The executive, now called 'Captain Regent,'—is chosen every six months by the representatives of the people, sixty in number, chosen also every six months by the people, who in these periodical assemblies make all such reforms in their affairs as they may deem to be necessary. Every man, capable of bearing arms, is enrolled amongst '*the defenders of the country and its laws* ;' all the officers of the government serve without pay ; the Republic pays a doctor and a schoolmaster only ;—the taxes are consequently very light, exactly proportionate to the public necessities on the most economical scale: Don Antonio told me that a man of 40,000 dollars capital, pays about two dollars a year (I presume direct tax). Besides San Marino proper, the city and seat of government, there is at the foot of the mountain a large 'Bourg,' and at a small distance from that a village ; the remainder of the territory presents the prospect of a rich soil, producing abundance of corn, wine, and oil, all of the best quality :—neat farm houses, fields well cultivated and well stocked, vineyards and olive gardens, compose a landscape the most enchanting,—and the most gratifying to the heart of him who reflects that all these indications of happiness, result from a wise and just social order ;—on all sides are seen the happy effects of 'equality ;' comfort and competence, peace and harmony. Such is the republic of San Marino, which through a long course of ages has preserved its independence and its wise institutions, in the midst of the wars and civil commotions with which it has been surrounded, and notwithstanding all the efforts of violence, corruption and intrigue to destroy it ; there it proudly stands uninjured, the prototype of a civil association the most perfect and admirable, such as, before it was formed, existed only in the Utopias of philosophers.

"Though I doubt not, as I have before observed, that the history of this little republic will furnish useful lessons even to us, yet it must be allowed that the very extraordinary duration of its system without any material alteration, is in a great degree to be attributed to the confined extent of its territory and population ; for the moral order, on which every thing depends, is best preserved in a small society ; there also, the social compact, the 'common cause,' is more firm ;—there individual energies are more efficient ; and there whatever menaces danger is more quickly felt, and more promptly extinguished :—in such a socie-

ty, every individual acting in public affairs,—being a portion of the body politic, has an honourable political existence;—hence the intellectual faculties of each, as applicable to the public interests, are perfectionated :—there is no *refuse* in the community, and consequently none of the disorders, and vices, and turbulence which belong to such refuse. These causes explain also, the extraordinary vigour of some of those small republics of antiquity, which figure in history as large and powerful states ;—some such, of modern times, have still flourished even in the presence, and notwithstanding the efforts of powerful neighbours, till they were degraded into oligarchies.

“ In discussing the causes which have chiefly contributed to the extraordinary duration of San Marino, Mr. Del Fico well observes, that there ‘ *the altar of liberty was raised by the side of justice.* ’—The other codes of Italy, on the organization of its several communities, commenced in imitation of the Justinian ; in a connexion with theology ;—San Marino confined itself to the *reason* of civil government: the people then were attached to their laws by sentiment, as well as by habit ; they understood them in their morality, as well as in their authority ; the sobriety and simplicity of the original settlers, carried into their institutions, were preserved through all the subsequent modifications of the system of administration,—for the extension of the territory was but gradual, and consequently the adaptation of those modifications.—All the perils to which free institutions are exposed by a too rapid prosperity, by the sudden grandeur of conquest, by the passion of *national glory*, did not exist for San Marino.—It arrived at its democratic perfection by natural and regular degrees ;—hence its solidity :—it could not possibly degenerate into oligarchy ; that had been to invert the natural order.—The government of the few is the infancy of human association, the government of the whole the true manhood :—the patriarchal first, and then the aristocratical authority, are the regular gradations of government in its commencement : as population augments, intellect advances, and information spreads ; these kinds of domestic authority are weakened, and it becomes necessary to admit to power a greater number of individuals ;—thus we finally arrive at the representative system,—or in a small republic to a pure democracy, the perfection of government.

“ The sagacity and prudence of the democracy of San Marino were manifested at all times in all its ordinances ; thus, as the author of its history tells us—‘ at no period did it ever admit of any extension of the term of six months, (for the executive), wisely considering that a long indulgence in power naturally produces the desire still to prolong it. ’—Perhaps some considerable inconveniences would belong to the shortness of this term,

in a very extensive republic like ours ; but it must be admitted in general thesis, that in proportion to the importance of the power delegated, ought to be the shortness of the term allowed for the exercise of it. Another peculiarity well worth noticing in the regulations of the republic is, that '*the oath of the executive power is taken on the book of the statutes, and not on the holy Evangelists.*' As at various times nobles were adopted by the republic, these, though they remained noble in name, became strictly *citizens* in fact ;—thus, as Mr. Del Fico observes, 'there never was any public office conferred by privilege to any particular class or set of families, never was any prerogative or rank established by law, nor had the reputation of the longest genealogy any political influence on this people.'

"I have before noticed Don Antonio's opinion as to all the accounts of San Marino which had been published previous to the history of Signor Del Fico ; I will now then conclude with an extract from the critical remarks of this author on the works of his predecessors. (I quote the translation as it has been made for me :)—

'This is what I have thought myself authorized to say on this remarkable government, consistently with the truth of facts, and a rational view of their causes ; and if it should not entirely conform to other narrations, heretofore published, this probably arises from the fact, that by some it has been spoken of too favourably, by others with odious prejudice and hostility, and often without full knowledge of those circumstances on which the truth depends. Some have deduced these political forms from the eternal mansion of *Astrea*, others have placed them below mediocrity and common sense. I do not propose to enter upon an examination of all the unfounded satirical or economical discourses, and of all the extravagant and unreasonable observations which have been made on this little state, but I cannot pass over in silence some illustrious names in political science, who have made it a particular object of attention ; such were the celebrated Englishmen, Addison, Adams,* and Gillies. Beginning with the latest, I shall remark, that being profoundly versed in the knowledge of the Greek republics, of which he has given us a most learned and complete history, in addition to other works on similar subjects, he did not think it right to overlook the republic of San Marino ; hence to the second book of his able translation of the politics of Aristotle, he has appended a memoir on our republic ; but as he did no more than publish a piece written by Sir Cox Hippesley, and communicated to him by Sir John Macpherson, there is nothing of his own in it except a short introduction, in which he says that when treating of the Greek republics, he often recollected the Italian states of the middle ages, regarding them as rough and feeble images of the Greek governments, *of which however one and only one exists, resembling those ancient models*; thus simply characterizing it, he did not undertake to make a comparison ; and the relation by Macpherson, almost entirely historical, and exceedingly incorrect, does not contribute to our information by any important reflections.

"Addison did not neglect to visit this republic in his *travels in Italy*, and Adams spoke of it in his *Examination of Republican Constitutions* ; but a passing traveller, who is unable to examine for himself, and trusts to the statements of every informant, is extremely liable to be deceived ; particularly if he is stimulated by a desire of saying what is uncommon and singular, a vice not unfrequent in

* John Adams an *Englishman* !—that we will not allow. Mr. Del Fico cannot have known Mr. Adams, otherwise than by the book quoted.

writers of travels.—Addison, therefore, though a profound philosopher, was very superficial in his discourse on this republic :—and Adams, who never saw Titano, and on this subject was a mere commentator on Addison, reproaches him with it, remarking, that ‘the fine arts, and the superb monuments with which Italy abounds, certainly occupied his attention more than a rude mountain, although the form of government adopted by its inhabitants might for a moment excite his curiosity, or their morals claim his esteem.’ If the commentator thus decides on the text, I fear we cannot pass more favourably on the commentary ;—he in fact not being in possession of any other information in regard to this subject, could do nothing more than examine the text, and deduce his inferences, to arrive at two principal results or conclusions. I omit that which he might have dispensed with, viz. that San Marino is not to be compared with Pennsylvania, or the other United States of America, and shall confine myself to what he has said on the nature and form of government.—This, he says, far from wearing the semblance of democracy, is of an aristocratical character, and similar to that of ancient Rome ; which is manifestly opposed to all that we have hitherto advanced. Adams, however, is to be pitied ; for he was led into error by Addison, who stated that the council of the Republic of San Marino was by law composed one half of nobles, and the other half of plebeians. Now this is not to be found in any known statute, nor was there ever any extraordinary resolution of the council by which it could have been established. It was therefore never true, in fact, nor could it have been, by reason of the small number of noble families, a single individual in each of which could alone have been a counsellor ; and it often happened, also, that from exceptions, absence, and other causes, some of these families were wholly deprived of this honour ; instead, then, of composing one half of the council, they formed but a small part, which certainly could never preponderate by its numerical force. This writer, too, does not consider a representative council sufficiently democratic, although formed in so large proportion to the total amount of inhabitants, and it would seem that he confines that form of government to the natural, (literal,) signification of the word. In that point of view, it is undoubtedly true that the Republic of San Marino is not a pure democracy, if the perfection of that form is only to be found in popular assemblies, consisting of the *entire* community. Still less can we allow this author his comparison with Sparta and ancient Rome, as he has fancied in these, as well as in our Republic, a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, as are also in America, the states of Massachusetts, New-York, and Maryland. We must however renounce all our received ideas of monarchy, if our consuls or captains are to be considered as representing the figure of monarchs ; and such personages would perhaps abandon their thrones, if trammelled with laws such as bind our chief magistrates. Every one knows, also, that an aristocratic body is characterized by number, condition, and privileges ; nothing of this kind exists in Titano ; the number of representatives of the people is of so great relative proportion to the whole mass of the population, that seventy, (sixty now,) might be thought excessive, when we consider the uncommon conditions imperatively required by the dignity of the office. Where, then, the nobles form but a small fraction of the whole, and in the council are possessed of no prerogative whatever, and where, as we have said, the greater number consists of well-educated citizens and honourable country members, there is nothing that savours of aristocracy. Lastly, as the office of counsellor is not hereditary, nor invested with any privilege, it is in like manner divested of the other condition by which this Republic might be regarded as participating in, or resembling the worst republican form :—had it been so, these illustrious writers had not noticed the Republic so favourably as they have done for its great morality :—giving credit to what Adams states in the following passage.—‘*This people enjoy a great reputation for probity, and are strict regards of justice ; they seem to live more happily in the midst of rocks and snows, than all the other nations of Italy in the fairest valleys in the world ; what stronger justification of that love which all men naturally feel for liberty and aversion to arbitrary power, than to behold on one side a barren, savage mountain, covered with people, and on the other the lovely Campagna di Roma, deserted by its inhabit-*

ants. Now this observation will suffice to prove the excellence of that constitution, which more than any thing else produces the happy results which the author refers to.'

"The truly just and philosophical observation of our American civilian, and the very indisputable corollary drawn from it by the Italian historian, seem to be the most proper termination of this long extract. The existence of *nobility* in the Republic, which led to the error of Mr. Adams, must indeed at first view present itself to every observer as a shocking anomaly; but he concluded on a crude fact, as stated by Addison, on whose superficial narration he had not otherwise much reliance;—had he employed his own powerful intellect to the investigation of the subject, his criticism had doubtless been more just. I have before observed, that the '*nobility*' of San Marino was perfectly innocuous; you see also by the foregoing extract that it had not even numerical importance: but it unavoidably formed a greater or less portion of the population, for the Republic was first settled by emigrants from the bordering countries; some few of these brought their *nobility* with them. In later periods others of the same rank were naturalized. This nobility of family was so common in all the states which surrounded the Republic, as to be scarcely acknowledged to be an honourable distinction; it rarely carried with it political power, even where it was a social privilege;—it had probably little of either in those who sought the 'equality' of San Marino. Be that as it may, whatever distinction such individuals brought with them, was merged, on their naturalization, in the more honourable character of *citizen*. The ancient republics of Italy, till they were ingulfed by the all-devouring power of Rome, were like the ancient republics of Greece; free from nobility, because they were composed of natural elements;—they had not other inequalities amongst their citizens than those which nature decrees: but, on the recomposition of the Italian republics, after eleven centuries of servitude, the materials of the social union were necessarily taken with the qualities which they then possessed.—

"At that epoch, (says the historian,) the component parts of the social body had already assumed new forms of existence and character, which had in a degree become the property of their possessors;—under these circumstances the Italians did not make liberty and equality a bed of Procrustes; they did not assail the property of any, except as a punishment; and without destroying the character of *nobility*, so called, they restrained its abuses, and rendered it harmless to the state. They saw that if property created an attachment to the state, education and instruction must make good citizens, when political prejudices were banished. Hence democratic or popular codes are found in Italy, wherein the denomination of *nobles* is preserved, even in distinct ranks, without any embarrassment or prejudice to the popular constitution being thereby occasioned: and passing by others less important, I will only cite that of the Florentine republic, which, upon the establishment of a democratic constitution, under the government of the *Priori delle arti*, (Priors of the arts,) did not seek to exclude the nobles, or to compose it wholly of simple citizens; for, (in the words of

Aretino,) the law only excluded the idle, but did not however prohibit nobles from being of the arts."

"I am persuaded that you will find this brief account of San Marino not without interest, and you will probably agree with me, that the still happy condition of a people, amongst whom there is neither oppression, nor poverty, nor ignorance, affords the most conclusive proof, that a system of government founded on moral principles, on justice and equality of rights and duties, may have a duration proportionate to the purity of its elements. The isolated position of the republic, partly, but principally its being without means of enriching itself by foreign commerce, still preserve it from the sophistication of foreign vices, and the inroad of foreign luxuries to corrupt the sources of its prosperity:—thus is assured the utmost permanence of which human institutions are susceptible, to a model of political association as perfect as the nature of man is capable of enjoying."

ART. X.—*Lafayette en Amérique en 1824 et 1825, ou Journal d'un Voyage aux Etats-Unis*; par A. LEVASSEUR, *Secrétaire du Général Lafayette pendant son Voyage. Orné de onze Gravures et d'une Carte.* 2 tom: Paris: 1829.

Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825; or Journal of a Tour in the United States. By A. LEVASSEUR, *Secretary of General Lafayette during his Tour. Ornamented with eleven Engravings and a Map.* 2 vols. Paris: 1829.

THIS contribution to the history of the times, though somewhat tardy, must be eminently acceptable to all liberal minds throughout the world, and in the highest degree to the people of these United States. It comes with a better grace and stronger effect, from the other side of the Atlantic—from an intelligent foreigner, an eye-witness of all that he narrates—than it would possess if it proceeded from an American pen. M. Levasseur accounts for the lateness of the publication, by the circumstances, that he continued to act as secretary of General Lafayette for three years after their return to France, and that delicacy forbade him, while he remained in that capacity, to send forth a work of which the General is the hero, as it were from his own desk. The secretary declares himself to be alone responsible for the opinions and statements contained in these two volumes; he describes only what he saw, and he appeals to many millions of people as his vouchers. His notes were taken in the

midst of the extraordinary scenes of which he was the astonished spectator during fourteen months; he has contented himself with merely dividing them into a certain number of chapters, and omitting the greater part of the dates, which the chronological order of the chapters rendered unnecessary. The whole bears an unquestionable stamp of authenticity and sincerity.

This book is the record of the most remarkable journey that was ever performed;—it constitutes a portion of human annals, singularly curious, and wholly unique. The people, and the man, to whom it refers, stood in the most interesting of all relations; they acquitted themselves in their meeting in a manner truly admirable; with a mutual sensibility, delicacy, and judgment, exquisitely consentaneous to the nature of their respective claims, and of the occasion. Here was, indeed, “a grand chorus of national harmony;” a voluntary national jubilee; in which more tears of genuine, patriotic enthusiasm and gratitude were shed, than had ever fallen in the same space of time. All common selfishness—all minor passions—seemed lost in the diffusive fervour. One of the orators of the period justly styled it the poetry of history—What a spectacle indeed, that of a nation of twelve millions, spread over an immense surface, at once universally excited, and kept in eager motion during many months, by the visit of a stranger, a benefactor of half a century before, bearing to them only his affectionate recollections and wishes, and a spotless character! Hundreds of thousands assembling night and day, with festivals and pageants, at the highest pitch of general animation, in every state of the twenty-four of a vast empire, yet committing no excess, unless their various homage to their *guest*—the idolatry of their welcome—could be so deemed; manifesting an almost universal propriety of sentiment and demeanour; every where a manly, tender, and refined feeling; an anxious, fond, but chastened curiosity; and much that was grand, elegant, or ingenious, in their devices of love and reverence.

Such proceedings and effects imply not only a deep sense, on their side, of the value of their national independence and republican institutions, but peculiar and signal merits in the life, dispositions, and demeanour of the stranger. In fact, he was, and is, the most wonderful person of the age, considering his original share in our revolution, the part which he acted in that of France, the treatment which he experienced from her enemies,—all that he suffered in the Austrian dungeons, all that he has survived, all that he has seen and done, and all that he may yet execute. To keep the original enthusiasm in his favour intensely alive during more than a twelvemonth—until the last moment of his presence—required a felicity of manner and temper not less enviable than rare; to answer, as he uniformly did, with the utmost readiness and success, all the addresses and turns of com-

pliment and salutation, was a mental exploit only equalled by the triumph of his bodily constitution over the incredible fatigues of every kind through which he passed in his magnificent *progress* of several thousand miles. Good humour, excellent breeding, sense, tact, calm energy, minute recollection, just and strong emotion, the desire and the ability to please every individual, distinguished him in every situation. Consistency in whatever is noble, philanthropic, truly elevated and amiable, forms the beautiful master-trait in this "enthusiast of principle," who exchanged courtesies and sympathies with the whole American people, under circumstances which were never before combined, and which probably will never recur. The account which Mde. de Stael had given of him before this juncture of his career, was strictly true, and can still be repeated with full reliance—"Since his first visit to America, we cannot quote a single action of Lafayette which is not direct and consistent, *and his confidence in the final triumph of liberty is the same as that of a pious man in a future life.*" A considerable part of the occurrences upon which M. Levasseur dwells, must be yet fresh in the memory of Americans; but most of them, nevertheless, might be noticed in our pages at present, without inducing satiety. We ourselves have dwelt on them anew with delight and pride, and we are not ashamed, or guilty of the least affectation in confessing—with suffused eyes and throbbing heart.

From the character of the services which Lafayette had rendered to this country, the mutual interest and affectionate commerce which invariably subsisted between him and its most prominent citizens, and the tenor of the solemn invitation which was transmitted to him from Congress and President Monroe, he had reason to expect a cordial and brilliant reception; but, however sanguine he may have been,—whatever visions of glory may have "beamed on his sight,"—he could not have imagined an acclaim so loud, so joyous, so expansive, so enduring; a spirit of tender veneration, so active, so inventive, so emulous, so pure. Unrivalled prosperity; perfect security; sure anticipations of a vast increase of wealth, power, comfort, and fame; had not altered the American heart towards the patron of the despised colonies in their arduous struggle; yet those considerations, though frequent reference was made to them, cannot be said to have materially influenced the conduct of the old or the new generations, who rivalled each other in testifying their gratitude and regard. These sentiments seemed to have no connexion with any species of egotism; they related to the original alliance of the Revolution, apart from the inestimable results of the independence and republican freedom which he essentially helped to establish; and to his personal deserts and

elevation in his general history and character: and the allusions to the blessings and hopes which individuate our situation, should be chiefly ascribed to the desire of rendering the Guest sensible of the irresistible force of his title to every form of profound acknowledgment. We doubt whether a single one of the millions of votaries entertained the impression that the favour was in any one instance—(not excepting the pecuniary grant)—on the side of the Guest; all thought and acted as if the obligation and the benefit were wholly with the hosts.

Lafayette embarked on the 13th July 1824, in the packet ship *Cadmus*, for New-York, having declined the offer of the American President to send a frigate to convey him to our shores. He was as well situated in the excellent vessel which he selected, as he could have been in any other, and had a prosperous passage, with no event worth noting, except the unexpected visit at sea, of some British officers, who boarded the *Cadmus* with a cavalier air, but quickly altered their mien and tone, when they learned who was the principal passenger. M. Levasseur describes, as follows, the scene of the *Guest's* arrival.

"Our voyage was continued without any event of importance, until the 14th, when we descried land. The next morning, at day-break, the pilot came on board, and in a few hours we could easily distinguish the fresh verdure which adorns Staten-island, the charming white dwellings which enlivened it, and the movements of its inhabitants, which the expectation of some great event had caused in all haste to run down to the shore. Already the sea around us was covered with a multitude of long, light, and narrow boats, managed by vigorous, active, men, the neatness of whose dress, and the propriety of whose language, contrasted singularly with the ideas which in Europe are generally associated with the sight of mere sailors. As soon as one of these boats arrived near the ship, her course was slackened; those on board cast anxious looks towards our deck, inquiring of our sailors if Lafayette were among us; as soon as answered in the affirmative, joy was expressed in all their features; they turned quickly to each other, shaking hands, and congratulating themselves on the happiness they were about to enjoy; then returning towards the vessel, they asked a thousand questions relative to the general's health, how he had borne the voyage, &c., but without noise or disorderly impatience. We heard them rejoicing among themselves that Lafayette's voyage had been pleasant and quick, that his health was good, and that the wishes of their fellow-citizens were about to be gratified; and all as if they had been the children of one family, rejoicing at the return of a much-loved and long-expected parent. While contemplating this novel and interesting scene, the thundering of cannon called my attention in another direction; this was from the artillery of Fort Lafayette, which announced the arrival of the *Cadmus* to the city of New-York. At the same moment a steam-boat arrived, and we received on board a deputation, at the head of which was Mr. Tompkins, son of the Vice-President of the United States. He came to inform the general, that this being Sunday, the city of New-York, which wished to give him a brilliant reception, but was unwilling to break the Sabbath, and which moreover had still some preparations to make, requested him to postpone his entry until the next day; in the mean time the Vice-President invited him to his house on Staten-island. The general accepted this invitation, and in a few minutes afterward, we were on shore, where we found the second officer of a great republic, on foot, without his coat, and his head covered with a military cap, cordially greeting his old friend, who on the morrow was to

commence, amidst twelve millions of freemen, the most brilliant, and, at the same time, the purest of triumphs."

The procession of steam-vessels escorting the *Cadmus* in triumph; the magnificent port of New-York covered with decorated boats; the shouts of *welcome Lafayette* from more than a hundred thousand spectators; the peal of the many cannon and the martial music, heard alternately; might well strike the visitors with admiration and surprise too lively to be adequately expressed. Of what occurred at New-York we need not write in any detail; of the feasts, the addresses, the public audiences. The report of the first proceedings spread to the extremities of the Union, and only satisfied the expectations and feelings of the whole population. No sentiment was displayed there, which was not subsequently shown every where else in every practicable form of honour and delight. "Mothers surrounded the Guest presenting their children, and asking his blessing, which having obtained, they embraced their offspring with renewed tenderness." There was no affectation in this conduct; in fact, neither the touch nor the benediction of any holy seer was ever sought with more confident and tender piety; and the trait exemplifies that patriotic sensibility with which Lafayette was generally received. M. Levasseur descends into a variety of particulars concerning the city and state of New-York. Excepting the City Hall, there is not, in his opinion, a single public monument or edifice worthy of the attention of an artist. It happened to him, as to the renowned Captain Hall, that he had early an opportunity of witnessing the activity of the firemen, and the idle curiosity and good order of thousands of spectators, at a fine conflagration on one of the wharves of the East river.

From New-York, on the 20th August, the General repaired to Boston, passing on the route through immense crowds, that consisted chiefly of persons who came from considerable distances, and watched his approach, during the night as well as day.

"Every village," says the Secretary, "had its triumphal arch, upon which were almost always inscribed the names of Washington and Lafayette, or the dates of the battles of Brandywine and Yorktown. Every where announced by the sound of cannon, every where received and complimented by the magistrates of the people, and every where obliged to alight to receive the testimonials of the love of the entire population, it was not until after five days, and almost five nights, that the general arrived at Boston, which is but two hundred miles from New-York; I say almost five nights, because we constantly travelled until near midnight, and set out again at five o'clock in the morning. However, amid these moving and sublime displays of the gratefulness of a whole people, we did not dream of fatigue; even our night marches had a charm which caused us to be forgetful of it. The long file of carriages, escorted by horsemen bearing torches; the fires lighted from place to place upon the tops of the hills, and around which were grouped families, whom the desire of beholding their guest had kept watching; the somewhat wild sound of the trumpet of our escort, repeated several times by the woodland echoes, the sight of the sea which occa-

sionally came into view on our right, and the distant and decreasing peal of the bells which had announced our passage, all formed around us a picturesque and enchanting scene, worthy of the pen of Cooper."

It was at two o'clock in the morning that they arrived at the village of Roxbury, within two miles of Boston, and only two hours of repose could be obtained before the inhabitants of the northern capital were all in motion to begin a succession of festivals and addresses like those of New-York. Our author has omitted no principal circumstance. His narrative of the visit to the venerable John Adams, brings that deceased patriot to memory in an affecting shape.

"Our carriages stopped at the door of a very simple, small house, built of wood and brick, and but one story high. I was somewhat astonished to learn that this was the residence of an Ex-President of the United States. We found the venerable John Adams in the midst of his family. He received and welcomed us with touching kindness: the sight of his ancient friend imparted a pleasure and satisfaction, which appeared to renew his youth. During the whole of dinner time, he kept up the conversation with an ease and readiness of memory, which made us forget his eighty-nine years."

"At the moment of our visit, although he could not go out of his chamber, could scarcely raise himself from his chair, and his hands were unable to convey the food to his mouth, without the pious assistance of his children or grandchildren, his heart and head felt not less ardour for every thing good. The affairs of his country afforded him the most pleasant occupation. He frequently repeated the greatness of the joy which he derived from the gratitude of his fellow-citizens towards Lafayette. We left him, filled with admiration at the courage with which he supported the pains and infirmities which the lapse of nearly a century had necessarily accumulated upon him."

Military reviews were of course exhibited to Lafayette wherever they could be compassed. Those of Boston furnished as good a specimen, perhaps, as the country afforded;—"the promptitude of the charges, the union and vivacity of the firing, the rapidity and intelligence of the evolutions, and the variety of uniforms," are remarked by M. Levasseur, while he utters a gentle stricture on the want of calmness and precision in the movements of the line, and on the *finery* of the volunteer companies. At Bunker's Hill, he had occasion to note instances of "the care with which the Americans preserve and revere all the monuments of their revolution." If the remains of Washington can be classed with "the precious relics," and may be considered as subject properly to the care of the nation, then did the illustrious favourite of the Father of his country find at Mount Vernon an example of neglect sufficient to counterbalance the panegyric of the Secretary. The nation is responsible for the apathy or delays of Congress;—bound as that body is, not only by original duty, but a special engagement.

Lafayette was entertained on the field of the battle of Lexington, and heard there anew an animated recital of the affair from two survivors of the combatants. The first musket that answered the guns of the British, was put into his hands by a son of the

yeoman who fired it. At Concord, on his way to Portsmouth, New-Hampshire, beautiful girls, crowned with flowers, served gracefully at the sumptuous table which was prepared for him under a splendid tent in the public square; and from the tent M. Levasseur descried at the end of the square, on an eminence, a collection of tombs, near one of which knelt a female and two children clad in deep mourning, and pouring out "the abundant dolour of the heart." The contrast was forcible and pathetic between the reckless jollity and bright colours of the repast, and the view of the gray stones, mementos of mortality, watered with the tears of absorbing grief, at the very hour of the general ferment of exultation. To the bereaved wife, mother, or sister, and the orphan children, in the freshness of their privation and sorrow, the sounds of gladness and the holyday show in the square, were probably as indifferent as the aspect of their misery to the bustlers in the centre. Torrents of rain frequently fell during this part of Lafayette's journey, but the people came forth, nevertheless, universally, and remained about him as if wholly insensible to the weather. "The citizens of Salem, for example, galloped in a storm, along side of his carriage, for nearly nine miles, at the risk of falling at every step, so bad were the roads;" and when he entered Newburyport late at night, "the brilliancy of the illuminations, the fires lighted in the streets, the uninterrupted noise of cannon and bells, the shouts of the people, and the sight of a multitude of troops advancing rapidly to the sound of the drum, might have led him to suppose that he was entering a town taken by storm, and consigned to the flames, if the words Lafayette, Liberty, Country, Washington, which incessantly broke upon his ears, had not reminded him that he was present at a truly popular festival." We select these traits, because they were common, and exemplify the excitement throughout the Union. All ordinary caution as to exposure, regularity of rest, and calculation of time and money, were forgotten wherever the Guest appeared.

The chamber given to him at Newburyport, was one in which Washington had slept thirty years before, and of which the furniture had been religiously preserved. At Portsmouth, the Committee of Arrangement conducted to him a number of Canadian Indians, who at first awakened a keen curiosity in M. Levasseur, but whose appearance and manners greatly disappointed his imagination and distressed his humanity. They were, indeed, Christian converts, but they talked as if they had only changed superstitions, and appeared to have rather contracted the vices, than reaped the benefits of civilization. Is it pitiable to behold these poor wretches, singing through the nose psalms, and performing a worship, which they evidently do not com-

prehend. Philanthropy itself might regret, in this metamorphosis, "the noble savage" running wild in the woods.

At Hartford, on the return to New-York, old General Wadsworth entered the audience-hall, bearing the epaulets and scarf which Lafayette wore at the battle of Brandywine, where he was wounded. The scarf still retained marks of his blood. These relics were given to General Swift after the peace, and had been carefully saved. On the second appearance of the Guest, at New-York, the demonstrations of popular regard were equally cordial and splendid. Gazers filled the streets as he passed through them: in the theatres, when he was present, the drama could not proceed, the clamour of enthusiasm being incessant. The nocturnal festival at the Castle-Garden, with an amphitheatre containing nearly six thousand persons, illuminated by a thousand flambeaux, and with "a pure and brilliant moon" shining on the harbour on which a thousand boats were moving to and fro—astonished and transported men familiar with the most gorgeous exhibitions practicable in Europe. One little incident of the gala conveys so much, that we must venture to repeat it. "Several times during the evening, dances were attempted, but every time the General moved a step to approach them, the dancers broke off, and came to group themselves around him." At two o'clock in the morning, the Guest left this combination of enchantments, to embark on board a steam-boat ascending the North river. M. Levasseur sufficiently expresses, in a few words, the nature of the transition. "*Bientôt nous eûmes perdu de vue Castle-Garden, et au lieu des joyeux sons de la musique, nous n' entendimes plus que le bruit monotone et cadencé de notre machine à vapeur luttant contre la rapidité des flots de l'Hudson.*" Along the banks of the noble and picturesque Hudson, and in the beautiful and thriving cities—new creations like those of magic—which adorn and complete the prospect, the Guest was hailed by masses of inhabitants, glowing with impatient curiosity and reverence, and prepared with devices of honour such as he had experienced in New-England. If in any part of the old thirteen states, the difference as to culture and population, between what he witnessed at the era of the revolution, and the condition of things in 1824, could powerfully move him, the line of the North river must have especially produced this effect. "At Troy," says M. Levasseur "Lafayette exclaimed—What! has this town sprung from the earth by a magical spell!" "No," answered some one near him, "but it was raised and peopled in a few years, by intelligent industry, under the protection of freedom;"—the plain solution of all those rapid and glorious *improvements*, which have no parallel in any other region than republican America. At Troy, Lafayette was conducted, without any male attendant, into the interior

of the accomplished Mrs. Willard's excellent academy for young ladies, and "he returned," observes his secretary, "exhibiting profound emotion,"—*ses yeux étaient remplis de douces larmes*. The harmonious and tender salutations of two hundred delicate young girls, all clothed in white, account for this emotion.

The eighth chapter of the first volume, consists of a description of the institutions and manners of the city of New-York. M. Levasseur animadverts with just regret, though without asperity, upon the abuse of spirituous liquors, the multitude of *lottery-offices*, the numerous bankruptcies, and other public evils, to which no foreign observer, however friendly, could shut his eyes. With regard to the *luxury*, of which some members of the old school of regimen complain, he holds the language of a true philosopher.—"Such persons might with reason be frightened, if luxury here, like that of our princes and courtiers in Europe, sprang from the oppression and sweat of the people; but they may comfort themselves by reflecting, that it is the offspring of industry, the rich and fruitful daughter of Liberty." He tells a pleasant story of a French officer, who concealed himself for some days in New-York, because he had not brought a passport with him from France; and who could, with difficulty, be led to believe that the American police did not require documents of the kind, and that every man might travel in any direction, and reside where he pleased, without being subject to espionage or inquiry. For the edification of our female readers, we shall copy our author's two paragraphs respecting the New-York ladies:—

"The ladies here dress in the French taste, but their manners are still entirely American; that is, they devote almost their whole existence to the management of the household, and the education of their children. They generally live much retired, and although many of them possess very agreeable and excellent powers of conversation, they do not, however, occupy much attention in society, where the young ladies appear to have the exclusive right of reigning. These latter, it is true, have from nature and education, all the means of pleasing. The unlimited liberty they enjoy, without ever abusing it, gives a grace and frankness to their manners, and a modest ease, which is sought in vain in our companies, where, under the name of reserve, the most painful insignificance is imposed upon our young ladies.

"The American ladies are not more remarkable for their severe conjugal fidelity, than the girls are for their constancy to their *engagements*. At parties, I have often had pointed out to me, young ladies of eighteen or nineteen, who had been *engaged*, and of whose future husbands, one was in Europe pursuing his studies; another in China, attending to commercial business; and a third, dangerously employed in the whale fishery, in the most distant seas. Young girls thus *engaged*, hold the middle place in society, between their still disengaged companions and the married ladies. They have already lost some of the thoughtless gaiety of the former, and assumed a slight tinge of the gravity of the other. The numerous aspirants, designated here by the name of *beaux*, who at first surrounded them, and were received until a choice was made, still bestow upon them delicate attentions, but by no means so particular as formerly, and should one of them, either from ignorance or obstinate hopes, persist in offering his heart and hand, the answer 'I am engaged,' given with a

sweet frankness and an indulgent smile, soon destroys all his illusions, without wounding his pride. Engagements of this sort, preceding marriage, are very common, not only in New-York, but throughout the United States; and it is exceedingly rare that they are not fulfilled with religious fidelity. Public opinion is very severe on this point, and does not spare either of the two parties which may dispose of themselves without the consent of the other."

On the 23d September, the Guest again departed from New-York, destined to the south and west. His path through New-Jersey was of roses and light. At Bergen, a deputation tendered to him a golden headed cane, made of the branch of an apple tree, under which he had breakfasted with Washington during the revolutionary war. The minuteness of Lafayette's recollections of revolutionary events and persons, often surprised those who approached him in the course of this tour; but he had as much reason to wonder on his side, for it seemed as if nothing whatever that happened to him, or that he did or said in the whole of the same period, in any part of our soil which he trod, was forgotten, at least where it occurred. He encountered in almost every district, veteran soldiers, who reminded him of transactions, casualties, fellowships, phrases, of which all impression had been long effaced from his own mind. That part of M. Levasseur's text, in which the dinner at Bordentown, at the elegant and hospitable mansion of Joseph Bonaparte, Count de Survilliers, is related, has been repeated in the newspapers so widely, that we notice it only to rectify an idea of our author, that the count had not the air of being happy, "notwithstanding the lively respect of his American acquaintance, the love of his family, and his affluence." It is possible that the presence of Lafayette, and the topics of their conversation, awakened in Joseph thoughts and feelings which imparted to his countenance and carriage an unusual degree of gravity, or a cast of sadness; but it is certain, that in general his manner is distinguished by bland cheerfulness, invariable equanimity, and the easiest command over his power of attention. He appears to have reconciled himself entirely to his present situation, and he discourses at least, upon the value of mere royal grandeur, and the vicissitudes of fortune, in a strain which the most rational and impartial of critics in human affairs would not disavow.

Philadelphïa proved to Lafayette, that she was not secondary, either in inclination or ability, to minister to the occasion of his visit. The military and civic escort with which he entered that city in the forenoon, and the illumination in the evening, must long shine in the memory of every spectator. In four of the large vehicles of the procession, were distributed forty old soldiers of the Revolution, whose tears of ecstasy opened "the sacred source" in thousands of eyes. M. Levasseur does justice to the splendid and fond efforts of hospitality in that beautiful capital; to the variety of elevated and liberal sentiments, and felici-

tous compliments conveyed in her addresses; to the excellence of her foundations of charity and science; and to the order, security, industry, and comfort, which obtain in every quarter. He adverts to Lafayette's dissatisfaction with the plan of solitary confinement for criminals, and narrates the discussion of that question, into which he fell when surveying the new penitentiary:—

"This superb establishment was still unfinished, when General Lafayette, accompanied by the committee appointed to do the honours of the city, went to visit it, and were received by the respectable directors and managers, who explained to him the improvements made. One must have courage to venture upon contradicting men so virtuous and experienced, as generous in design as in the execution of their benevolent works. The frankness and conviction of the general, overcame his repugnance, and with all the regard and respect which were due, and which his personal situation rendered still more necessary, he represented to them that solitary confinement was a punishment which should be experienced to be rightly appreciated; and that the virtuous and enlightened Malesherbes, who during his administration under the monarchical government of France, had ameliorated the condition of prisoners of state, regarded solitary confinement as leading to madness. The general observed, that during his five years' captivity, he had passed an entire year in solitary confinement, and another part of the time seeing a companion but during a single hour; and he added, smiling, that he had not found it to be the means of reformation, since he was imprisoned for wishing to revolutionize the people against despotism and aristocracy, and passed his solitude in thinking upon it, without coming out corrected in that respect."

We acknowledge the truth and pleasantry of this remark; but, without meaning to argue the important question, we must suggest that the case of Lafayette in his imprisonment differs in every moral particular too widely to be admitted as example or analogy. His sufferings could not fail to bias his judgment.

On his way to Baltimore, he found the secretary of state, John Q. Adams, in the steam-boat of the Chesapeake bay. The committee of arrangement had prepared a separate chamber for the Guest and his two companions. The latter discovered, when the hour of repose came, that Mr. Adams was about to stretch himself on a mattress on the floor of the great cabin, which was covered with similar pallets for the other passengers. The son of Lafayette and M. Levasseur entreated the secretary of state to exchange beds with one of them, and sleep in the separate chamber. Mr. Adams refused, answering, that even if he felt disposed to accept the offer, he should still be obliged to decline it, because the committee of arrangement had determined that no one should be admitted into General Lafayette's apartment except his travelling companions. The General himself added his entreaties, and caused a request to be made to the committee, that Mr. Adams should be admitted instead of his son, or M. Levasseur. The committee rejected, as inadmissible, the plan of a substitution, but consented that a fourth bed should be prepared in Lafayette's chamber for Mr. Adams, "not because he was secretary of state,

but because General Lafayette desired to have one of his old friends near him ;” nor did the secretary agree to relinquish his mattress until the committee formally invited him to pass into the chamber. Our author’s comment on this anecdote is—that if there be any aristocracy in American manners, the high officers of the government partake of no such privilege. It happened to one of our acquaintance, to be in the steam-boat that plies between New-York and New-Brunswick, along with Mr. Adams, when the latter was President of the United States. The President sat, undistinguished, at the foot of the breakfast table, eating with keen appetite of the good things common to all. At the other end was an English colonel, contending with our friend, as M. Levasseur says many European travellers do—that “the Americans, in spite of their republican institutions, are essentially aristocratic in their habits.” “What person do you suppose that to be, down next the captain,” said a neighbour to the colonel. “I don’t know,” replied the other, “he is like the rest, and seems to be making a pretty hearty meal.” “But I can tell you,” continued the questioner—“*that’s the President of the United States*—go and talk to him after he has done.” The officer, who had landed only five days before at New York, looked confounded, rose, and went near to the President’s chair, with a countenance of mingled surprise and curiosity, which amused his first auditors ; and he felt still less inclined to insist on American aristocracy, after he learned that the captain himself was unaware of the presence of Mr. Adams. No officer of our government hesitates to use the public vehicles in travelling ;—none claims the least privilege or mark of distinction ;—all associate, in every situation, with their fellow-citizens, upon a footing of equality. A first visit, or precedence in going to a dinner table, may be expected and accorded at Washington, but in this there is very little of the real spirit of aristocracy or etiquette.

We should pronounce Baltimore to be the favourite city of M. Levasseur, judging from “the hues and colours of his diction” in the eleventh chapter. He has caught the very fire and unction of that soul and grace which pervaded her reception of Lafayette. He celebrates her superior taste for music, the *agrémens* with which she abounds, and the martial courage of the inhabitants ; and only regrets that the Sunday is a little dull there, as in other parts of our country, and that negro slavery still survives, to her manifest disadvantage. We must pilfer a part of his tribute to Baltimore.

“Every instant of our stay in Baltimore was marked by the most brilliant festivals, and the most delicate attentions. It is difficult to give a just idea of the elegance and delicacy of manners of the inhabitants of this city, in which we find the amiable union of American frankness and French ease. The ball given by the city was every thing that was perfect of the kind ; it was prepared in the theatre, and disposed with inimitable taste. All the boxes were occupied by la-

dies, and the carpet was entirely vacant. We were introduced from the stage, only accompanied by some members of the committee. At the moment the general appeared, he was announced by an invisible music, which played Lafayette's march, and the gas blazing abundantly from numerous pipes, and throwing floods of dazzling light over the hall, discovered to our delighted eyes the most ravishing picture I ever beheld. The splendour of a parterre covered with the most beautiful flowers, would have looked pale along side of this crowd of beautiful ladies, waving their handkerchiefs, scattering flowers, and expressing, by their sweet tears, the happiness they experienced in beholding the Nation's Guest. In an instant they abandoned their places, advanced to the middle of the hall, and surrounded the General, who remained for some moments incapable of expressing his gratefulness, so much was he affected. The dancing soon after commenced, and gave us an opportunity of admiring more in detail the graces and beauty of the ladies of Maryland."

In proceeding to Washington, Lafayette's escort refused to allow him to stop at an inn which bears the name of *Waterloo*. When consulted on the subject, he replied, that he would willingly go on, but that he feared to fatigue his numerous retinue of Baltimoreans; they declared, "that they would rather founde their horses than that he should remain in a house whose name might awaken disagreeable recollections in the mind of a *Frenchman*." We need not repeat with what cordiality, what "ceremonious kindness," the General was welcomed by President Monroe, who would have lodged him in his official mansion, if the municipal authorities had not claimed the privilege of providing for his accommodation. We pretermit, as familiar, or devoid of novelty, the narratives of the sojourn in the metropolis, the pilgrimage to Mount Vernon, and the excursion to Yorktown. M. Levasseur was somewhat alarmed and scandalized, when he visited the college at Georgetown, on discovering that it had been founded and was partly administered by *Jesuits*. However, Mr. Cambreling, of New York, whom he saw in the evening, convinced him that his apprehensions for our liberties, from the existence of that order in our republic, were utterly groundless. — "Take our institutions, in France," said another American, "and your Jesuits will be as harmless as ours." They are so, already; but the name is a convenient tocsin: there are in every country classes of lay intriguers and plotters, much more formidable than the small remnant of the professed disciples of Loyola.

We find our travellers, on the 22d October, at Norfolk, which the secretary does not represent as a paradise, but which was not deficient in exertions to render them supremely happy. They repaired to Monticello, the residence of Mr. Jefferson, in whose manners and intellect they recognised all the various merit which had been extolled to them by his friends. With Mr. Madison, likewise, at Montpellier, they enjoyed the finest effusions of sense, erudition, and feeling, and the lambent play of one of the happiest of social tempers. These were ex-chief magistrates, with each of whom we could do what a king of France

boasted of in the case of an illustrious commander—present him to the friends or enemies of his country. M. Levasseur recurs here to the title *Marquis*, which the Virginians used so fondly during the revolutionary struggle—and mentions the difficulty which Lafayette's old comrades or coevals experienced in giving him any other. "I recollect," says our author, "that, at Philadelphia, an old lady, who had known him intimately during the Revolution, and probably imaged him to herself just as she had seen him then, pressed forward in the crowd, exclaiming, 'Let me pass, that I may behold again the good *young Marquis*.'"

In his two chapters on Virginia—the fourteenth and fifteenth, of volume first—M. Levasseur discusses, *in extenso*, the question of negro-slavery. His views are practical; he does not declaim with fury, but reasons with sobriety and discrimination. He affirms, that he, who traversed the twenty-four states of the Union, never encountered but one person, who seriously defended the *principle* of slavery, and that was a young man, full of ridiculous notions about Roman history and so forth. He traces the introduction and growth of the curse, ascribing them to the obstinate cupidity of the mother country. After revolving the various plans for the removal or amelioration of negro-bondage, he proceeds to argue thus:—

"Of all the plans yet presented, none has produced any very marked result; it is true that all are very difficult of execution; for, whatever certain European philanthropists may say, who would perhaps be very much embarrassed if placed in the situation of a Carolina or Georgia planter, the general and instantaneous enfranchisement of the slaves cannot be thought of, without exposing to the greatest evils, not only the whites, but the blacks also, who, on account of their extreme ignorance, see nothing better in liberty than the privilege of doing nothing, or of committing every excess. I may venture to affirm, that to four-fifths of the slaves in the United States, immediate liberation would be nothing but a condemnation to die of famine, after having destroyed every thing around them. Consequently, I believe, that under such circumstances, to withhold from these men the immediate exercise of their rights, is neither to violate these rights, nor to protect the violators of them, but is merely employing, in the mode of removing the evil, the prudence necessary to make the justice we wish to render them more surely a mean of happiness. Here prudence requires that the enfranchisement should be gradual."

Our author inferred, from the condition and discourse of Mr. Jefferson's negroes, that to attach the slaves generally to *the glebe*, would be a sensible benefit for them and their masters; and from the readiness and candour with which Mr. Madison and his friends, at Montpelier, joined with Lafayette in approaching and handling the whole question, he conceived that slavery would not exist much longer in Virginia, or would be auspiciously modified. Orator O'Connell would do well to consult M. Levasseur's pages, if he should not lay any stress on the statements and opinions of Captain Basil Hall.

As a grandee of the first class among the Free-Masons, Lafayette drew forth all the lodges of Richmond, and fraternized

with them at a magnificent banquet, of which the Governor of Virginia, Chief Justice Marshall, and other exalted personages, partook, as Masonic dignitaries. The secretary mentions that his brethren taught him to comprehend "the veneration and zeal which the Americans entertain for free-masonry." None of the parties imagined the possibility of such a crusade against the society, as has been waged since the abduction of Morgan. The anti-masonic warfare, in all its varieties of motive, weapon, stratagem, and drift, will constitute one of the most curious episodes in our domestic history.

From Virginia, the Nation's Guest returned to Washington, where he found messages from all the states of the South and West, soliciting the favour of his presence in each. Their representatives, collected in the metropolis for the meeting of Congress, renewed these instances with affectionate emphasis and flattering importunity. It was arranged that he should spend the winter in Washington; and early in the spring commence the tour which they desired. We must be content to refer to M. Levasseur's second volume for all the transactions between Congress, and the visiter whom it was the chief occupation of that assembly to honour and gratify. The mood and the will of the people were nobly represented by the whole government, and his correlative deportment was perfect. All his best qualities of heart and head, were put to trial by the munificent grant of money and land;—he excelled himself in the emergency. "Twenty-six of us," said a member of Congress to him, "voted against the grant from constitutional scruples." "Well," replied he, with a cordial squeeze of the other's hand, "if I had had the honour of being your colleague, we should have been twenty-seven,—not only because I hold the opinions which determined your vote, but because I think that the American nation has done a great deal too much for me."

The election of President, when Mr. Adams was chosen, took place while Lafayette was in Washington. M. Levasseur has not overlooked the previous violence of parties, the ominous predictions, and the fierce threats, which accompanied the canvass for the office. Nor has he forgotten, that, on the landing of Lafayette, the spirit of electioneering, with its merciless obloquy, paused under self-rebuke—that politicians and partisans who had stigmatized each other as the worst of citizens and men, suddenly felt that they were all republican Americans, worshipping at the same shrine, capable of the same sympathies, studious of the same national interests. Our author witnessed all the forms and circumstances of the election at Washington, which he relates, much edified by the legal order of the whole, and the loyal resignation of the unsuccessful side to the regular

result. We could not desire a more characteristic picture, or one more creditable to our institutions, than the following:—

“On the evening of the day in which the president had received a notification that his successor had been appointed, there was a large party at his house. I had already been present at these parties, which are very striking, from the numerous and various society there assembled, and by the amiable simplicity with which Mrs. Monroe and her daughters receive their guests. But, on this occasion, the crowd was so considerable that it was almost impossible to move. All the inhabitants of Washington were attracted by the desire of seeing the president elect and his competitors, who, it was taken for granted, would be present, and who, in fact, were so, with the exception of Mr. Crawford, who was detained at home by illness. After having made my bow to Mr. and Mrs. Monroe, to reach whom I found considerable difficulty, I looked with impatience for Mr. Adams and the other candidates. It appeared to me, that their being thus thrown together would prove extremely embarrassing to them, and I felt some curiosity to see how they would conduct themselves on the occasion. On entering one of the side rooms, I perceived Mr. Adams; he was alone, in the midst of a large circle which was formed around him. His countenance was as open and modest as usual. Every instant persons pressed through the crowd to offer him their congratulations, which he received without embarrassment, and replied to by a cordial shake of the hand. At some distance, in the midst of a group of ladies, was Mrs. Adams. She appeared to be radiant with joy; but it was easy to be seen that she was more pleased at the personal triumph of her husband, than for the advantages or pleasures that would result to herself. Whilst I was attentively looking at this interesting scene, a tumultuous movement was heard at the door, and a murmur of satisfaction arose from the whole party; I soon ascertained the cause, in seeing General Jackson make his appearance. Every one pressed forward to meet him, and endeavoured to be the first to salute him. To all these effusions of friendship he replied with frankness and cordiality. I alternately scrutinized both Mr. Adams and the general, being curious to see how these two men, who the morning before were rivals, would now meet. I was not kept long in expectation. The moment they perceived each other, they hastened to meet, taking each other cordially by the hand. The congratulations offered by General Jackson were open and sincere; Mr. Adams appeared to be deeply moved, and the numerous witnesses could not restrain the expression of their satisfaction. Mr. Clay arrived an instant afterwards, and the same scene was repeated. This, perhaps, produced less effect than the former, as Mr. Clay, having had fewer chances of success, was supposed to make less effort to maintain his self-command; but it fully demonstrated the wisdom of the nation in its selection of candidates. The generosity of character manifested by General Jackson, entirely satisfied me of the futility of the menaces of the Pennsylvania militia. Whilst these reflections were passing through my mind, I met in the crowd two officers with whom I had dined at York, and whom I had remarked particularly for their zeal and excitement. ‘Well,’ said I, ‘the great question is decided, and in a manner contrary to your hopes; what do you intend to do? How soon do you lay siege to the capitol?’ They began to laugh. ‘You recollect our threats, then,’ said one of them. ‘We went, in truth, great lengths, but our opponents disregarded it, and they acted properly; they know us better than we wished them to do. Now that is settled, all we have to do is to obey. We will support Adams as zealously as if he were our candidate; but, at the same time, shall keep a close watch on his administration, and according as it is good or bad, we will defend or attack it. Four years are soon passed, and the consequences of a bad election are easily obviated.’ ‘Yes,’ said I, ‘much more readily than that of legitimacy or hereditary succession.’”

The impatience of the southern and western states, did not allow the Guest to protract his stay at Washington beyond the 23d of February, on which day he embarked in the steam-boat for Norfolk. He had engaged to be at Boston by the 17th June, ✓

for the celebration of the anniversary of the battle of Bunker's Hill, and in the interval was to measure a line of more than twelve hundred leagues, including wildernesses almost without roads. As a specimen of the feeling which he was to meet everywhere, we offer such an anecdote as this. —

"A few miles from Norfolk, we were obliged to stop some time before a small, solitary inn upon the road, for the purpose of refreshing our horses. We were sitting in our carriage when the landlord presented himself, asked to see the general, and eagerly pressed him to alight for a moment and come into his house. 'If,' said he, 'you have only five minutes to stay, do not refuse them, since to me they will be so many minutes of happiness.' The general yielded to his entreaty, and we followed him into a lower room, where we observed a plainness bordering on poverty, but a remarkable degree of cleanliness. *Welcome Lafayette*, was inscribed with charcoal upon the white wall, enwreathed with boughs from the fir trees of the neighbouring wood. Near the fire-place, where pine wood was crackling, stood a small table, covered with a very clean napkin, and covered with some decanters containing brandy and whiskey; by the side of a plate covered with glasses, was another plate filled with neatly arranged slices of bread. These modest refreshments were tendered with a kindness and cordiality which greatly enhanced their value. Whilst we were partaking of them, the landlord disappeared, but returned a moment after, accompanied by his wife, carrying her little boy, about three or four years of age, whose fresh and plump cheeks evinced the tenderness and care with which he had been cherished. The father, after first presenting his wife, next took his child in his arms, and, having placed one of his little hands in the hand of the general, made him repeat, with much emphasis, the following: 'General Lafayette, I thank you for the liberty which you have won for my father, for my mother, for myself, and for my country!!' While the child was speaking, the father and mother eyed the general with the most tender regard: their hearts responded to the words of their boy, and tears, they were unable to suppress, proved that their gratitude was vivid and profound. Were I to judge from what I myself felt on witnessing this simple and yet sublime scene, General Lafayette must have found this one of the most pleasing moments of his life. He could not conceal his emotions, but having tenderly embraced the child, took refuge in his carriage, bearing with him the blessings of this family, worthy of the freedom they enjoyed."

North Carolina paid her homage to the Guest with a spirit akin to that with which she entered into the Revolution. Her towns were illuminated, her streets crowded with females elegantly dressed, her officers of state and her orators on the alert; torrents of rain fell, however, and the roads were execrable. Notwithstanding all her resources of wealth and weal, she appeared to M. Levasseur "one of the least advanced of all the states he had visited;" and her backwardness he imputes to negro-slavery. The deputation of South Carolina received the General on the borders, in the midst of a pine forest, and convoyed him through Columbia, to Charleston, whose inhabitants were determined even to outdo the northern cities. Certainly they did not fall short in zeal, dignity, or refinement, nor leave upon the mind of our author an impression less vivid and grateful. We can convey but a faint idea of their generous strife, by the annexed quotation.

"In proportion as we advanced towards Charleston, the monotony of pine forests disappeared. Our eyes now rested with pleasure upon clusters of verdant and beautifully shaped saplings, among which superb magnolias were majestically elevated. The entrance to the city appeared to us like a delicious garden. The coolness of the night had condensed the perfumes from the orange, peach, and almond trees, covered with flowers, and embalmed the air. We stopped a few minutes to change the carriage, and allow the procession time to form; when, on a signal given by a cannon, we commenced our entrance into Charleston.

"The inhabitants of Charleston, as residents of the city which had received the young Lafayette on his first arrival on American ground, in 1776, were eager to prove that no where more than among themselves, had a stronger recollection of his devotion to the cause of liberty been preserved. Accordingly, the reception which they gave him, may be compared, for the splendour of its decorations and public enthusiasm, to the finest we had seen in the principal cities in the United States. The militia of Charleston were joined by the militia from the most distant parts of the state. Some companies of volunteer cavalry had, we were told, marched fifty miles a day to take the post assigned them by their patriotic gratitude.

"Among the various corps which left the city to meet the general, there was one which particularly attracted our attention. Its uniform was precisely similar to that worn by the national guard of Paris at the time of the French revolution. The language in which the men composing this corps sounded forth their *viva*, when the general passed before them, showed us that they were Frenchmen, and we experienced a pleasing emotion on hearing our countrymen unite their voices with those of liberty and gratitude.

"The French company joined the procession, and, actuated by a sentiment of extreme delicacy, the Americans ceded to them the place of honour, near the carriage of the general. The procession was soon increased by a great number of parties, composed of the clergy, association of Cincinnati, veterans of the revolutionary army, students of the different faculties, officers of the United States' army and navy, judges of the different courts, children of the public schools, German, French, Jewish, and Hibernian beneficent societies, the association of mechanics, &c. &c. All these detachments were distinguished by the form, colour, and device of their flags; and the rest of the population following on foot and on horseback, made the air resound with cries of *Welcome, Lafayette*, which sounds, for nearly two hours, without intermission, were mingled with the thunder of cannon from the shipping in port, and the ringing of all the bells. But amidst all these expressions of public affection, that which penetrated the general's heart most, was the touching and generous plan adopted by the citizens of Charleston to share the honours of his triumph with his brave and excellent friend Colonel Huger."

At Charleston, on the 17th March, the travellers embarked for Savannah, in a fine steam-boat, sumptuously furnished and provisioned. While they coasted, they heard from the shores, throughout the night, shouts of gratulation from thousands of untiring worshippers;—sounds, which must have been to the heart of Lafayette as delicious as the Sabeian odours from "Araby the blest," which Milton invests with the power of making old Ocean smile, are to the eastern mariner. Savannah was alike prodigal of kindness, and in her best possible array. There the Guest embarked again in a steam-boat for Augusta, in the approach to which place, his safety would appear to have been a little neglected in the giddiness of extreme exhilaration. Two steam-boats, crowded with greeters, met the happy one, and in ascending the river, provoked a race. "There was something fright-

ful in this contest," says the Secretary; "the three roaring vessels seemed to fly in the midst of clouds of black smoke, which prevented us from seeing each other. The Alatomaha was victorious, which produced the liveliest joy in our worthy captain, who seemed to be a man that would blow up his vessel rather than be beaten on such an occasion." No doubt—and another, as we shall see, in the Ohio river, from an inordinate desire of *getting along*, with the Guest, actually wrecked him under the most dangerous and dismal circumstances. We cannot think that the object of success in the race, or a gain of some hours, would have been acknowledged by the country, as bearing any proportion to the evil of destroying Lafayette's life. Even a *ne times, Cæsarem vehis*, would not have formed a warrant for the imprudence of the racers. The party left Augusta in carriages, in which the peril was nearly as great as in the steamboat,—owing to the ruggedness of the roads. On the first day, the jolts were so violent, that the General experienced a fit of vomiting, which greatly alarmed his companions.

The sixth chapter of the second volume, brings the Guest into contact with the Creek Indians, in the territory on which they are encamped. Here, M. Levasseur's narrative is imbued with a romantic interest. It relieves, by novel and peculiar sensations and pictures, the degree of monotony which the similitude in the ingredients of the antecedent parts, might cause them to have for the European reader. The contagion of reverence, and the pride of display, had reached the tawny sons of the forest. If we had space for the purpose, and could do it fairly in reference to the book, we would gladly copy the whole of this chapter, wherein the extraordinary unison of the Indians, with the voice of that republic, of which they are not allowed to be members, and their characteristic demonstrations of sympathy, are so described, that they rivet attention and awaken a crowd of reflections—melancholy, indeed, and little calculated for our self-complacency as of the race of civilized and Christian republicans.

"It was on the banks of the Chatahouche that we met with the first assemblage of Indians, in honour of the General. A great number of women and children were to be seen in the woods on the opposite bank, who uttered cries of joy on perceiving us. The warriors descended the side of a hill at a little distance, and hastened to that part of the shore at which we were to disembark. The variety and singular richness of their costumes, presented a most picturesque appearance. Mr. George Lafayette, who was the first that landed, was immediately surrounded by men, women, and children, who danced and leaped around him, touched his hands and clothes with an air of surprise and astonishment, that caused him almost as much embarrassment as pleasure. All at once, as if they wished to give their joy a grave and more solemn expression, they retired, and the men ranged themselves in front. He who appeared to be the chief of the tribe, gave, by an acute and prolonged cry, the signal for a kind of salute, which was repeated by the whole troop, which again advanced towards the shore. At the moment the General prepared to step on shore, some of the

most athletic seized the small carriage we had with us, and insisted that the General should seat himself in it, not willing, as they observed, that their father should step on the wet ground. The General was thus carried in a kind of palanquin a certain distance from the shore, when the Indian whom I have spoken of as the chief, approached him, and said in English, that all his brothers were happy in being visited by one who, in his affection for the inhabitants of America, had never made a distinction of blood or colour; and he was the honoured father of all the races of men dwelling on that continent. After the chief had finished his speech, the other Indians all advanced, and placed their right arm on that of the general, in token of friendship. They would not permit him to leave the carriage, but dragging it along, they slowly ascended the hill they had previously left, and on which one of their largest villages was situated." * * *

"From Uchee creek to the cabin of Big Warrior, which is the nearest resting place, is about a day's journey, through a country inhabited by Indians. We several times met parties of them, and were greatly assisted by them in extricating ourselves from dangerous places in the road, for the storm had encumbered them, and swelled the streams. On one of these occasions, the general received a touching specimen of the veneration these sons of nature held him in. One of the torrents we were to cross had risen above the unnailed wooden bridge over which the carriage of the general was to proceed. What was our astonishment, on arriving at the stream, to find a score of Indians, who, holding each other by the hand, and breast deep in water, marked the situation of the bridge by a double line. We were well pleased at receiving this succour; and the only recompense demanded by the Indians, was to have the honour of taking the general by the hand, whom they called their white father, the envoy of the Great Spirit, the great warrior from France, who came in former days to free them from the tyranny of the English. M'Intosh, who interpreted their discourse to us, also expressed to them the general's and our own good wishes." * * *

"One of the neighbouring chiefs came at the head of a deputation to compliment the general. His discourse, which appeared studied, was rather long, and was translated to us by an interpreter. He commenced by high eulogiums on the skill and courage the general had formerly displayed against the English; the most brilliant events of that war were recalled and recounted in a poetical and somewhat pompous strain. He terminated somewhat in these words: 'Father, we had long since heard that you had returned to visit our forests and our cabins; you, whom the Great Spirit formerly sent over the great lake to destroy those enemies of man, the English, clothed in bloody raiment. Even the youngest amongst us will say to their descendants, that they have touched your hand, and seen your figure; they will also behold you, for you are protected by the Great Spirit from the ravages of age—you may again defend us if we are attacked.'"

The picturesque scenery of the Creek district, attracted and refreshed the eye of M. Levasseur;—and as the tourists descended the Alabama, in a steam-boat "richly and commodiously prepared," with a band of musicians on board, they could almost believe themselves to be heroes of romance, contemplating the elevated and woody banks of the river, and listening to the echoes of the patriotic airs played by the band. The voyage of three hundred miles to Mobile, was accomplished in three days, and is called *delicious* by our author. After enjoying a public dinner, ball, and masonic festival, at Mobile, Lafayette embarked for New-Orleans in another steam-boat. In order to gain a day, the captain resolved to cross the Gulf of Mexico to the mouth of the Mississippi, pass the Balize, and ascend the river. Much did the travellers suffer from this bold determination. The winds and the waves rose; the cabin and beds, to which

they betook themselves, were inundated; the boat laboured frightfully, and the Secretary conceived that she would quickly founder. "*Le bruit du vent, des vagues, de la machine à vapeur, et les craquemens du navire se combinaient de telle sorte, que nous paraissions devoir être engloutis d'un moment à l'autre.*" No serious misfortune occurred; but after passing the Balize, they heard, at midnight, the batteries at New-Orleans firing a salute of one hundred guns, to announce the beginning of the day on which the Guest of the nation was to arrive. In addition to the impulses of their American patriotism, a direct congeniality,—a feeling of *compatriotism*,—animated the Louisianians of French origin, in regard to Lafayette. They rallied to him with a double zest. Here he found a considerable number of revolutionary veterans and French exiles of distinction. A hundred or more Choctaw Indians had transferred their wigwams to the neighbourhood of the city, in order to see "the great warrior," the "brother of their great father Washington;" and they took part in the military parades and processions, in file, with earnest concurrence and uniform decorum.

The exertions of the people of New-Orleans were as happy, and their bustle quite as lively, as those of New-York, while Lafayette sojourned among them. M. Levasseur expatiates on their indefatigable and dazzling hospitality, and on their glorious repulse of the British in our last war. He affirms, that General Jackson, in his defence of the place, committed, from inadvertence or want of time, two serious mistakes, which he specifies, but which we shall not repeat, because we do not know that the Secretary is an authority as a military critic, and doubt whether deference should be paid to any judgments by persons who had no opportunity of seeing all the peculiarities and difficulties of Jackson's situation. In twenty-six hours after leaving New-Orleans, Lafayette reached *Baton Rouge*, where he at once entered the fort, and then proceeded to examine the interior of the barracks. "What was our surprise," says his secretary, "to find in the first apartment, in lieu of beds, arms and warlike equipments, a numerous assemblage of elegantly dressed and beautiful ladies, who surrounded the General and offered him refreshments and flowers. We passed some delightful moments in the midst of this captivating garrison." In thirty hours, the travellers arrived at Natchez, to be welcomed in like manner. At the moment that the General was concluding his reply to the address of the Natchez committee, a man rushed from the crowd towards him, waving his hat, and cried in French; "Honour to the commander of the Parisian guard—I was under your orders in '91, my General;—I still love liberty as I loved it then;—*Long life to Lafayette,*" (the cry of the guard). They shook hands cordially. This apostrophe must, we think, have been one of the most

agreeable instances of surprise among the many which he experienced in his tour. There was, in fact, a constant resuscitation of old and forgotten acquaintance,—strange appearances and coincidences—which served to stimulate his attention and fancy, and to season his incessant, prodigious intercourse with similar crowds. Often might he have repeated Chateaubriand's lamentation in the *Sketch of Palestine*—"There is no part of the world where our political storms have not cast the children of St. Louis—there is no desert in which they have not sighed after their native land." But here, though the sigh may still be heaved, they possess that liberty for which they may have vainly exposed themselves at home;—they have a country, though the native land be lost and regretted; they can gather, unmolested, all the fruits of their industry and intelligence, and transmit a secure inheritance of freedom and plenty to their children.

M. Levasseur describes the aspect of the Mississippi and its banks, the nature of the navigation, and the commerce of the steam-boats with the shore, in ascending the father of rivers,—curious topics for untravelled readers. Of the minor incidents, we may mention the spectacle of a noble stag crossing the stream, and swimming with as much calmness and ease, as it would have paced the plain. When it heard the noise of the steam-boat, it laid its long branching antlers on its shoulders, and sank in the water in order to escape notice, moving rapidly for the swiftest part of the current. As soon as it thought itself beyond pursuit, it rose on the surface, raised its antlers proudly, and tranquilly resumed its course. Herds of this animal are said to be frequently seen, passing thus from one shore to the other, or visiting the enamelled and fertile islands in the stream. St. Louis was reached on the 29th April, amidst shouts from steam-boats and discharges of artillery. An old French sergeant, called *Bellissime*, of the army of Rochambeau, was among the first to salute the Guést. M. Levasseur's chapter concerning St. Louis, is particularly rich in anecdotes and personages. He learned the pregnant fact, that in consequence of the facility and rapidity of communication by steam-boats, New-Orleans and St. Louis are now regarded as neighbouring cities, whose inhabitants are better acquainted, and visit each other oftener, than those of Paris and Bordeaux can do. At Kaskaskia, he mingled with the descendants of the French settlers, and with French Canadians. The following paragraphs contain a graphic delineation of three varieties of the throng:—

"During an instant of profound silence, I cast a glance at the assembly, in the midst of which I found myself, and was struck with astonishment in remarking their diversity and fantastic appearance. Besides men whose dignity of countenance, and patriotic loftiness of expression, readily indicated them to be Americans, were others, whose coarse dresses, vivacity, petulance of movement, and the expansive joy of their visages, strongly recalled to me the peasantry of my

own country; behind these, near to the door, and on the piazza which surrounded the house, stood some immovable, impassible, large, red, half naked figures, leaning on a bow or long rifle: these were the Indians of the neighbourhood."

"Some old revolutionary soldiers advanced from the crowd, and came to shake hands with their old general; while he conversed with them, and heard them, with softened feelings, cite the names of those of their ancient companions in arms, who also fought at Brandywine and Yorktown, but for whom it was not ordained to enjoy the fruits of their toils, nor to unite their voices with that of their grateful country. The persons whom I had remarked as having some likeness in dress and manners to our French peasants, went and came with vivacity in all parts of the hall, or sometimes formed little groups, from the midst of which could be heard, in the French language, the most open and animated expressions of joy."

At a small distance from Kaskaskia was an Indian encampment, which M. Levasseur inspected, and to which belonged a female Indian, called *Mary*, whose adventures and character, as authentically told in the eleventh chapter, surpass in romantic and original attraction, most of the best tales of the *Souvenirs*. The story is too long to be transcribed, and we shall therefore merely report the object of the interview which she anxiously sought, and easily obtained, with General Lafayette.

"On returning to Kaskaskia, we found Mr. de Syon, an amiable young Frenchman, of much intelligence, who, on the invitation of General Lafayette, left Washington city with us, to visit the southern and western states. Like us, he had just made an excursion into the neighbourhood, and appeared quite joyous at the discovery he had made; he had met, in the midst of the forest, at the head of a troop of Indians, a pretty young woman, who spoke French very well, and expressed herself with a grace at which he appeared as much astonished as we were. She had asked him if it was true, that Lafayette was at Kaskaskia, and on his replying affirmatively, she manifested a great desire to see him. 'I always carry with me,' said she to Mr. de Syon, 'a relique, that is very dear to me; I would wish to show it to him; it will prove to him that his name is not less venerated in the midst of our tribes, than among the white Americans, for whom he fought.' And in speaking thus, she drew from her bosom a little pouch, which enclosed a letter carefully wrapped in several pieces of paper. 'It is from Lafayette,' said she; 'he wrote it to my father a long time since, and my father, when he died, left it to me as the most precious thing he possessed.'"

"I spoke to General Lafayette of the meeting with the young Indian girl; and from the desire he manifested to see her, I left the table with Mr. de Syon, at the moment when the company began to exchange patriotic toasts, and we sought a guide to Mary's camp. Chance assisted us wonderfully, in directing us to an Indian of the same tribe that we wished to visit. Conducted by him, we crossed the bridge of Kaskaskia, and notwithstanding the darkness, soon recognised the path and rivulet I had seen in the morning with Mr. Caire. When we were about to enter the enclosure, we were arrested by the fierce barking of two stout dogs, which sprang at, and would probably have bitten us, but for the timely interference of our guide. We arrived at the middle of the camp, which was lighted by a large fire, around which a dozen Indians were squatted, preparing their supper; they received us with cordiality, and, as soon as they were informed of the object of our visit, one of them conducted us to Mary's hut, whom we found sleeping on a bison skin. At the voice of Mr. de Syon, which she recognised, she arose, and listened attentively to the invitation from General Lafayette to come to Kaskaskia; she seemed quite flattered by it, but said, before deciding to accompany us, she wished to mention it to her husband."

Mary's father was a chief of one of the nations who inhabited the shores of the great lakes of the north; he fought, with a hun-

dred of his tribe, under the orders of Lafayette in our revolutionary war, and a considerable time after emigrated to the banks of the river Illinois. Dying, he committed to his daughter the document mentioned above, as a powerful charm to secure for her the protection of the Americans. Mary handed it to M. Levasseur, who says—"I opened the letter, and recognised the signature and hand-writing of General Lafayette. It was dated at head-quarters, Albany, June 1778, after the northern campaign, and addressed to Panisciowa, an Indian chief of one of the Six Nations, to thank him for the courageous manner in which he had served the American cause." The secretary conducted Mary to General Lafayette at Kaskaskia. "He saw and heard her with pleasure, and could not conceal his emotion on recognising his letter, and observing with what religious reverence it had been preserved for nearly half a century in a savage tribe." The daughter of Panisciowa, on her part, was overjoyed at such a meeting,—as singular, indeed, in its circumstances, as any which the invention of a novelist could have devised.

From Kaskaskia, Lafayette returned to the mouth of the Ohio, for the purpose of repairing to Nashville, by the Cumberland river. In the first week of May, they heard the glad greetings of the inhabitants of that town; who left nothing undone to compensate him for this diversion from his course. For a short time the enthusiasm of the crowd was hushed by the loud and touching raptures of a very aged soldier, named *Hagy*, a German, who had come to this country in the same vessel with Lafayette, and served under him during the whole war of the Revolution. Notwithstanding severe infirmities, this veteran had travelled more than fifty leagues, in order to procure a sight of his beloved leader. Among the guests at the public dinner, at which General Jackson presided, was a person of a venerable exterior, Timothy Demundrune, *the first white man who settled in the state of Tennessee*, which has already furnished a President to the Union! General Jackson entertained the Guest and his suite at his residence, *the Hermitage*, and M. Levasseur has fully appreciated the unostentatious comfort and liberality, the plain but abundant cheer, and the manly, unvarnished sense and patriotism, which they tasted under the farmer's roof. The diary of this visit is copious and impressive.

Lafayette re-entered the Ohio on the 7th of May, on his way to Louisville. The steam-boat which carried him was small and crowded, and urged forward with the whole power of the engine. At ten o'clock at night, the son of the General, Mr. George Lafayette, descended from the deck into the ladies' cabin, which was reserved for the Guest and his companions, expressing his surprise, that, in so dark a night, the captain did not lie to, or at least abate the speed of his vessel. At midnight,

when the General and his son were in deep sleep, the boat experienced a startling shock, and stopped short,—confused noises were heard, and then the cries of the captain,—“A snag! a snag!—Lafayette,—the boat.” In the midst of the disorder and darkness, the Guest was dragged to the door of the cabin, lifted to the deck, now scarcely tenable,—so much had the vessel heeled—and instantaneously conveyed to the pinnace, which the captain and two sailors had brought to her side. We must refer our readers to M. Levasseur’s pages, for the agitating particulars of the disaster, and the escape; in the ample narration of which he has exercised much skill. There are two traits, however, so honourable and expressive, that we cannot refrain from reciting them in a few words. M. Levasseur, as soon as he reached the deck, pushed into the middle of the terrified body of passengers assembled there, exclaiming:—Here is General Lafayette!—“Profound silence succeeded to the tumult; a free passage was opened to us; and all those who were ready to spring into the boat, spontaneously checked themselves,—not wishing to attend to their own safety before that of Lafayette was assured;”—*ne voulant pas songer à leur salut avant que celui de Lafayette fût assuré*. It must be noted that the boat was believed to be sinking,—that the distance to the shore was unknown—that the danger and the horror were extreme.—Again—neither the wreck of the boat, nor the loss of twelve hundred dollars which he had on board, afflicted the captain so heavily as the mishap to the *Guest* when in his hands. He observed, in agony, the day following—“never will my fellow-citizens pardon me for the perils to which Lafayette was exposed last night.” Had the *Guest* perished, he never would have been pardoned; but, with the rescue, his bitter mortification and grief more than expiated, in public opinion, any degree of imprudence with which he could be charged; and for which, in fact, no other motive could be supposed than honest zeal. The sensation which the tidings of this accident excited over the whole country, illustrated also the keenness of the universal solicitude for the welfare of Lafayette.

Another steam-boat, the *Paragon*, of large size and remarkable elegance, which was passing down to New Orleans, turned about, exultingly received the stranded crowd of passengers, with such portion of their effects as could be recovered, and bore them to Louisville.

“By a very lucky circumstance for us,” says M. Levasseur, “one of our companions in misfortune, Mr. Neilson, was one of the owners of this vessel, and hastened to put it at the disposal of the Tennessee committee, to transport General Lafayette, generously taking on himself all the chances of another misfortune and the loss of insurance.”

“The entertainments given to General Lafayette at Louisville, were marred by the stormy weather; but the expression of public feeling was not the less

pleasing to him. The idea of the danger he had incurred, excited in all breasts a tender solicitude, which every one testified with that simplicity and truth of expression only appertaining to freemen. In the midst of the joy occasioned by the arrival of Lafayette, the citizens of Louisville did not forget the noble disinterestedness of Mr. Neilson, to whom they presented the strongest proofs of gratitude. His name was coupled with that of the general, in the toasts they gave at the public dinner. The insurance company declared that the Paragon should remain insured without an additional charge, and the city presented him a magnificent piece of plate, on which was engraved the thanks of the Tennesseans and Kentuckians for the generous manner in which he had risked the greater part of his fortune that the national guest should receive no delay nor inconvenience in his journey."

The General's next movements were to Frankfort, Lexington, thence to Cincinnati,—Vevay,—Pittsburg,—Erie,—Buffalo,—Niagara,—Rochester,—Albany,—Boston. Our author's itinerary, of all this route, abounds with fine incidents, able delineations, and judicious reflections. *New America* emulated *Old America*, and lavished courtesies, with proofs of congeniality and advancement which the Guest might have doubted as illusions of his fancy and wishes, if they had been less striking and direct.

It was on the 15th of June, that he re-appeared in Boston. In less than four months he had accomplished a journey of more than five thousand miles, such as we have cursorily traced, through sixteen states, in each of which the whole population had clung devoutly to his skirts. His age was then sixty-seven.

"The plan of this journey," says M. Levasseur, "had been ably and skilfully contrived by Mr. M'Lean, the postmaster-general, General Bernard, and Mr. George Lafayette; and had been followed with a precision and exactness, that could only have resulted from the unanimity of feeling which animated both the people and the magistrates of the different states; but, during so long a journey, amidst so many dangers, how many accidents might not have happened, one of which, by delaying us only a few days, would have deranged all our calculations, and yet our good luck was such, that we never lost a moment of the time so exactly portioned out, and arrived on the precise day fixed upon."

All was nearly miraculous. None of our readers who look into the newspapers, can have wholly forgotten how the anniversary for which the Guest practised this signal punctuality, was celebrated by the Bostonians. The secretary has well translated the apposite and eloquent discourse which Mr. Webster delivered on Bunker's Hill, and has circumstantially portrayed the whole glittering pageant. The main prospect was this:—

"The procession marched to a vast amphitheatre constructed on the north-east side of the hill, in the centre of which rose a platform, from which the orator of the day could make his voice heard by the fifteen thousand auditors placed in the amphitheatre; all the officers and soldiers of the revolution, some of whom had arrived from distant places to assist at this solemnity, were seated in front of the platform; the survivors of Bunker's Hill forming a small group before them. At the head of these, in a chair, was the only surviving general of the revolution, General Lafayette; and immediately behind, two thousand ladies, in brilliant dresses, appeared to form a guard of honour to the venerable men, and to defend them against the tumultuous approaches of the crowd; behind the la-

dies, were more than ten thousand persons, seated on the numerous benches, placed in a semicircular form on the side of the hill, the summit of which was crowded by more than thirty thousand spectators, who, although beyond the reach of the orator's voice, maintained the most perfect silence.

While at Boston, Lafayette accepted invitations from the states of Maine, New-Hampshire and Vermont, where his presence was impatiently coveted, and another from the city of New-York, to lend his auspices to her commemoration of the anniversary of Independence. Accordingly, on the 22d June, he set out for the former states, which he traversed at the average of eleven miles an hour; inhaling the same pure incense, clouds of which had risen and enveloped him from all the other divisions of the Union. On the 3d July, he was again in New-York, and the day following, the anniversary was personified and hallowed anew, as it were, in the Guest. He made another short sojourn in Philadelphia, in the middle of July; accompanied a committee from Chester to Lancaster; thence went to Baltimore by the way of Port Deposit and Havre de Grace; reached Washington on the 1st of August, whence he made excursions, along with President Adams, to the residence of Mr. Monroe, in Virginia, and to Monticello; and here he saw the three Ex-Presidents together. The 6th September—his birthday—was distinguished at Washington by a splendid banquet in the President's mansion, and various marks of respect on the part of the municipal authorities and the people. The next day he embarked for France, on board the frigate *Brandywine*, which was placed at his disposal, for any port of Europe, or term of navigation. After his landing, on the 3d October, at Havre, the midshipmen of the frigate transmitted to him a costly silver urn, "as a testimonial of individual esteem, and collective admiration."

We have merely indicated stages in the latter part of his travels. M. Levasseur treats it as comprehensively and instructively as the other. His concluding chapters show that the public interest in Lafayette suffered no diminution—they force us to acknowledge perennial freshness, an unwearied vigilance, an inexhaustible fertility, in the spirit of gratitude and veneration. Nothing of the kind that spontaneous *loyalty*—as the word is understood in Europe—ever attempted for any monarch, can be compared with these prolonged national transports and obeisances; and the private offerings corresponded with the public. The classical student must recollect the exhortation of the Spartan at the Olympic games, to Diagoras of Rhodes, whose two sons won the palm, or crown, which he had himself carried off in his youth—"Die, die now, Diagoras, for thou canst not be a god"—meaning that he could not become greater—that he had nothing more to desire, on earth. Any European might have said as

much to Lafayette, when he touched the shore of his native country, on his return from such an interchange of sympathies, and such a succession of triumphs, before which those of the Greek festivals dwindle into insignificance. Lord Bacon has included it in his aphorisms—that he who has a wife and children has given *hostages to futurity*. We may observe that the country which has manifested such feelings, and proclaimed such principles, as the Americans poured forth to their Guest,—which has solemnized in the face of the world such rites in the name of Independence and Liberty,—has thus pledged itself to all coming ages, for a perpetual observance of order and justice, and a staunch tenaciousness of freedom and dignity. The statements in these volumes imply, or rather demonstrate, abundance, comfort, improvement of manners and condition, elevation and vivacity of character, in every district of our Union—an extraordinary diffusion of those blessings: and they refute the charge of boorishness, asperity, unsociable and uncourtly habits, which has been so often preferred against the republicans of America. The homage of these communities to Lafayette, was, for the most part, as refined and delicate as it was generous and durable;—it had not those qualities, only among the opulent and best educated classes; it was paid in some of its most ingenious and beautiful forms, by the mass of the nation, and the humblest individuals.

ART. XI.—*Memoir, Correspondence, and Miscellanies, from the papers of Thomas Jefferson*. Edited by THOMAS JEFFERSON RANDOLPH: Charlottesville: 1829. 4 vols. 8vo.

WE know not that there has ever fallen in our way, such food for various reflection, as is offered in these remarkable and interesting volumes. In most works, whether the perusal be light or careful, the reader is satisfied to receive the impressions of the writer; to expect the portion of anecdote or imagination, of fact, argument, or opinion, which he intends to communicate; and to acknowledge his obligations, and form his decisions of excellence or inferiority, as his own feelings or views may correspond with what he has read: his great object is to imbue himself with the ideas of the writer, rather than to indulge his own speculations; to court the excitement which genius offers to him, by its brilliant and captivating inventions; and to lay up the stores of incident and wise conclusion, which are the offspring of research and thought. But we have been struck, in the perusal of these volumes, with their constant and irresistible tenden-

cy to lead away the mind from their immediate subject, into a long train of speculation, on topics not more numerous than interesting, yet really embracing a vast field of inquiry and opinion. They contain the stores, gradually increasing through a long life, which were heaped together by a mind eminently contemplative, and under circumstances which presented at one time the richest scope for variety of incident, and at another for calm and multiplied reflection. For nearly half a century, the life of the writer was the story of one constantly upon the stage, to bear a conspicuous share in the great drama of the times; and for the residue, it was the retirement and repose which calm the thought as much by the entire change, as the actual seclusion, and which as they are accompanied with no further and unsatisfied cravings of ambition, are free from that morbid and feverish sensibility, which so often renders the hermit the victim of inward tumults, as incessant and enslaving as the actual turbulence of life. It was not the fancied seclusion of Cicero, who stole an uncertain hour to indulge with a few friends, in his little island of the Fibrenus, visions of happier times, when virtue, and philosophy, and eloquence, and wisdom should sway mankind, while in fact they were themselves bustling leaders in scenes of political strife, that absorbed their thoughts and actions, and scarcely allowed this casual and hasty relaxation. It was not the seclusion of Horace, who shut out the *fumum et opes beatæ Romæ*, only to bind uninterrupted the garland of ease and pleasure round his brow, to smile at the folly which could find pleasure in incessant toil, and to win from the kindness of the muse, the fame which he would have despised, if purchased at the cost of labour or of care. It was not the patient thoughtful seclusion of Newton, who added each pebble which he collected on the shore of truth, to a single but lofty monument of science. It was not the self-deceiving seclusion of Bolingbroke, whose anxious thoughts forever turned to one country, while he affected to laugh at the weakness he himself unconsciously displayed;* who believed or boasted that he enjoyed unmoved tranquillity of mind, while he forever sighed to pursue again that brilliant career of eloquence, of genius, of wit, of fashion, and of power, the recollection of which alone consoled him, amid the loveliest scenes of rural peace in a foreign land. Even more than all these, it was not the visionary seclusion of Rousseau, commenced in vanity and disgust—continued in querulous and incessant sighs after that singular notoriety and flattery, which were the homage of those who paid them, more to the fashion of the day, than to himself—and leaving as its sole memorial, pages of eloquence,

* A wise man looks on himself as a citizen of the world; and when you ask him where his country lies, points, like Anaxagoras, with his finger to the heavens.—Reflections on Exile. 105.

of passion, and of worldly strife, which are the effect of other feelings than those that spring from real retirement. But it was the chosen seclusion of one who had well filled a noble part in public life, from which he was prepared and anxious to withdraw; who sought it to gratify warm affections, and to enjoy his well-earned fame; who desired to turn those thoughts which had been necessarily restrained and limited, to the investigation of all the sources of human happiness and enjoyment; who felt himself surrounded, in his fellow-citizens, by a circle of affectionate friends, and had not to attribute to a rude expulsion from the theatre of ambition, his sincere devotion to the pursuits of agriculture and philosophy; and who, receiving to the last moment of existence, continued proofs of unaffected admiration and regard, which penetrated his remote retirement, devoted the evening of his days to record those various reflections, for which the materials had been collected and treasured up, unknown to himself, in the long and various voyage of his life. Hence it is, that there is scarcely a topic on which we desire to dwell, that is not here brought before us—all the bustle of politics, of wars, and of revolutions; the virtues, the failings, the actions, and the characters of men, the most illustrious of their day; the discoveries of philosophy and science; the development and trophies of genius, of art, and of taste; the cultivation of warm and generous affections; the truths of religion and morality; the devices of the ambitious, the dogmatic, the hypocritical, and the faithless—all are found scattered through the writings of one who witnessed two revolutions, who lived through eventful times, and to whom were given honours and length of days, beyond the ordinary meed of mankind.

Mr. Jefferson had scarcely reached his majority, when he entered upon that public career which he continued to pursue for nearly half a century, and which embraced three distinct and important portions—that of the revolution of his own country; his residence in Europe; and his participation in the government and politics of the United States, under the new constitution formed in his absence.

Among the political leaders of America, no one was more conspicuous for his consistent and undeviating republicanism, than Mr. Jefferson; as it marked the latest, so it prompted the earliest of his actions. He had been but a short time in the legislature of Virginia, before he saw, in the course pursued by the British government, a systematic design against all the colonies, and the necessity, if this was to be resisted, of a firm, united, and simultaneous opposition. Associating himself with some of the bolder spirits of his state, and fearing in the old and leading members, a want of forwardness and zeal which the times required, the excellent system of committees of correspondence,

the forerunner of a general congress, was devised and arranged at a tavern in Richmond, and promptly carried into effect, before the royal governor, lord Dunmore, had an opportunity to oppose and suppress it. The merit of this great preliminary measure, has been asserted on behalf of Massachusetts, a province truly bold and patriotic in the revolutionary struggle, but it seems to be sufficiently established, that the plan adopted in that colony, was limited to a correspondence among its several towns, and that the design of a general communication between the legislatures of the different colonies, originated with the little conclave at the Raleigh tavern. It was followed, as was expected and intended, by a general desire on the part of the colonies for a congress; and the legislature of Virginia proceeded at once to choose delegates to that body. Mr. Jefferson being prevented from attending by sudden illness, was still anxious that a decided tone should be assumed on the occasion, and that the representatives of Virginia, as a large and influential colony, should feel themselves fully sustained by their constituents, however bold the course they might think it best for the united provinces to adopt. He therefore sent on by express, a draught, hastily prepared, of what he thought might be given in instruction to the delegates who should be appointed. It was laid on the table as the proposition of a member, who was prevented from attendance by sickness on the road; "tamer sentiments, however," he remarks himself, "were preferred, and, I believe, wisely preferred; the leap I proposed being too long, as yet, for the mass of our citizens. The distance between these and the instructions actually adopted, is of some curiosity, however, as it shows the inequality of pace with which we moved, and the prudence required to keep front and rear together. My creed had been formed on unsheathing the sword at Lexington." Yet it was a document much read, and being generally approved, the legislature caused it to be printed in a pamphlet, under the title of "*A summary view of the rights of the British colonies.*" In that form it soon found its way to England, where the opposition took it up, as well suited to their views. Mr. Burke made some alterations in its language, and it obtained for its author, who was soon known, the reputation of an able party writer, and what was then thought, perhaps, the dangerous honour, of being named in a bill of attainder, which was commenced, though afterwards suppressed, in one of the houses of Parliament.

These circumstances were sufficient to indicate the tone Mr. Jefferson would employ, when he took his seat in the continental Congress. He assumed at once the bold and decided ground, that no partial concessions of right were to be accepted, but that

the accommodation between the two countries must be made on the most broad and liberal basis.

"I am sincerely one of those," he wrote in the summer of 1775, to a friend who adhered to the royal cause; "I am sincerely one of those who still wish for reunion with the parent country, and would rather be in dependence on Great Britain, properly limited, than on any nation upon earth, or than on no nation. But I am one of those, too, who, rather than submit to the rights of legislating for us, assumed by the British parliament, and which late experience has shown they will so cruelly exercise, would lend a hand to sink the whole island in the ocean". . . "Believe me, dear sir," he adds in a subsequent letter, "there is not in the British empire a man who more cordially loves a union with Great Britain than I do. But, by the God that made me, I will cease to exist before I yield to a connexion on such terms as the parliament propose; and in this I think I speak the sentiments of America. We want neither inducement nor power to declare and assert a separation. It is will alone which is wanting, and that is growing apace under the fostering hand of our king. One bloody campaign will probably decide everlastingly on our future course; I am sorry to find a bloody campaign is decided on. If our winds and waters should not combine to rescue our shores from slavery, and general Howe's reinforcement should arrive in safety, we have hopes he will be inspired to come out of Boston and take another drubbing; and we must drub him soundly before the sceptered tyrant will know we are not mere brutes, to crouch under his hand, and kiss the rod with which he deigns to scourge us."

The spirit thus flagrant in the leaders, was not long dormant in the mass of the community, and the desire of independence had even become general and pervading, while some, not usually wanting either in patriotism or wisdom, but less quick in perceiving the emergency and necessities of the times, would rather have kissed yet a little longer the rod that scourged them, in the vain hope that it might be exchanged for a wand of peace. When, therefore, on the 7th of June 1776, the delegates of Virginia moved, in obedience to the instructions of their constituents, that Congress should declare the united colonies free and independent states, a debate arose which lasted for several days, and called forth on each side the talents and eloquence of the leading delegates. Of this debate these volumes afford, for the first time, a correct account, in actual notes of the discussion, made by Mr. Jefferson at the time. The names of the principal speakers are recorded, but, perhaps unfortunately, the remarks are all thrown into one mass, without ascribing to the members their respective arguments.

"It appearing from these debates, that the colonies of New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina, were not yet matured for falling from the parent stem, but that they were fast advancing to that state, it was thought most prudent to wait awhile for them, and to postpone the final decision to July 1st: but, that this might occasion as little delay as possible, a committee was appointed to prepare a Declaration of Independence. The committee were, John Adams, Dr. Franklin, Roger Sherman, Robert R. Livingston, and myself. Committees were also appointed, at the same time, to prepare a plan of confederation for the colonies, and to state the terms proper to be proposed for foreign alliance. The committee for drawing the Declaration of Independence, desired me to do it. It was accordingly done, and being approved by them, I reported it to the House, on Friday, the 28th of June, when it was read

ed itself into a committee of the whole, and resumed the consideration of the original motion made by the delegates of Virginia, which, being again debated through the day, was carried in the affirmative by the votes of New-Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, New-Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia. South Carolina and Pennsylvania voted against it. Delaware had but two members present, and they were divided. The delegates from New-York, declared they were for it themselves, and were assured their constituents were for it; but that their instructions having been drawn near a twelvemonth before, when reconciliation was still the general object, they were enjoined by them to do nothing which should impede that object. They therefore thought themselves not justifiable in voting on either side, and asked leave to withdraw from the question; which was given them. The committee rose and reported their resolution to the House. Mr. Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, then requested the determination might be put off to the next day, as he believed his colleagues, though they disapproved of the resolution, would then join in it for the sake of unanimity. The ultimate question, whether the House would agree to the resolution of the committee, was accordingly postponed to the next day, when it was again moved, and South Carolina concurred in voting for it. In the mean time, a third member had come post from the Delaware counties, and turned the vote of that colony in favour of the resolution. Members of a different sentiment attending that morning from Pennsylvania also, her vote was changed, so that the whole twelve colonies who were authorized to vote at all, gave their voices for it; and, within a few days, the convention of New-York approved of it, and thus supplied the void occasioned by the withdrawing of her delegates from the vote."

As soon as the resolutions in favour of independence had been passed, the declaration already reported was taken into consideration. It had been prepared entirely by Mr. Jefferson, who had communicated it first to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams separately,* and received from them two or three alterations, merely verbal; and afterwards to the whole committee, by whom it was reported unaltered to Congress. In this body, though received with general approbation, it was modified in two particulars not unimportant. The people of Great Britain had been included, with the legislature and sovereign, in the expressions of indignation which it was thought their co-operation and approval rendered just, and which at least were fully warranted by their subsequent conduct throughout the war; but there were at that time, some in Congress whose minds seem to have been haunted with the idea, that there were in England friends of the revolted colonies, who might be lost by an unqualified censure of the whole British people, and in deference to their scruples, such expressions were modified or omitted. A clause too had been introduced, strongly reprobating the sanction and even forcible encouragement of the slave trade by Great Britain; but as some of the southern states had not ceased to prosecute that traffic, and many even of the northern merchants were considerably in-

* This circumstance, from a failure of memory, naturally gave rise to the idea which Mr. Adams afterwards expressed, that Mr. Jefferson and himself formed a sub-committee, to which the preparation of this document was referred by the committee of five.

terested in it; a becoming complaisance removed what might occasion some unkindness of feeling, and certainly was not necessary, where there existed so many other grounds for complaint and opposition. With these and a few more changes, chiefly of expression, the declaration, as reported, was agreed to by the house, and signed on the 4th of July by every member present except Mr. Dickinson; on the 2d of August, another copy, engrossed on parchment for durability, was signed by the members. The circumstance which has frequently excited remark, that there are signatures affixed of persons not actually present on the 4th of July, is thus explained by Mr. Jefferson in a letter to Mr. Wells.

"The subsequent signatures of members who were not then present, and some of them not yet in office, is easily explained, if we observe who they were; to wit, that they were of New-York and Pennsylvania. New-York did not sign till the 15th, because it was not till the 9th, (five days after the general signature) that their Convention authorized them to do so. The Convention of Pennsylvania, learning that it had been signed by a minority only of their delegates, named a new delegation on the 20th, leaving out Mr. Dickinson, who had refused to sign, Willing and Humphreys, who had withdrawn, re-appointing the three members who had signed, Morris, who had not been present, and five new ones, to wit, Rush, Clymer, Smith, Taylor, and Ross; and Morris, and the five new members were permitted to sign, because it manifested the assent of their full delegation, and the express will of their Convention, which might have been doubted on the former signature of a minority only. Why the signature of Thornton, of New-Hampshire, was permitted so late as the 4th of November, I cannot now say; but undoubtedly for some particular reason, which we should find to have been good, had it been expressed."

As soon as the Declaration of Independence was promulgated, the war was prosecuted by Congress with uninterrupted energy and zeal; many who had before wavered, became steady supporters of the new government, and every effort was made to increase and to bring out the resources of the country to meet the emergency. This was not rendered the less difficult during the war, by the circumstance that the executive, as well as legislative business, was vested in the same numerous assembly; so that the latter was continually interrupted by the details of execution, and the former imperfectly transacted, from the many and various hands to which it was confided; in addition to these objections, the union of the two powers required the constant session of the legislature, or the suspension of all acts of government. To remedy this, Mr. Jefferson proposed the appointment of an executive committee, consisting of a member from every state; but though it entered upon its duties with every prospect of utility and success, the members composing it afterwards quarrelled, split into two parties, abandoned their post, and left the government without any visible head during the adjournment of Congress.

"We have since seen the same thing take place, in the Directory of France; and I believe it will forever take place in any Executive consisting of a pluri-

ty. Our plan, I believe, best combines wisdom and practicability, by providing a plurality of Counsellors, but a single Arbiter for ultimate decision. I was in France when we heard of the schism, and separation of our committee, and, speaking with Dr. Franklin of this singular disposition of men to quarrel, and divide into parties, he gave his sentiments as usual, by way of apologue. He mentioned the Eddystone light-house, in the British channel, as being built on a rock, in the mid-channel, totally inaccessible in winter, from the boisterous character of that sea, in that season; that, therefore, for the two keepers employed to keep up the lights, all provisions for the winter, were necessarily carried to them in autumn, as they could never be visited again till the return of the milder season; that, on the first practicable day in the spring, a boat put off to them with fresh supplies. The boatmen met at the door one of the keepers, and accosted him with a 'how goes it friend?' 'very well.' 'How is your companion?' 'I do not know.' 'Don't know? Is not he here?' 'I can't tell.' 'Have not you seen him to-day?' 'No.' 'When did you see him?' 'Not since last fall.' 'You have killed him?' 'Not I, indeed.' They were about to lay hold of him, as having certainly murdered his companion; but he desired them to go up stairs and examine for themselves. They went up, and there found the other keeper. They had quarrelled, it seems, soon after being left there, had divided into two parties, assigned the cares below to one, and those above to the other, and had never spoken to or seen one another since."

Another cause of disagreement arose from the difficulty of properly defining the weight which each state was to have in the confederation, and the corresponding proportion of its obligation of aid to the general cause. No actual census appears to have been made, so as to ascertain the exact population, and indeed Congress refused to place on their journals, the estimates on which they formed their apportionments of taxation. These estimates were made in the most informal manner; the members being merely called on to declare, at their seats, the number of inhabitants which they conjectured to be in their state, and the secretary of Congress then calculating the corresponding portion of the sum to be raised, which alone was entered in the journals. On this basis, Mr. Jefferson states the population in 1775, at two millions four hundred and forty-eight thousand persons of every condition; and ten years after, in 1785, on a calculation founded on facts in some degree more certain, he estimates the number at two millions six hundred and thirty-nine thousand three hundred inhabitants, of every condition, in the thirteen states, including seven hundred thousand slaves. In apportioning the money under this last estimate, Congress agreed that five slaves should be counted as three freemen only, a principle which had before given rise to very considerable debate, and which at a still later period occasioned much interesting discussion.

The same cause, that of peculiar interest and situation, produced the similar difficulty of a proportionate vote on the measures submitted to Congress; while those states possessing a large population, contended for a corresponding weight in the decision of all measures, the smaller ones maintained their independent character, and the federative principle, by which their

sovereignty, rather than their population, was to be respected. The present volumes contain a summary report of one of the debates that occurred on this subject, taken by Mr. Jefferson at the time.

These, and a thousand other questions less general and abstract, gave to the first Congress more occasions of animated debate and conflicting sentiment, than we have been accustomed to attribute to that august and venerable assemblage. Without notes of their arguments, and possessing merely the formal record of their decisions, we have learnt to regard them with a becoming reverence, which is due from those who are enjoying the result of their wisdom, their fortitude, and their self-devotion.

The revolutionary services of Mr. Jefferson, however, were by no means limited to the affairs of the Union. In the intervals when he held no seat in Congress, he exerted himself strenuously in the government of Virginia, not merely to overthrow completely the power and authority of the mother country, but to introduce, while the occasion offered so favourable an opportunity, changes in the laws and constitution, founded on the great and just principles of the social contract. He was supported, indeed, by able and faithful coadjutors; but the leading and most important laws were prepared by him, and carried chiefly by his own efforts.

The first of these measures was to introduce a bill preventing the further importation of slaves, which was passed, and to prepare and arrange a system, of which that was the precursor, for their eventual emancipation, by conferring freedom on all born after a certain day, and deportation at a certain age. He found the public mind, at that time, unprepared for so great a step, and though he looked upon the freedom of the blacks as an event certain and inevitable, and one that was to be gradually and wisely met, he did not deem it prudent to urge it on, when there was little chance of success.

"It was seen," he remarks, "that an unsuccessful effort, as too often happens, would only rivet still closer the chains of bondage, and retard the moment of delivery to this oppressed description of men. What a stupendous, what an incomprehensible machine is man! who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and, the next moment, be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow men a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery, than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose. But we must await, with patience, the workings of an overruling Providence, and hope that he is preparing the deliverance of these, our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full, when their groans shall have involved heaven itself in darkness, doubtless, a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and by diffusing light and liberality among their oppressors, or, at length, by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to the things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of a blind fatality."

His next great measure was the abolition of entails; this broke up the hereditary and high-handed aristocracy of Virginia, which,

under the fostering care of the British government, had been formed into a patrician order, unknown to the other provinces, distinguished by the splendour and luxury of their establishments, and devoted to the interests and will of the crown.

To complete that equality among the citizens, to which this measure led, and which was absolutely essential to the maintenance of republican institutions, his next step was the abolition of the rights of primogeniture, and the equal partition of inheritances among all the children.

The overthrow of the church establishment, which had been craftily woven into the political system, as in England, was a task effected with less ease. It was, however, accomplished by degrees, and by the continued and untiring efforts of himself and his friends for several sessions.

To these four cardinal measures, the very basis of republican security, are to be added his labours in revising and reducing to system, the various and irregular enactments of the colonial government and the mother country; in preparing a plan of general education; in establishing religious freedom, in all the latitude of reason and right; in ascertaining and defining crimes and punishments; and in maintaining the government, and fulfilling with untiring activity and zeal the duties of the executive office, when the state was invaded at once on the north and south, ravaged by the troops of Tarleton and Arnold, and he himself made the object of particular pursuit. On these events it would be useful to dwell, and there is much in the present volumes which would increase the interest of such a detail; but we are admonished by what yet remains unnoticed, to hasten to other periods of Mr. Jefferson's life, and must close the story of his revolutionary career, by a few extracts from those passages in which he depicts the characters of some of the illustrious men who acted with him.

The personages of whom he speaks, as most remarkable in his own state, while he was in the legislature there, were his friend and tutor, Wythe; his steady coadjutor, Mason; Pendleton, not unfrequently, his opponent; his bold and eloquent colleague, Henry; and Carr, his accomplished and spirited relation.

"No man ever left behind him a character more venerated than *George Wythe*. His virtue was of the purest tint; his integrity inflexible, and his justice exact; of warm patriotism, and, devoted as he was to liberty, and the natural and equal rights of man, he might truly be called the Cato of his country, without the avarice of the Roman; for a more disinterested person never lived. Temperance and regularity in all his habits, gave him general good health, and his unaffected modesty and suavity of manners, endeared him to every one. He was of easy elocution, his language chaste, methodical in the arrangement of his matter, learned and logical in the use of it, and of great urbanity in debate; not quick of apprehension, but, with a little time, profound in penetration, and sound in conclusion. In his philosophy he was firm, and neither troubling, nor perhaps trusting any one with his religious creed, he left the world to the con-

clusion, that that religion must be good which could produce a life of such exemplary virtue."

"I had many occasional and strenuous coadjutors in debate, and one, most steadfast, able and zealous; who was himself a host. This was *George Mason*, a man of the first order of wisdom among those who acted on the theatre of the revolution, of expansive mind, profound judgment, cogent in argument, learned in the lore of our former constitution, and earnest for the republican change on democratic principles. His elocution was neither flowing nor smooth; but his language was strong, his manner most impressive, and strengthened by a dash of biting cynicism, when provocation made it seasonable."

"Mr. *Pendleton* was zealously attached to ancient establishments, and taken all in all, was the ablest man in debate I have ever met with. He had not indeed the poetical fancy of Mr. *Henry*, his sublime imagination, his lofty and overwhelming diction; but he was cool, smooth and persuasive; his language flowing, chaste, and embellished; his conceptions quick, acute, and full of resource; never vanquished; for if he lost the main battle, he returned upon you, and regained so much of it as to make it a drawn one, by dexterous manoeuvres, skirmishes in detail, and the recovery of small advantages, which, little singly, were important all together. You never knew when you were clear of him, but were harassed by his perseverance, until the patience was worn down of all who had less of it than himself. Add to this, that he was one of the most virtuous and benevolent of men, the kindest friend, the most amiable and pleasant of companions, which ensured a favourable reception to whatever came from him."

"I well remember the pleasure expressed in the countenance and conversation of the members generally, on the *debut* of Mr. *Carr*, and the hopes they conceived as well from the talents as the patriotism it manifested. But he died within two months after, and in him we lost a powerful fellow-labourer. His character was of a high order. A spotless integrity, sound judgment, handsome imagination, enriched by education and reading, quick and clear in his conceptions, of correct and ready elocution, impressing every hearer with the sincerity of the heart from which it flowed. His firmness was inflexible in whatever he thought was right: but when no moral principle stood in the way, never had man more of the milk of human kindness, of indulgence, of softness, of pleasantry in conversation and conduct. The number of his friends, and the warmth of their affection, were proofs of his worth, and of their estimate of it."

Of four prominent men in Congress, the following account will prove interesting:—

"Mr. *Madison* came into the House in 1776, a new member and young; which circumstances, concurring with his extreme modesty, prevented his venturing himself in debate before his removal to the Council of State, in November 77. From thence he went to Congress, then consisting of few members. Trained in these successive schools, he acquired a habit of self-possession, which placed at ready command the rich resources of his luminous and discriminating mind, and of his extensive information, and rendered him the first of every assembly afterwards, of which he became a member. Never wandering from his subject into vain declamation, but pursuing it closely, in language pure, classical, and copious; soothing always the feelings of his adversaries, by civilities and softness of expression, he rose to the eminent station which he held in the great National Convention of 1787; and in that of Virginia, which followed, he sustained the new constitution in all its parts, bearing off the palm against the logic of George Mason, and the fervid declamation of Mr. *Henry*. With these consummate powers, were united a pure and spotless virtue, which no calumny has ever attempted to sully. Of the powers and polish of his pen, and of the wisdom of his administration in the highest office of the nation, I need say nothing. They have spoken, and will forever speak for themselves."

"Dr. *Franklin* had many political enemies, as every character must, which, with decision enough to have opinions, has energy and talent to give them effect on the feelings of those of the adversary opinion. These enmities were chiefly in

Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. In the former, they were merely of the proprietary party. In the latter, they did not commence till the Revolution, and then sprung chiefly from personal animosities, which, spreading by little and little, became at length of some extent. As to the charge of subservience to France, besides the evidence of his friendly colleagues, two years of my own service with him at Paris, daily visits, and the most friendly and confidential conversations, convince me it had not a shadow of foundation. He possessed the confidence of that government in the highest degree, inasmuch, that it may truly be said, that they were more under his influence, than he under theirs. The fact is, that his temper was so amiable and conciliatory, his conduct so rational, never urging impossibilities, or even things unreasonably inconvenient to them; in short, so moderate and attentive to their difficulties, as well as our own, that what his enemies called subserviency, I saw was only that reasonable disposition, which, sensible that advantages are not all to be on one side, yielding what is just and liberal, is the more certain of obtaining liberality and justice. Mutual confidence produces, of course, mutual influence; and this was all which subsisted between Dr. Franklin and the government of France."

"Of *Samuel Adams*, I can say that he was truly a great man, wise in council, fertile in resources, immovable in his purposes, and had, I think, a greater share than any other member, in advising and directing our measures in the Northern war. As a speaker, he could not be compared with his living colleague and namesake, whose deep conceptions, nervous style, and undaunted firmness, made him truly our bulwark in debate. But Mr. Samuel Adams, although not of fluent elocution, was so rigorously logical, so clear in his views, abundant in good sense, and master always of his subject, that he commanded the most profound attention whenever he rose in an assembly, by which the froth of declamation was heard with the most sovereign contempt."

"You know the opinion I formerly entertained of my friend Mr. *John Adams*. I afterwards saw proofs which convicted him of a degree of vanity and of a blindness to it of which no germ then appeared. He is vain, irritable, and a bad calculator of the force and probable effect of the motives which govern men. This is all the ill which can possibly be said of him. He is as disinterested as the being who made him: he is profound in his views, and accurate in his judgment, except where knowledge of the world is necessary to form a judgment. He is so amiable, that I pronounce you will love him, if ever you become acquainted with him. He would be, as he was, a great man in Congress."

On the 6th of August, 1784, Mr. Jefferson arrived at Paris, as minister plenipotentiary of the United States, and joined with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, in a commission for negotiating treaties of commerce with foreign nations. He remained abroad until the 23d of November, 1789. The efforts of the commissioners in forming commercial treaties, do not appear to have been very successful, and indeed after some reflection and experience, it was thought better not to urge them too strongly, but to leave such regulations to flow voluntarily from the amicable dispositions and the evident interests of the several nations. This necessity is not perhaps to be so much regretted, from any loss sustained in consequence of it to the United States, as from the circumstance, that it suffered to pass unimproved so fortunate an opportunity of introducing into the law of nations, those honourable, humane, and just stipulations with regard to privateering, blockades, contraband, and freedom of fisheries, which, at the suggestion of Dr. Franklin, the commissioners had been in-

structed to introduce, if possible, into all the conventions they might form.

Since the treaty of peace, the English government had been particularly distant and unaccommodating in its relations with the United States; but at one period of Mr. Jefferson's residence abroad, it was supposed that there were some symptoms of better disposition shown towards us. On this account he left Paris, and on his arrival at London, agreed with Mr. Adams on a very summary form of treaty, proposing "an exchange of citizenship for our citizens, our ships, and our productions generally, except as to office." At the usual presentation, however, to the king and queen, both Mr. Adams and himself were received in the most ungracious manner, and they at once discovered, that the ulcerations of mind in that quarter, left nothing to be expected on the particular subject of the visit. A few vague and ineffectual conferences followed, after which he returned to Paris. He did not, however, cease to keep a watchful eye on the proceedings and conduct of the British nation, and his letters to the department of foreign affairs contain many facts with regard to it, and many instances of the jealous and unfriendly feeling, which sprung from, and long survived, the misfortunes of her colonial conflict.

Of the personal character of the monarch, Mr. Jefferson's estimate is certainly not very high, and the account he gives of the conduct and dispositions of his son, the present king, as it agrees in the main with other accounts—as it was written solely for private and confidential information—and as it could be founded on no party or local views, may serve to confirm the similar relations current in those times.

"As the character of the Prince of Wales is becoming interesting, I have endeavoured to learn what it truly is. This is less difficult in his case, than in that of other persons of his rank, because he has taken no pains to hide himself from the world. The information I most rely on, is from a person here with whom I am intimate, who divides his time between Paris and London, an Englishman by birth, of truth, sagacity, and science. He is of a circle, when in London, which has had good opportunities of knowing the Prince; but he has, also, himself, had special occasions of verifying their information, by his own personal observation. He happened, when last in London, to be invited to a dinner of three persons. The Prince came by chance, and made the fourth. He ate half a leg of mutton; did not taste of small dishes, because small; drank Champagne and Burgundy as small beer during dinner, and Bordeaux after dinner, as the rest of the company. Upon the whole, he ate as much as the other three, and drank about two bottles of wine without seeming to feel it. My informant sat next him, and being till then unknown to the Prince, personally, (though not by character) and lately from France, the Prince confined his conversation almost entirely to him. Observing to the Prince that he spoke French without the least foreign accent, the Prince told him, that when very young, his father had put only French servants about him, and that it was to that circumstance he owed his pronunciation. He led him from this to give an account of his education, the total of which was the learning a little Latin. He has not a single element of Mathematics, of Natural or Moral Philosophy, or of any other science on earth, nor has the society he has kept been such as to supply the void

of education. It has been that of the lowest, the most illiterate and profligate persons of the kingdom, without choice of rank or mind, and with whom the subjects of conversation are only horses, or drinking-matches, and in terms the most vulgar. The young nobility who begin by associating with him, soon leave him, disgusted with the insupportable profligacy of his society; and Mr. Fox, who has been supposed his favourite, and not over-nice in the choice of company, would never keep his company habitually. In fact, he never associated with a man of sense. He has not a single idea of justice, morality, religion, or of the rights of men, or any anxiety for the opinion of the world. He carries that indifference for fame so far, that he would probably not be hurt were he to lose his throne, provided he could be assured of having always meat, drink, horses, and women. In the article of women, nevertheless, he is become more correct, since his connexion with Mrs. Fitzherbert, who is an honest and worthy woman: he is even less crapulous than he was. He had a fine person, but it is becoming coarse. He possesses good native common sense; is affable, polite, and very good-humoured. Saying to my informant, on another occasion, 'your friend, such a one, dined with me yesterday, and I made him damned drunk;' he replied, 'I am sorry for it; I had heard that your royal highness had left off drinking;' the Prince laughed, tapped him on the shoulder very good-naturedly, without saying a word, or ever after showing any displeasure. The Duke of York, who was for some time cried up as the prodigy of the family, is as profligate, and of less understanding. To these particular traits, from a man of sense and truth, it would be superfluous to add the general terms of praise or blame, in which he is spoken of by other persons, in whose impartiality and penetration I have less confidence. A sample is better than a description. For the peace of Europe, it is best that the king should give such gleamings of recovery, as would prevent the regent or his ministry from thinking themselves firm, and yet, that he should not recover."

During his residence in Europe, he also visited Holland, and his memoirs embrace a brief but clear account of the fatal revolution, by which the prince of Orange made himself sovereign of that republic, so long and honourably independent. He also crossed the Alps, and travelled through Lombardy, though he did not extend his journey to the southern part of the peninsula. In returning to Paris, he visited all the principal seaports of the southern and western coasts of France, and made many and interesting observations with regard to the culture of the vine, olive, and rice, which were carefully communicated to his friends across the Atlantic; and he had reason to believe afterwards, that they had not failed to produce benefits, which, in time, will be of wide-extended utility.

When Mr. Jefferson reached Paris, he found that city in high fermentation from the early events of the revolution, and during the remainder of his stay in Europe, his attention was well and fully occupied in observing, as an eye-witness, the progress of the extraordinary occurrences, which from that time took place in rapid succession.

Simply as the representative of a foreign people, he might be expected to do this, but his situation as the minister of a nation, which was supposed to have given the example, and by many, even in this very example, to have laid a train for the subsequent changes, not only caused him to be more curious and anx-

ious himself, but made him an object of interest and attention to the actors in these new scenes. He was from circumstances much acquainted with the leading patriots of the national assembly, and as he came from a country which had passed successfully through a similar reformation, they were naturally disposed to seek his advice and place confidence in his opinions. It would have been affectation to deny that he looked with pleasure on a successful and beneficial change of the French government, not merely from the advantages it would bring to an oppressed nation, but as ensuring a general improvement in the condition of the people of Europe, ground to the dust as they were by the tyranny of their rulers. But beyond these wishes he did not deem it just or proper to go; and on receiving, upon one occasion, an official invitation of the Archbishop of Bourdeaux to attend and assist at the deliberations of an important committee, he excused himself immediately, for the obvious reason, that his duties, as a public functionary, forbade him to interfere in the internal transactions of the country. He did not, however, consider himself restrained from urging upon his friends of the patriotic party, and especially upon his intimate and influential companion, Lafayette, the propriety, on repeated occasions, of immediate and seasonable compromise—of securing what was offered by the government, and thus, by degrees, gaining peaceably, what might be lost by grasping too much at once, or be won, as proved to be the case, if as much ever was afterwards won, at sacrifices dreadful beyond calculation. The following anecdote is a striking instance of the interest taken in Mr. Jefferson's opinions, to which we have alluded.

“I received one morning,” he says, “a note from the Marquis de la Fayette, informing me, that he should bring a party of six or eight friends, to ask a dinner of me the next day. I assured him of their welcome. When they arrived, they were La Fayette himself, Duport, Barnave, Alexander Lameth, Blacon, Mounier, Maubourg, and Dagout. These were leading patriots, of honest but differing opinions, sensible of the necessity of effecting a coalition by mutual sacrifices, knowing each other, and not afraid, therefore, to unbosom themselves mutually. This last was a material principle in the selection. With this view, the Marquis had invited the conference, and had fixed the time and place inadvertently, as to the embarrassment under which it might place me. The cloth being removed, and wine set on the table, after the American manner, the Marquis introduced the objects of the conference, by summarily reminding them of the state of things in the Assembly, the course which the principles of the Constitution were taking, and the inevitable result, unless checked by more concord among the patriots themselves. He observed, that although he also had his opinion, he was ready to sacrifice it to that of his brethren of the same cause; but that a common opinion must now be formed, or the aristocracy would carry every thing, and that, whatever they should now agree on, he, at the head of the National force, would maintain. The discussions began at the hour of four, and were continued till ten o'clock in the evening; during which time, I was a silent witness to a coolness and candour of argument, unusual in the conflicts of political opinion; to a logical reasoning, and chaste eloquence, disfigured by no gaudy tinsel of rhetoric or declamation, and truly worthy of being placed in pa-

rallel with the finest dialogues of antiquity, as handed to us by Xenophon, by Plato and Cicero. But duties of exculpation were now incumbent on me. I waited on Count Montmorin the next morning, and explained to him, with truth and candour, how it had happened that my house had been made the scene of conferences of such a character. He told me, he already knew every thing which had passed; that so far from taking umbrage at the use made of my house on that occasion, he earnestly wished I would habitually assist at such conferences, being sure I should be useful in moderating the warmer spirits, and promoting a wholesome and practicable reformation only. I told him, I knew too well the duties I owed to the King, to the nation, and to my own country, to take any part in councils concerning their internal government, and that I should persevere, with care, in the character of a neutral and passive spectator, with wishes only, and very sincere ones, that those measures might prevail which would be for the greatest good of the nation. I have no doubt, indeed, that this conference was previously known and approved by this honest minister, who was in confidence and communication with the patriots, and wished for a reasonable reform of the Constitution."

On Mr. Jefferson's first arrival in France, he had not failed to perceive, in the situation of the government, and the conduct of the thinking part of the community, strong indications of the necessity of a change, and a desire to arouse the nation from the sleep of despotism into which it was sunk. Through the medium of the press; in conversation and the intercourse of fashionable life; by the powerful and singular influence of men of letters then prevailing; these sentiments were disseminated with new and unheard of freedom. In all societies, male and female, politics had become the universal theme; the witty, the rich, the noble, and the gay, indulged in them, perhaps, as much from fashion as reflection; the young women joined the patriotic party as the mode; the young men naturally followed in their train. The excessive dissipation of the queen and court, the corrupt and exclusive power of a small portion of the nobility who controlled it, the abuses of the pension list, the incredible confusion of the finances, the exhausted treasury amid a load of taxes, had so alarmed and paralyzed the ministers, that they had no resource, but themselves to make the first step in the revolution, by calling in at once the assistance of a popular assembly. From this period, the tide swelled on irresistibly, bringing by degrees one improvement after another, washing away successively the long established mounds, which ages of submission on one hand, and tyranny on the other, had erected against liberty and right, but at last, unfortunately overwhelming, for a time, the landmarks which justice and reason had formed, as the necessary protection of human and social institutions. Nothing, indeed, is more extraordinary in the history of the French revolution, than the rapid and total subversion which was effected in the institutions of the country. In such events, it happens, for the most part, that there is rather a removal of individuals, a modification of existing systems, a return to previous rights claimed or ascertained, which have been infringed—but here it was a violent

change from one extreme to the other—the total destruction in theory and in practice, of the existing state of things—the building up of a new form of government from the very foundations—the establishment of the wildest republicanism on the ruins of the strictest despotism. Perhaps this arose from the fact, that there existed, in truth, but two classes of society, in regard, at least, to political institutions; the one very small in number and in actual power, who were the oppressors; the other embracing the strength, sinews, and resources of the nation, vast in numbers, but utterly trampled. There was, indeed, no intermediate body—no true aristocracy; that which existed, was merely such in name, and by its titles; but it possessed no real influence or control. This circumstance, placed, at the commencement of the struggle, the right to frame a new government, not in the hands of those who would merely have changed the form of oppression, but of the entire mass of the people themselves, who had never been accustomed, in fact, to the existence of any large, intermediate and powerful class, between them and the regal power; and who, consequently, in subverting or modifying that, looked only to a corresponding augmentation and security of their own rights. In this respect, the revolution of France is strongly contrasted with that of England, which was really a revolution of the nobility and landed aristocracy alone, bringing with it no great improvement in the popular institutions or privileges, and certainly leaving untouched, an immense mass of antiquated absurdity in laws and institutions, which a convulsion of more popular character, could not have failed to demolish, but which now seems to be regarded either as a vital or desirable part of the constitution, or as so closely interwoven with it by time, that the abolition might endanger the destruction of what it is deemed best to preserve at all hazards.

The residence of Mr. Jefferson in France, did not extend to that fatal period of the French revolution, when its atrocities drew down upon it the execration even of those who rejoiced at the rising of the day-star of liberty; and the copious details which his letters embrace, are therefore read with the more interest and pleasure. They contain anecdotes and descriptions of scenes at which he was himself present, written at the time, and will prove to the readers of these volumes, one of their most amusing and instructive portions. On them our limits do not permit us to dwell, and indeed, on a recent occasion, we were led to treat this subject so much at large, that its repetition might be deemed injudicious.*

It will not, however, be uninteresting, to extract from these volumes the account Mr. Jefferson has given of several of the

* Vol. I. Art. IX.

well-known historical personages of the period. They have at least the merit of having been sketched at the time, under circumstances of observation peculiarly favourable.

"The *Marquis de Lafayette*," he writes, "is a most valuable auxiliary to me. His zeal is unbounded, and his weight with those in power, great. His education having been merely military, commerce was an unknown field to him. But his good sense enabling him to comprehend perfectly whatever is explained to him, his agency has been very efficacious. He has a great deal of sound genius, is well remarked by the king, and rising in popularity. He has nothing against him but the suspicion of republican principles. I think he will one day be of the ministry. The *Count de Vergennes* is ill. The possibility of his recovery, renders it dangerous for us to express a doubt of it; but he is in danger. He is a great minister in European affairs, but has very imperfect ideas of our institutions, and no confidence in them. His devotion to the principles of pure despotism, renders him unaffectionate to our governments. But his fear of England makes him value us as a make weight. He is cool, reserved in political conversations, but free and familiar on other subjects, and a very attentive, agreeable person to do business with. It is impossible to have a clearer, better organized head; but age has chilled his heart." * * "The *Count de Vergennes*," he remarks in another place, "had the reputation, with the diplomatic corps, of being wary and slippery in his diplomatic intercourse; and so he might be, with those whom he knew to be alippery and double-faced themselves. As he saw that I had no indirect views, practised no subtleties, meddled in no intrigues, pursued no concealed object, I found him as frank, as honourable, as easy of access to reason, as any man with whom I had ever done business; and I must say the same for his successor, Montmorin, one of the most honest and worthy of human beings."

"It is a tremendous cloud, indeed, which hovers over this nation, and he at the helm (*Neckar*) has neither the courage nor skill necessary to weather it. Eloquence in a high degree, knowledge in matters of account, and order, are distinguishing traits in his character. Ambition is his first passion, virtue his second. He has not discovered that sublime truth, that a bold, unequivocal virtue is the best handmaid even to ambition, and would carry him further, in the end, than the temporising, wavering policy he pursues. His judgment is not of the first order, scarcely even of the second; his resolution frail; and upon the whole, it is rare to meet an instance, of a person so much below the reputation he has obtained."

"The king (*Louis XVI.*) loves business, economy, order, and justice, and wishes sincerely the good of his people; but he is irascible, rude, very limited in his understanding, and religious bordering on bigotry. He has no mistress, loves his queen, and is too much governed by her."

Of the queen, we cannot but believe Mr. Jefferson has drawn a portrait, at least in a personal point of view, somewhat too harsh. Her political opinions, conduct, and influence, are not perhaps exaggerated, and to them unfortunately are to be attributed, with too much justice, the rapid, unimpeded, and, to herself, most lamentable course of events, which a spirit less obdurate, might have restrained or turned to unmingled good. But there were traits of virtuous and lofty firmness, as well as of tenderness and affection in her character, which were more fully displayed in later scenes of her life, and which are confirmed in all the relations, since given to the world by those who saw her intimately and familiarly, that do not seem altogether compatible with the picture we are about to present. It should not be for-

gotten, that at the time of Mr. Jefferson's residence in France, the party opposed to Austria, which had arisen under the administration of Choiseul, and which had become more strong in that opposition from its connexion with Frederick and with Prussia, comprised the great proportion of the men of letters, and many of the patriotic leaders, with whom the most agreeable and natural associations of Mr. Jefferson were formed. The sketch, however, is evidently the deliberate opinion of one, whose general sentiments, and knowledge of facts, entitle all he says to regard; and it must be placed among that vast collection of contradictions of which all history is made up.

"Louis XVI. had a Queen of absolute sway over his weak mind, and timid virtue, and of a character, the reverse of his in all points. This angel, as gaudily painted in the rhapsodies of Burke, with some smartness of fancy, but no sound sense, was proud, disdainful of restraint, indignant at all obstacles to her will, eager in the pursuit of pleasure, and firm enough to hold to her desires, or perish in their wreck. Her inordinate gambling and dissipations, with those of the Count d'Artois, and others of her *clique*, had been a sensible item in the exhaustion of the treasury, which called into action the reforming hand of the nation; and her opposition to it, her inflexible perverseness, and dauntless spirit, led herself to the guillotine, drew the king on with her, and plunged the world into crimes and calamities which will for ever stain the pages of modern history. I have ever believed, that had there been no Queen, there would have been no revolution. No force would have been provoked, nor exercised. The King would have gone hand in hand with the wisdom of his sounder counsellors, who, guided by the increased lights of the age, wished only, with the same pace, to advance the principles of their social constitution. The deed which closed the mortal course of these sovereigns, I shall neither approve nor condemn. I am not prepared to say, that the first magistrate of a nation cannot commit treason against his country, or is unamenable to its punishment: nor yet, that where there is no written law, no regulated tribunal, there is not a law in our hearts, and a power in our hands, given for righteous employment in maintaining right, and redressing wrong. Of those who judged the King, many thought him wilfully criminal; many, that his existence would keep the nation in perpetual conflict with the horde of Kings, who would war against a regeneration which might come home to themselves, and that it were better that one should die than all. I should not have voted with this portion of the legislature. I should have shut up the Queen in a convent, putting harm out of her power, and placed the King in his station, investing him with limited powers, which, I verily believe, he would have honestly exercised, according to the measure of his understanding. In this way, no void would have been created, courting the usurpation of a military adventurer, nor occasion given for those enormities which demoralized the nations of the world, and destroyed, and is yet to destroy millions and millions of its inhabitants. There are three epochs in history, signalized by the total extinction of national morality. The first was of the successors of Alexander, not omitting himself: The next, the successors of the first Cæsar: The third, our own age. This was begun by the partition of Poland, followed by that of the treaty of Pilnitz; next the conflagration of Copenhagen; then the enormities of Bonaparte, partitioning the earth at his will, and devastating it with fire and sword; now the conspiracy of Kings, the successors of Bonaparte, blasphemously calling themselves the Holy Alliance, and treading in the footsteps of their incarcerated leader; not yet, indeed, usurping the government of other nations, avowedly and in detail, but controlling by their armies the forms in which they will permit them to be governed; and reserving in *petitio*, the order and extent of the usurpations further meditated."

Thus regarding the situation and governments of Europe, it

may be well supposed that he formed no very advantageous opinion of the political condition of the old world, and that he looked upon the general fate of humanity there, as truly deplorable in comparison with that of his own more fortunate country. He saw all around him the truth of Voltaire's observation, that every man must be either the hammer or the anvil—the great mass of the people were suffering under physical and moral oppression, while those whom fortune had placed in a loftier sphere, sought in the constant restlessness and tumult of ambition, dissipation, pomp, vanity, and unceasing intrigues of politics and love, that excitement which formed a poor substitute for higher aims and more lasting pleasures. In literature and science indeed, the learned, the witty, and the eloquent men who will ever make that age remarkable, left far behind them the few scholars of the infant republics; but this was more than compensated by the wide diffusion of general knowledge through the whole mass of one community, while in the other, all but a small and favoured circle, were immersed in deep and general ignorance. Of fashionable life, we shall give his own pleasant and certainly not too flattering account, from a letter to our countrywoman Mrs. Bingham:—

“You are engaged to tell me, truly and honestly, whether you do not find the tranquil pleasures of America, preferable to the empty bustle of Paris. For to what does that bustle tend? At eleven o'clock, it is day, *chez madame*. The curtains are drawn. Propped on bolsters and pillows, and her head scratched into a little order, the bulletins of the sick are read, and the billets of the well. She writes to some of her acquaintance, and receives the visits of others. If the morning is not very thronged, she is able to get out and hobble round the cage of the Palais royal; but she must hobble quickly, for the *coiffeur's* turn is come; and a tremendous turn it is! Happy, if he does not make her arrive when dinner is half over! The torpitude of digestion a little passed, she flutters half an hour through the streets, by way of paying visits, and then to the spectacles. These finished, another half hour is devoted to dodging in and out of the doors of her very sincere friends, and away to supper. After supper, cards; and after cards, bed; to rise at noon the next day, and to tread, like a mill horse, the same trodden circle over again. Thus the days of life are consumed, one by one, without an object beyond the present moment; ever flying from the ennui of that, yet carrying it with us; eternally in pursuit of happiness, which keeps eternally before us. If death or bankruptcy happen to trip us out of the circle, it is matter for the buzz of the evening, and is completely forgotten by the next morning. In America, on the other hand, the society of your husband, the fond cares for the children, the arrangements of the house, the improvements of the grounds, fill every moment with a healthy and a useful activity. Every exertion is encouraging, because to present amusement, it joins the promise of some future good. The intervals of leisure are filled by the society of real friends, whose affections are not thinned to cob-web, by being spread over a thousand objects.”

Yet was not Mr. Jefferson insensible to those traits in the character of the French, which have thrown a charm over their nation—its manners, its society, its institutions, and its people; which long have made its cities the resort alike of those who seek for amusement or for wisdom; which have placed it first

in the scale of refinement, if not of intellect; which have given to its exploits, all the brilliant tints of gallantry and romance; which have made it the chosen abode, in modern times, of taste, of science, and of art; and imparted to the luxuries of life, that elegance and zest, which, if to be desired, are yet unattained by the other nations of the world. Though the low and sullen murmurs of the approaching storm, were heard while he yet remained there, the bursting of the tempest was delayed—the steps of palaces were still trodden by gallant nobles, who, in personal intercourse, seemed to forget the pride of place and of birth, in the suavity and kindness of their manners—the gilded drawing rooms, the glittering theatres, the gardens cooled by fountains, and adorned by statues, were still trodden by women, whose beauty and wit might seem to claim some pardon for their intrigues and crimes, and some hope that they might escape impending desolation—the bureaux were still filled by statesmen, who so tempered and arranged the details of diplomatic intercourse, so displayed, when occasion offered, a candid and even a generous spirit, that those at least, who were removed from the sphere of their designs, might look with less distrust or anxiety, on vast schemes of political ambition, which were meant to embrace all the destinies of the age—the institutions of learning were still occupied by that large and singular body of literary triflers, whose speculations and researches are now seldom extricated from the long series of volumes which contain their labours and their dreams, but whose conversation varied and amused the society, where it was eagerly welcomed and widely diffused.

From these scenes Mr. Jefferson did not part without regret; on these scenes he often looked back in the subsequent and different portion of his earthly journey; and to them he referred, not long before its termination, in language which betrays an impression vividly made, and still uneffaced.

"I cannot leave this great and good country," he says, after speaking of his residence in France, "without expressing my sense of its pre-eminence of character, among the nations of the earth. A more benevolent people I have never known, nor greater warmth and devotedness in their select friendships. Their kindness and accommodation to strangers is unparalleled, and the hospitality of Paris is beyond any thing I had conceived to be practicable in a large city. Their eminence, too, in science, the communicative dispositions of their scientific men, the politeness of the general manners, the ease and vivacity of their conversation, give a charm to their society, to be found no where else. In a comparison of this, with other countries, we have the proof of primacy, which was given to Themistocles, after the battle of Salamis. Every general voted to himself the first reward of valour, and the second to Themistocles. So, ask the travelled inhabitant of any nation, in what country on earth would you rather live?—Certainly, in my own, where are all my friends, my relations, and the earliest and sweetest affections and recollections of my life. Which would be your second choice? France."

The remaining portion of Mr. Jefferson's public life, is em-

braced in a period of nineteen years, during which he held successively, in the government of his own country, the high and honourable offices of secretary of state, vice president, and president of the United States. The history of this is so familiar, and indeed so many, now living, have been eye-witnesses of its events, that it is unnecessary to pursue the narrative of them in regular detail. We shall, therefore, prefer to select such prominent topics as are likely to excite more general interest, and to present the opinions of Mr. Jefferson with regard to them, so far as our prescribed limits will enable us to go. In these opinions, we do not affect to doubt, that much will be found from which many readers of these volumes will differ; much which they will be inclined to disapprove, or even to censure. Mr. Jefferson was the bold, able, and constant leader of a great political party, and as he was, in a remarkable degree, firm and open in the expression of his sentiments, they may be expected to excite a corresponding opposition. He who should enter minutely into the vindication or the refutation of these, would indeed be stirring the embers of a fierce conflagration, whose ashes are yet unquenched. Such we do not hold to be the duty of a reviewer, at least on an occasion wherein he desires to submit to his readers a general notice of the merits of an extensive work, and of the character of an able writer and illustrious man. Such a task must be more limited in its scope, while more extended in its space—it must embrace reasonings and details far too minute for the few pages which are here allotted, and it must necessarily occasion the omission of what may be fairly deemed of more various and lasting utility. While, therefore, we express in decided terms our admiration in general of the political services of Mr. Jefferson, we shall claim at present the privilege of confining ourselves very much to the work before us, and extracting such passages as display, in a striking point of view, the facts and opinions they embrace.

As Mr. Jefferson was absent from America, both during the session of the convention which formed the constitution, and while that act was under discussion in the several states, he had no opportunity to take part in its formation; his judgment therefore as to its merits was merely the result of his own opinions in the abstract, and his experience of the more imperfect system established by the articles of confederation. That experience had fully convinced him of the inefficacy of the old form, which, from possessing merely a requisitory power, could only carry into effect its measures through the medium of the state legislatures, each of them thus having in fact a complete negative; and which worked very disadvantageously in practice, from the want of a separation of the legislative, executive, and judiciary functions. He rejoiced, therefore, sin-

cerely, at the formation of the new constitution, and its ratification by the states. Of the great mass of it, also, he approved entirely; the consolidation of the government; the organization in three branches; the subdivision of the legislative branch; the happy compromise of interests between the large and small states, by the different manner of voting in the two houses; the voting by persons instead of states; the qualified negative on the laws given to the executive; and the direct power of taxation. There were points, however, which he disapproved, though of course yielding without hesitation to the will of the majority, whatever form it might think best to establish. He was desirous that a full and explicit bill of rights should be annexed to the constitution, to guard liberty against the legislature as well as the executive; that unrestrained exercise of religion, liberty of the press, uninterrupted security against unlawful imprisonment, trial by jury in civil as well as criminal cases, freedom from a permanent military power, and rotation in the executive office, should be all explicitly recognised and guarantied. Most of these were afterwards provided for in separate amendments, proposed by the government and ratified by the states. It was deemed best to leave the right of habeas corpus to the discretion of Congress; and the question of the re-eligibility of the President, though not proposed or acted on formally, has received from the example of four officers in that high station, and the progress of public opinion, a decision, which may be almost considered as an established principle, any deviation from which would probably be opposed as a demonstration of ambitious views.

There was another amendment, however, not made, or apparently thought of, at the time, the omission of which Mr. Jefferson deemed of fatal consequence, as leaving uncrushed the germ that was to destroy the wise combination of national powers. The evil he so much feared was the entire irresponsibility of the judges, and their independence of the nation. In England, these officers were appointed and removed at pleasure by the crown, and it was of course highly desirable to make them independent of that power, under whose influence they had done so much in opposition to the popular rights; but in a government founded on the public will, this principle operates in an opposite direction, and against that will. It seemed, therefore, indispensable, that as all the other branches were responsible and subject to control, this body of men, liable not less than the others to errors—if not of intention, at least of judgment—should be restrained or corrected. The very principles of the constitution were those of limited powers, and if a body was formed under it whose acts could never be submitted to revision or change, these principles seemed to be directly violated. It is true, that less was to be feared from the usurpations of that body,

than either of the other component parts of the government, since it acts not alope, but in conjunction with them, and upon their measures ; yet it may still be doubted, whether circumstances might not arise, wherein, by uniting with the executive or legislative branches, powers might be usurped or exercised, which a different organization would have submitted, in cases of such emergency, to the only legitimate final arbiter, the people. The change of form which Mr. Jefferson would have preferred, in this respect, does not appear to be very clearly ascertained, though he would probably have suggested a renewal by the President and Senate at stated intervals—a plan certainly liable to great objection, since it violates, in some degree, a vital principle of the constitution, the independence of the different branches in regard to each other. But perhaps it would not have been difficult to devise some course by which the appointments of the judges might have been, from time to time, submitted to the people, and yet the changes be so made, on the system of rotation, as not to present any danger from the violence of temporary faction.

Taking this popular view of the constitution at the outset, Mr. Jefferson maintained it through his political career ; he opposed strongly those measures which he thought conflicted with it, and in the formation of foreign treaties, the arrangement of the public debts, the establishment of a national bank, he zealously contended for a strict adhesion to the powers actually conferred, and advocated an appeal to the people, by the submission of amendments, rather than the assumption of any thing not expressly granted by construction. He showed himself, too, a decided opponent to those trifling forms which had been adopted at the first establishment of the new government ; and in his personal conduct, and official intercourse, introduced that simplicity which has since been properly maintained. It is to be recollected, that when the first officers of the republic were chosen, they had no guide which they could follow for such usages, and they no doubt endeavoured to adopt those which should unite the dignity of their station with republican simplicity. Yet, as the management of these things was naturally left, by those on whom greater cares were pressing, to persons who loved to dwell on such insignificant details, a formality and ceremony were at first displayed, which would now appear truly ridiculous. The following anecdotes will exemplify our allusions :—

“ When the President, (General Washington,) went to New-York, he resisted for three weeks the efforts to introduce levees. At length he yielded, and left it to Humphreys and some others to settle the forms. Accordingly, an antichamber and presence-room were provided, and when those who were to pay their court were assembled, the President set out, preceded by Humphreys. After passing through the antichamber, the door of the inner room was thrown

open, and Humphreys entered first, calling out with a loud voice, 'the President of the United States.' The President was so much disconcerted with it, that he did not recover it the whole time of the levee; and when the company was gone, he said to Humphreys, 'well, you have taken me in once, but by God you shall never take me in a second time.' . . .

"Mr. Brown gives me the following specimen of the phrenzy which prevailed at New-York on the opening of the new government. At the first public ball which took place after the President's arrival there, Colonel Humphreys, Colonel W. S. Smith, and Mrs. Knox, were to arrange the ceremonies. These arrangements were as follows:—a sofa at the head of the room, raised on several steps, whereon the President and Mrs. Washington were to be seated. The gentlemen were to dance in swords. Each one, when going to dance, was to lead his partner to the foot of the sofa, make a low obeisance to the President and his lady, then go and dance; and, when done, bring his partner again to the foot of the sofa for new obeisances, and then retire to their chairs. It was to be understood, too, that gentlemen should be dressed in bags. Mrs. Knox contrived to come with the President, and to follow him and Mrs. Washington to their destination, and she had the design of forcing an invitation from the President to a seat on the sofa. She mounted up the steps after them unbidden, but unfortunately the wicked sofa was so short, that when the President and Mrs. Washington were seated, there was not room for a third person; she was obliged, therefore, to descend in the face of the company, and to sit where she could. In other respects, the ceremony was conducted rigorously according to the arrangements, and the President made to pass an evening which his good sense rendered a very miserable one to him."

In the system of foreign policy adopted by the United States, Mr. Jefferson laid down the great maxims, while at the head of the department of state; and it is surprising how few questions have since arisen, that were not at that time considered, at least, in principle. His residence abroad, at the first court of Europe, during a period when various negotiations occurred, embracing many of the most interesting points of international law—his long reflection and practical application of its abstract principles, gave to his opinions, on such subjects, that weight which was readily assigned to them by the President, a man whose clear and excellent sense, whose long tried patriotism, and whose lofty and virtuous spirit, never permitted him to sacrifice any interest of his own country, nor to infringe the rights of another. The great basis on which his views upon this subject rested, and which may be considered as the foundation, not merely of his successful and highly popular policy, but even of those acts which did not meet with such general approbation, from all classes of the community, was his determination to keep America aloof, as much as possible, from all interference with the politics and struggles of Europe, to defend her against unjustifiable aggressions, to pursue, on a system of honest neutrality, that commercial intercourse which was allowed by the laws, if not the usages of nations, but not to entangle her in their eternal conflicts about visionary principles with which she had nothing to do. He looked on the peaceful pursuits by nations, of the fair means of public prosperity, as a duty not less incumbent on them than on individuals; he deprecated whatever broke

in upon this; and he deemed war only justifiable when it was to avenge its loss, and to obtain its return. After the close of hostilities between ourselves and the English, and upon the general peace of Europe, in 1815, he thus wrote to his friend and old colleague in the troubles of European politics, Mr. Adams;—

“It is long since we have exchanged a letter, and yet what volumes might have been written on the occurrences even of the last three months. In the first place, peace, God bless it! has returned to put us all again into a course of lawful and laudable pursuits: a new trial of the Bourbons has proved to the world their incompetence to the functions of the station they have occupied: and the recall of the usurper has clothed him with the semblance of a legitimate autocrat. If adversity should have taught him wisdom, of which I have little expectation, he may yet render some service to mankind, by teaching the ancient dynasties that they can be changed for misrule, and by wearing down the maritime power of England to limitable and safe dimensions. But it is not possible he should love us; and of that our commerce had sufficient proofs during his power. Our military achievements, indeed, which he is capable of estimating, may in some degree moderate the effect of his aversions; and he may perhaps fancy that we are to become the natural enemies of England, as England herself has so steadily endeavoured to make us, and as some of our own over-zealous patriots would be willing to proclaim; and in this view, he may admit a cold toleration of some intercourse and commerce between the two nations. He has certainly had time to see the folly of turning the industry of France from the cultures for which nature has so highly endowed her, to those of sugar, cotton, tobacco, and others, which the same creative power has given to other climates: and, on the whole, if he can conquer the passions of his tyrannical soul, if he has understanding enough to pursue, from motives of interest, what no moral motives lead him to, the tranquil happiness and prosperity of his country, rather than a ravenous thirst for human blood, his return may become of more advantage than injury to us. And if again some great man could arise in England, who could see and correct the follies of his nation in their conduct as to us, and by exercising justice and comity towards ours, bring both into a state of temperate and useful friendship, it is possible we might thus attain the place we ought to occupy between these two nations, without being degraded to the condition of mere partisans of either.

“A little time will now inform us, whether France, within its proper limits, is big enough for its ruler, on the one hand, and whether, on the other, the allied powers are either wicked or foolish enough to attempt the forcing on the French, a ruler and government which they refuse? Whether they will risk their own thrones to re-establish that of the Bourbons? If this is attempted, and the European world again committed to war, will the jealousy of England at the commerce which neutrality will give us, induce her again to add us to the number of her enemies, rather than see us prosper in the pursuit of peace and industry? And have our commercial citizens merited from their country its encountering another war to protect their gambling enterprises? That the persons of our citizens shall be safe in freely traversing the ocean, that the transportation of our own produce, in our own vessels, to the markets of our choice, and the return to us of the articles we want for our own use, shall be unmolested, I hold to be fundamental, and that the gauntlet must be for ever hurled at him who questions it. But whether we shall engage in every war of Europe to protect the mere agency of our merchants and ship owners in carrying on the commerce of other nations, even were those merchants and ship owners to take the side of their country in the contest, instead of that of the enemy, is a question of deep and serious consideration, with which, however, you and I shall have nothing to do; so we will leave it to those whom it will concern.”

Of the most illustrious and celebrated men who appeared on the stage previous to and during Mr. Jefferson's administration,

these volumes abound with many anecdotes; much light is thrown upon their lives, their actions, and their sentiments; and much will hence be taken, from which future times will form an estimate of their character and services. Among them, Washington stands pre-eminent; and receives from the hand of one, who though long his sincere friend, cannot be classed among those bound to him by the enslaving ties of party spirit, that meed of admiration, of praise, and of regard, which every new record of cotemporary sentiment bestows on the father of his country. The virulence of politics, while both lived, endeavoured to destroy the friendship which these two great men had formed and strengthened in the revolutionary conflict; and the spirit of libel and personal abuse, which spread its fatal influence over so many writers at a subsequent period, invented a thousand calumnies on the subject; but these volumes fortunately contain authentic evidence to efface any lingering impression that may remain, and leave with the reader no ground for the painful emotions he would feel, could he believe that the intercourse of two men, so illustrious, and so beneficent to their country, was darkened by unkindness and duplicity.

His intercourse with his ancient friend Mr. Adams, was less fortunate and happy. By the influence of intriguing and interested partisans, by the peculiar circumstances of the political conflict in which they were opposed as leaders, or by the natural jealousy and distrust of the human character, during an interval of several years, all friendly intercourse between them ceased. Mr. Jefferson made several efforts to obviate this, which do not appear to have reached the knowledge of Mr. Adams; fortunately, however, many years before their death, the most perfect cordiality was restored, and the last of these volumes contains, in their correspondence, a source of deep gratification, and an affecting appeal to the sensibility of their countrymen.

Indeed, it is in these, and the other letters of Mr. Jefferson, written after his retirement from public office, that to us the greatest charm of this work exists; there is so much remembrance of the labours, and excitements of earlier days; so much living over past times in the pleasant, and somewhat pensive garrulity of age; so much clinging after old affections not yet chilled, and gathering again around him, what had been casually dropped in the bustling journey of life; such ardent desires to retain the attachments which yet remained, to renew those that had been weakened by accident and time, and to weave more strongly in his heart, the affections which were rapidly becoming more few; that we have turned to them again and again, and have entered fully into the feeling with which he continued, even to the last, to take up his pen in affectionate communion with his friends, though suffering severely from the infirmities

of age. "While writing to you," he says to Mr. Adams, "I lose the sense of these things in the recollection of ancient times, when youth and health made happiness out of every thing. I forget for a while the hoary winter of age, when we can think of nothing but how to keep ourselves warm, and how to get rid of our heavy hours, until the friendly hand of death shall rid us of all at once."

It is from this portion of his works too, that we obtain the best view of his general character and sentiments, which are poured out there with full and unaffected freedom; and while we regret that we must pass over so much, rapidly, and with such inadequate notice, we cannot better conclude, than by such extracts as may impress on our readers, more correctly and clearly, his peculiar personal traits. His habits and occupations, after his retirement from office enabled him to arrange them with more satisfaction and regularity, are best described in his own words, which we select from different portions of his correspondence.

"I live so much like other people, that I might refer to ordinary life as the history of my own. Like my friend Dr. Rush, I have lived temperately, eating little animal food, and that not as an aliment, so much as a condiment for the vegetables, which constitute my principal diet. I double, however, the Doctor's glass and a half of wine, and even treble it with a friend; but halve its effect by drinking the weak wines only. The ardent wines I cannot drink, nor do I use ardent spirits in any form. Malt liquors and cider are my table drinks, and my breakfast, like that also of my friend, is of tea and coffee. I have been blest with organs of digestion which accept and concoct, without ever murmuring, whatever the palate chooses to consign to them, and I have not yet lost a tooth by age. I was a hard student until I entered on the business of life, the duties of which leave no idle time to those disposed to fulfil them; and now, retired, and at the age of seventy-six, I am again a hard student. Indeed, my fondness for reading and study revolts me from the drudgery of letter writing; and a stiff wrist, the consequence of an early dislocation, makes writing both slow and painful. I am not so regular in my sleep as the Doctor says he was, devoting to it from five to eight hours, according as my company or the book I am reading interests me; and I never go to bed, without an hour, or half hour's previous reading of something moral, whereon to ruminate in the intervals of sleep. But whether I retire to bed early or late, I rise with the sun. I use spectacles at night, but not necessarily in the day, unless in reading small print. My hearing is distinct in particular conversation, but confused when several voices cross each other, which unfits me for the society of the table. I have been more fortunate than my friend in the article of health. So free from catarrhs, that I have not had one, (in the breast I mean,) on an average of eight or ten years through life. I ascribe this exemption partly to the habit of bathing my feet in cold water every morning, for sixty years past. A fever of more than twenty-four hours I have not had above two or three times in my life. A periodical headache has afflicted me occasionally, once, perhaps, in six or eight years, for two or three weeks at a time, which seems now to have left me. Retired at Monticello, in the bosom of my family, and surrounded by my books, I enjoy a repose to which I was long a stranger. My mornings are devoted to correspondence. From breakfast to dinner, I am in my shops, my garden, or on horseback among my farms; from dinner to dark, I give to society and recreation with my neighbours and friends; and from candle light to early bed-time, I read. My health is perfect; and my strength considerably reinforced by the activity of the course I pursue; perhaps it is as great as usually falls to the lot of one of my age. I talk of ploughs and harrows, seeding and harvesting, with my

neighbours, and of politics too, if they choose, with as little reserve as the rest of my fellow-citizens, and feel, at length, the blessing of being free to say and do what I please, without being responsible for it to any mortal. A part of my occupation, and by no means the least pleasing, is the direction of the studies of such young men as ask it. They place themselves in the neighbouring village, and have the use of my library and counsel, and make a part of my society. In advising the course of their reading, I endeavour to keep their attention fixed on the main objects of all science, the freedom and happiness of man. So that coming to bear a share in the councils and government of their country, they will keep ever in view the sole objects of all legitimate government. As to politics, of which I have taken final leave, I think little of them, and say less. I have given up newspapers in exchange for Tacitus and Thucydides, for Newton and Euclid, and I find myself much the happier. Sometimes, indeed, I look back to former occurrences, in remembrance of our old friends and fellow-labourers, who have fallen before us. Of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, I see now living, not more than half a dozen north of the Potomac, and, on this side, myself alone. You (Mr. Adams) and I have been wonderfully spared, and myself with remarkable health, and a considerable activity of body and mind. I am on horseback three or four hours of every day; visit three or four times a year a possession I have ninety miles distant, performing the winter journey on horseback. I walk little, however; a single mile being too much for me; and I live in the midst of my grand children, one of whom has lately promoted me to be a great grandfather. I have heard with pleasure that you also retain good health, and a greater power of exercise in walking than I do. But I would rather have heard this from yourself, and that, writing a letter like mine, full of egotisms, and of details of your health, your habits, occupations and enjoyments, I should have the pleasure of knowing, that in the race of life, you do not keep, in its physical decline, the same distance ahead of me, which you have done in political honours and achievements. No circumstances have lessened the interest I feel in these particulars respecting yourself; none have suspended for one moment my sincere esteem for you, and I now salute you with unchanged affection and respect."

In temper Mr. Jefferson was to a remarkable degree placid, gentle, calm, and reflective—looking on the world around with a benevolent and philosophic eye—anticipating in the future more of happiness than of sorrow—"steering his bark with hope in the prow, and leaving fear astern"—content to balance the misfortunes, incident to the most successful life, by what he could fairly set off against them in the opposite page of the account—and believing the perfection of the moral character to consist, not in a stoical apathy, so often and hypocritically vaunted, but in a just equilibrium of all the passions. He was cheerful without much vivacity; contemplative perhaps rather than imaginative; and throughout these long volumes, while there are innumerable instances of all the more amiable and gentle traits, there is scarcely an example of humour or wit—scarcely an anecdote which will be repeated or remembered for its point. His charity was unostentatious but bountiful; a certain portion of his revenue was regularly applied to maintain and extend it; and those, who, since his death, have travelled in that part of Virginia where he resided, cannot have failed to be struck with the repeated, the grateful, and the unpremeditated tributes which are every where paid to his memory—the constant appeal to his opinions, the numerous stories of his benevolence and kindness, the careful

remembrance and relation of every anecdote affecting his person and his actions. In his family he was hospitable to a degree which caused poverty to throw some dark shadows over the evening of his life; he was kind to his domestics, by whom it was remarked, that no instance had ever occurred in which he had lost his temper; he was warmly affectionate and devoted to his children and relatives, whom he loved to assemble around him; and that he bitterly felt the blow which deprived him of one of his two children, is seen in the following touching letter to a friend:—

“My loss is great indeed. Others may lose of their abundance, but I, of my want, have lost even the half of all I had. My evening prospects now hang on the slender thread of a single life. Perhaps I may be destined to see even this last cord of parental affection broken! The hope with which I had looked forward to the moment, when, resigning public cares to younger hands, I was to retire to that domestic comfort from which the last great step is to be taken, is fearfully blighted. When you and I look back on the country over which we have passed, what a field of slaughter does it exhibit! Where are all the friends who entered it with us, under all the inspiring energies of health and hope? As if pursued by the havoc of war, they are strewn by the way, some earlier, some later, and scarce a few stragglers remain to count the numbers fallen, and to mark yet, by their own fall, the last footsteps of their party. Is it a desirable thing to bear up through the heat of the action, to witness the death of all our companions, and merely be the last victim? I doubt it. We have, however, the traveller's consolation. Every step shortens the distance we have to go; the end of our journey is in sight, the bed wherein we are to rest, and to rise in the midst of the friends we have lost. ‘We sorrow not then as others who have no hope;’ but look forward to the day which ‘joins us to the great majority.’ But whatever is to be our destiny, wisdom, as well as duty, dictates that we should acquiesce in the will of him whose it is to give and take away, and be contented in the enjoyment of those who are still permitted to be with us. Of those connected by blood, the number does not depend on us. But friends we have, if we have merited them. Those of our earliest years stand nearest in our affections. But in this too, you and I have been unlucky. Of our college friends (and they are the dearest) how few have stood with us in the great political questions which have agitated our country: and these were of a nature to justify agitation. I did not believe the Lilliputian fetters of that day strong enough to have bound so many.”

The trait, however, by which the character of Mr. Jefferson is most distinguished, appears to us to be firm and undeviating resolution. Forming his judgments after the best reflection that he could bestow, and after the fullest information he could collect, he adhered strongly to them. This no doubt was sometimes the cause of error, but it was also the foundation of that political and moral firmness, which may be traced from the very first moment of his entering upon life, until its close. It led also to the open and unhesitating declaration of his sentiments, even when they were such as a more prudent or more worldly man might have been desirous to suppress. This will be seen in the present volumes, especially where he details the views and principles of the political party to which he was opposed, and the leaders of which he believed to have de-

signs unfavourable to the liberties of their country; and also where he alludes to the influence of the clergy, and the sway of religious belief, which he thought at variance with the principles of conscientious freedom at the foundation of our institutions, and those deductions of unbiassed reason which flow from the deliberate exercise of the human intellect. However deeply some of these opinions may be deplored, and however much it may be regretted that his studies, his reflections, and his long intercourse with mankind, should have led him to results so different from those which have been generally formed by the thoughtful, the learned, the pious, and the wise; none can fail to admire his unaffected candour, his deliberate exercise of judgment, his liberality of sentiment towards others, and his uniform opposition to any interference with their doctrines. Nor will a tribute less sincere be paid to the purity and correctness of his moral sentiments, which are thus beautifully summed up in a letter written to a young person not long before his death;

"This letter will, to you, be as one from the dead. The writer will be in the grave before you can weigh its counsels. Your affectionate and excellent father, has requested that I would address to you something which might possibly have a favourable influence on the course of life you have to run, and I too, as a namesake, feel an interest in that course. Few words will be necessary, with good dispositions on your part. Adore God. Reverence and cherish your parents. Love your neighbour as yourself, and your country more than yourself. Be just. Be true. Murmur not at the ways of Providence. So shall the life into which you have entered, be the portal to one of eternal and ineffable bliss. And if to the dead it is permitted to care for the things of this world, every action of your life will be under my regard. Farewell."

POSTSCRIPT.

We received the following communication from the author of the article on the Public Domain, too late to use it in the body of the article. We therefore print it as a postscript to the Number, in order that his object may be accomplished, as far as is now practicable:—

“In the article which I had the pleasure of sending to you some time since, I omitted, I believe, to refer to an authority which is important to that part of the argument in which I have touched upon the claim set up by some of the states to the title of the land within their respective limits.

“Immediately after the cession, by Virginia, to the United States, of all her lands lying between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, an ordinance was passed by Congress, entitled, ‘an ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States north-west of the river Ohio,’ which contains these words:— ‘The inhabitants and settlers in the said territory shall be subject to pay a part of the Federal debts, contracted or to be contracted, and a proportional part of the expenses of government, to be apportioned on them by Congress, according to the common rule and measure, by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other states; and the taxes for paying their proportion, shall be laid and levied, by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the district or districts, or new states, as in the original states, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled. The legislatures of these districts, or new states, shall never interfere in the *primary disposal* of the soil by the United States, in Congress assembled, nor with any regulations Congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil to *bona fide* purchasers. No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States.’

“This ordinance was passed previous to the adoption of the Federal Constitution; and, of course, the words used in that instrument in relation to the *territory* and *property* of the United States, must have reference to it. It is the paramount law in relation to the subject matter, having been passed in pursuance of the express stipulations of the treaty of cession between Virginia and the United States. It is, therefore, always to be referred to, in construing the constitutions of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, or the acts of Congress relating to the admission of those states; and is particularly important, as showing an undisputed claim on the part of the confederated states, to the right of

holding land in their federative capacity, and exercising over that land the powers of sovereignty. These powers, it will be perceived, extend not merely to the *primary disposal* of the soil, but to the right of Congress to pass laws to secure titles, and even to the exclusion of the power to tax, on the part of the states respectively.

“In the article I sent you, I made use of this argument, but quoted, in support of it, an authority sufficiently strong, but not so explicit in terms.

“I am not certain whether I did not hint an opinion, that the new states might tax the public lands within their respective limits. If I did, it was an oversight—as you will see from the above quotation and remarks. I am not prepared to say, that they *have not* that power, even in the teeth of the ordinance—but it is not necessary to stir that question.”

INDEX.

A.

Adams, President John, character of, by Thomas Jefferson, 505—letter to on the return of peace, 519.
Adams, Rev. John, notice of, 248.
Adams, John Quincy, anecdotes of, 477, 478.
Adams, Samuel, character of, by Thomas Jefferson, 505.
Alfarabius, Encyclopædia of, 332.
Algerines, depredations of, 401.
Alstedius, Professor, notice of, 332.
American Poetry, Specimens of, &c. by Samuel Kettell, reviewed, 240, &c.—Benjamin Thompson, 244—Cotton Mather, 245—Roger Wolcott, 246—Michael Wigglesworth, Benjamin Coleman, Mrs. Turell, Rev. John Adams, 247—John Hawkins, 248—James Ralph, 249—Thomas Godfrey, Nathaniel Evans, *ib.*—Dr. Byles, Dr. Franklin, John Trumbull, 251—Mr. Pierpont, 253—John S. C. Brainard, Mr. Hillhouse, Dr. Dwight, Mrs. Sigourney, John Neal, 255—Dr. Percival, 256—Mrs. Bleecker, Joseph Hutton, Frederick S. Hill, George Richards, Thomas Dawes, William Ray, Enoch Lincoln, Mr. Gilman, 259—St. George Tucker, Joseph Hopkinson, Francis Hopkinson, Philip Freneau, 260.
Arabian Tales, 283, &c.—Oriental literature overrated, 284—translations of, 285—literature of Arabia previous to the reign of al Mansur, 286—improvements under him and succeeding caliphs, *ib.*—causes which contributed to form the character of the Arabians, 286, 287—testimony of Sir William Jones, 288—nature of the poetry which preceded Mohammed, *ib.*—literature of the Arabs after the conquest of Persia and Syria, 289—al Mansur gave the first impulse to Saracen literature, 290—encouraged by Haroun and al Mamon, *ib.*—Arabic poetry, 291—Ode to Spring, by Meshi, translated by Sir William Jones, 292—Anacreontic by Abd

Absalam Ben Ragban, translated by professor Carlyle, 293—‘To a Lady Weeping,’ by Ebn Alrami, *ib.*—incidents of Sinbad the Sailor shown by Mr. Hole to be drawn from Greek writers, 295, 296—doctrines of Mohammedanism, 297—superstitions, 299–301—Arabian Nights Entertainments, with additional tales, translated by Jonathan Scott, L.L. D. notice of, 301–303.

Arago, M., his Notice Sur les Machines à Vapeur, notice of, 408.
Arts and Sciences, notice of Dictionaries of:—Barrow’s, 334—Owen’s, *ib.*—Rev. Henry Croker, Dr. Thomas Williams and Samuel Clark’s, *ib.*

B.

Bakewell, Robert, his Introduction to Geology, &c. reviewed, 73–103.
Barrow, his Universal History of Arts and Sciences, notice of, 334.
Bell, Mr. a workman of Fulton’s, the first successful constructor of steamboats in Great Britain, 435.
Bellerton, the comedian, his endeavours to collect memorials of Shakspeare, 25.
Bleecker, Mrs. her poetry, notice of, 259.
Blumenbach, Professor, account of, 196.
Bolivar, his testimonials to the worth of General Miller, 15—train of events which placed him at the head of Colombia, 15–22.
Boswell, James, his arrangement of the last edition of Malone’s Shakspeare, 31.
Brainard, John S. C., notice of, 255.

C.

Canterac, general, anecdote of, 8.
Carr, Mr. notice of, by Thomas Jefferson, 504.
Chambers, Mr. his Cyclopædia, notice of, 333, 334, &c.

Clark, Samuel, his *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, notice of, 334.

Cochrane, Lord, anecdote of, 4.

Codification, 104—the science of the law, 104, 105—a liberal view of the whole science considered, in England, incompatible with a profound knowledge of its parts, 107—a spirit of inquiry awakened, 108—propositions of Messrs. Hammond and Twiss, 109—Mr. Uniacke, *ib.*—Mr. Humphreys, 110—Mr. Sugden, *ib.*—Dr. Reddie, 111—Mr. Cooper, 112—Mr. Park's *Contre-Projet*, *ib.*—his liberal notice of Messrs. Duponceau, Ingersoll, and other American jurists, 113, 114.

Colombia, retrospect of the changes in, 15–22—tranquillity in 1825, 16—General Paez placed in armed opposition to government, *ib.*—Bolívar sequesters the constitutional liberty, 17—convention at Ocaña, 19—train of events that placed Bolívar irresponsibly at the head of affairs, 20–22.

Cooper, C. P. Esq. his account of the abuses of the English Chancery Courts, notice of, 112.

Croker, Rev. Henry, his *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, notice of, 334.

D.

D'Alembert, his connexion with the French *Encyclopédie*, 339, &c.

Diderot, M. his connexion with the French *Encyclopédie*, 338, &c.

Diplomacy of the United States, &c. by Theodore Lyman, reviewed, 172, &c.—hesitation of France towards this government until the surrender of Burgoyne, 173—John Jay's embarrassments in Spain, and refusal of that government to accredit him, 174, 175—refusal of Germany and Russia to receive our envoys, 175—treatment of Arthur Lee at Berlin, *ib.*—Treaty of Commerce with France, 176—offer to guaranty the Floridas to Spain, 177—Treaty of Alliance with France, 178—difficulties under it, 179—Congress declares itself free from its stipulations, and consequent rupture, *ib.*—Convention of 1800, 180—claims of citizens for illegal captures on their own government, *ib.*—compensation under Jay's Treaty with England, 181—under Convention of 1800 with

France, 182—Louisiana treaty, *ib.*—Florida treaty, 183, 184—instructions to Monroe and Livingston, 186—Congress at Panama, 187.

Domain (The Public) of the United States, 263—causes which have led to the rapid increase of the Western states, 263–265—steam-boats, 266—the West destined to have a majority in Congress, 267—title of the United States to the public lands, 268—cessions made by individual states to the United States, 268, 269—right obtained from the Indians, 270—from foreign powers, *ib.*—reasons for and against state claims, 271–273—policy of the United States in the disposal of the public domain, 273–283.

Drake, Nathan, his *Memorials of Shakespeare*, reviewed, 22–55. See *Shakespeare*.

Dwight, Henry E. his travels in Germany, reviewed, 189, &c. See *Germany*.

E.

Eichhorn, Professor, description of, 196–198.

Education, its estimation at Greece and Rome, 145–146—objections to learning considered, 146–148—intolerance in colleges and schools of learning in England, 149—in the United States, *ib.*—elementary education under the administration of the church, 150—improvements of the eighteenth century, *ib.*—mutual instruction, 151—University of Paris, 151–153—plan of education adopted in 1795 in France, 155—in 1808, *ib.*—Royal University, and education generally in France, 155–162—in the United States, 163, &c.

Encyclopædias,—*Encyclopædia Americana*, &c., reviewed, 331, &c.—Pliny's *Natural History* the earliest attempt at an *Encyclopædia*, 332—*Encyclopædia of Alfarabius*, *ib.*—of Alstedius, *ib.*—*Lexicon Technicum* of Dr. Harris, *ib.*—Mr. Chambers's *Cyclopædia*, 333, 334—Barrow's *Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*; Owen's *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*; Complete *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, by the Rev. Henry Croker, Dr. Thomas Williams, and Mr. Samuel Clark, 334—Mr. Chambers's work translated into Italian; it was

- the basis of the French Encyclopædia, *ib.*—curious history of the Encyclopédie, 335, &c.—notice of its contributors, Diderot, 338—D'Alembert, 339—L'Abbé de Prades, 340—the Encyclopédie a vehicle for slanderous attacks, 341—the articles mutilated by the publishers, 342—Prussian Encyclopædia proposed by Professor Formey, 346—Encyclopædia Britannica 346, 347—republished in Philadelphia, 347—New Edinburgh Encyclopædia, 348—American edition of Dr. Rees's Cyclopædia, *ib.*—Dictionary for Conversation, and Gazettes, by Hubner, 349—different editions and improvements, 351, 352—American edition, 351—commendations of Professors Ticknor and Everett, 353—extracts, with notice of improvements, 354–360.
- Erving*, George Washington, Esq. his letter descriptive of a visit to San Marino, 456–467.
- Evans*, Oliver, his Steam Engineer's Guide, notice of, 408—his steam-engines, 426.
- Everett*, Professor, his commendation of the Encyclopædia Americana, 353.
- F.
- Fico*, Melchior Del, his history of the Republic of San Marino, notice of, 455.
- Fitch*, Mr. his steam-boat the first on the Delaware, 432.
- Formey*, Professor, his proposition for a Prussian Encyclopædia, 346.
- Franklin*, Dr. Benjamin, notice of, 505—apologue of, on the disposition of men to divide into parties, 501.
- Fredgold*, T. his steam-engine, notice of, 408.
- Freneau*, Philip, notice of, 260.
- Fullon*, Robert, reasons for considering, at the head of those who have applied steam to the propelling of boats, 431.
- G.
- Galland*, M. his translation of the Arabian Nights Entertainments, notice of, 285.
- Galloway*, Elijah, his history of the steam-engine, notice of, 408.
- Garay*, Blasco de, his application of steam to propelling vessels, 416.
- Genet*, the French minister, his attempt to urge the western citizens to the invasion of the Spanish colonies, 395–397.
- Geology*, An introduction to, &c., by Robert Bakewell, edited by Professor Silliman, reviewed, 73, &c.—importance of geology, 73–80—analysis of, and commentaries on Bakewell's work, 80–103—Professor Silliman's additions, 103, 104.
- Germany*, Travels in, &c. by Henry E. Dwight, A. M., reviewed, 189, &c.—commendation of the work, 190—riotous conduct of the students of Gottingen and Berlin overrated, *ib.*—Russel and de Stael's works on Germany, 191—account of Professor Thiebaut, 194—Voss, 195—Blumenbach, 196—Eichhorn, 196–198—Tieck, (poet,) 199—Goethe, 199–201—Professor Gesenius, *ib.*—Spohn, 202—pursuit of letters favourable to longevity, 203—examples, 204–207—Professor Hermann, 208–209—Wolf, 209–211—political aspect of Germany, 212–213—religious history of Germany, 214.
- Gesenius*, Professor, account of, 201, 202.
- Gibraltar*, description of, 225.
- Godfrey*, Thomas, notice of, with extract from his Prospect of Peace, 250.
- Goethe*, the German poet, some account of, 199–201.
- Gurney*, his steam-carriage, notice of, 428.
- H.
- Hammond*, Mr. his project of reform in law, 109.
- Hanmer*, Sir Thomas, his annotations on Shakspeare, 26.
- Harris*, Dr. his Lexicon Technicum, notice of, 332.
- Henry*, Patrick, notice of, by Thomas Jefferson, 504.
- Hermann*, Professor, description of, 208, 209.
- Hill*, F. S., notice of, 259.
- Hillhouse*, Mr. notice of, 255.
- Hole*, Mr. his remarks upon the story of Sinbad the sailor, notice of, 295, 296.
- Hopkinson*, Joseph, notice of, 260.
- Hubner*, his dictionary for conversations and gazettes, notice of, 349.
- Hulls*, Jonathan, his attempt to propel vessels by steam, 432.

Humphreys, James, esq. his outlines of a reform in English Law, 110.

Hutton, Joseph, notice of, 259.

J.

Jackson, General, his reception of Lafayette, 490.

Jay, John, his embarrassments as minister to Spain, &c. 174—refusal of that government to accredit him, *ib.*—seventh article of his treaty with England, 181—reception and negotiations at Madrid, 385, 386.

Jefferson, Thomas, Memoir of, &c. edited by Thomas Jefferson Randolph, reviewed, 494—preliminary observations, 495, 496—his early part in politics, 497—debate on the Declaration of Independence, 498—alterations in it merely verbal, 499—why some were permitted to sign who were not present on the 4th of July, 500—disposition of men to split into parties, illustrated by Dr. Franklin in an apologue, 501—bill introduced by Jefferson to prevent the importation of slaves, 502—his notice of George Wythe, 503—of Messrs. Pendleton, Henry, Carr, Madison, and Dr. Franklin, 504—Samuel Adams and John Adams, 505—Prince of Wales, 506—anecdote of Lafayette and other French patriots, 508—notice of Lafayette, Count de Vergennes, Neckar, Louis XVI, 511—his queen, 512—fashionable life at Paris, 513—tribute of grateful remembrance to France, 514—formality and ceremony introduced at the establishment of the new American government, 517—letter to John Adams on the return of Peace, 519—Jefferson's personal traits, 521—touching extract of a letter on the death of one of his children, 523.

Johnson, Dr. David, his general view of the present system of public education in France, &c. reviewed, 145, &c. See *Education*.

Johnson, Dr. Samuel, his commentaries on Shakspeare, and qualifications for the task, 26—29—connexion with George Steevens, 29.

Jones, George, his sketches of Naval Life, &c. reviewed, 216, &c.

Jones, Sir William, his testimony to the character of the Arabians, 288—his translation of an Ode to Spring, 292

—letter to Arthur Lee, extract from, 454.

Jouffroy, Marquis de, his attempt to propel vessels by steam, 432.

K.

Kettell, Samuel, his specimens of American Poetry, &c. reviewed, 240, &c. See *American Poetry*.

L.

Lafayette in America, by A. Levasseur, reviewed, 467—preliminary observations, 468, 469—arrival of the Cadmus at New-York, 470—reception of the general, 471—route to Boston, *ib.*—visit to John Adams, 472—reception at Concord, Newburyport, and Portsmouth, 473—at Hartford, and on his return, at New-York, 474—excursion up the North River, *ib.*—New-York ladies, 475—route through New-Jersey to Philadelphia, 476—anecdotes of John Q. Adams, 477, 478—Baltimore, 478—Washington, Norfolk, Monticello, Montpelier, 479—Negro Slavery, 480—election of John Q. Adams, 481, 482—anecdote, 483—reception in North and South Carolina, *ib.*—Savannah, 484—reception by the Creek Indians, 485, 486—at Mobile, 486—New-Orleans, 487—incident at Natchez, *ib.*—the Mississippi, St. Louis, Kaskaskia, 488—interesting occurrence, Indian Mary, 489—reception at Nashville, and visit to Gen. Jackson, 490—wreck of the steam-boat on board which the general was, 491—taken by another steam-boat to Louisville, *ib.*—return to Boston, and celebration of the battle of Bunker's Hill, 492—sketch of his course through America and back to Havre, 493—present of the midshipmen of the Brandywine to Lafayette, *ib.*

Lafayette, Marquis de, notice of, by Thomas Jefferson, 511.

La Harpe, his accounts of the French Encyclopédie, reference to, 335, &c. *Lands*, The Public. See *Domain of the United States*, 263, &c.

Lardner, Dr. Dionysius, his lectures on the steam-engine, notice of, 408.

Latin Studies:—importance of classical studies, 303, 304—the science of

- philology has advanced within twenty or thirty years, 305—the study of the Latin language must be thorough, 306—course of study recommended, 307–331.
- Lee*, Arthur, treatment of at the court of Berlin, 175—Life of, &c. by R. H. Lee, 438, &c.—family of, birth and education, 440—graduates at Edinburgh; commences practice in Virginia; returns to England and advocates the American cause; has an amicable discussion with Junius, *ib.*—enters the literary society of London, 441—commences the practice of the law, 442—appointed agent of the Massachusetts assembly, *ib.*—his thoughts on American freedom prior to the revolution, 443—on stopping importations from England, 444—appointed correspondent of the Secret Committee of Congress, 445—labours in that service, 446, 447—procures stores for Virginia, 448—commissioner to Spain and Prussia, *ib.*—returns to America, 450—sent to the Virginia Assembly; to Congress; and one of a delegation to treat with the Indians, *ib.*—called to the board of Treasury, 451—his sentiments on wedded love, *ib.*—his character, *ib.*—extracts from his letters, 452–455.
- Lee*, Richard Henry, his life of Arthur Lee, reviewed, 438, &c. See *Lee*, Arthur.
- Leupold*, his high pressure steam-engine, 425.
- Levasseur*, A. his Lafayette in America, reviewed, 467, &c. See *Lafayette in America*.
- Lieber*, Francis, and E. Wigglesworth, their Encyclopædia Americana, reviewed, 331, &c.
- Livingston*, Chancellor, his exertions for perfecting steam-engines, 433—associates with Fulton, 434.
- Louis XVI.* notice of, by Thomas Jefferson, 511—his queen, 512.
- Lyman*, Theodore, his diplomacy of the United States, reviewed, 172, &c. See *Diplomacy*.
- M.**
- Madison*, James, notice of, by Thomas Jefferson, 504.
- Malone*, Mr. his commentaries on Shakespeare, 30—the last edition published under the auspices of Boswell, 31.
- Mather*, Cotton, notice of, 245.
- Miller*, Mr. his experiments on steam-engines, 433.
- Miller*, John, his memoirs of General William Miller, reviewed, 1–22. See *Miller*, general William.
- Miller*, General William, memoirs of, in the service of the Republic of Peru, by John Miller, reviewed, 1–22—birth, military services, and arrival at Buenos Ayres, 2—receives a captain's commission, joins San Martin, and is in the attack at Cancharayada, 3—anecdote of Lord Cochrane, 4—Miller advanced to a majority; is scorched by the explosion of a laboratory; wounded at Pisco; narrowly escapes at Valdivia, and is desperately wounded at Chiloe, *ib.*—advanced to a lieutenant-colonelcy, 5—singular good fortune, *ib.*—anecdote of the spirit of the republican soldiery, *ib.*—commands at Arica, re-occupies Pisco, takes Ica, and with the rank of colonel takes command of a civil and military district, 6—is appointed general of brigade, 7—critical propensities of the mulattoes of Lima, *ib.*—anecdote of an Italian, *ib.*—anecdote of Gen. Canterac, 8—description of Peru, *ib.*—General Miller made commandant general of the Peruvian cavalry, 9—difficulties of the army in crossing the Andes, *ib.*—General Necoches, being wounded at the affair at Junin, the command devolves on Miller, 10—battle of Ayacucho, 12—appointed prefect of the departments of Puno and Potosi, 13—returns to Europe, *ib.*—climate of Upper Peru, 14—Bolivar's testimony to Miller's services, 15—retrospect of the changes which have occurred in Colombia, 15–22.
- Minerva*, temple of, account of, 237.
- N.**
- Naval Life*, sketches of, &c. by a civilian, reviewed, 216, &c.—author George Jones, 217—his first night on ship-board, 218—time and movements of the crew, 219, 220—loosing sails by signal in squadron, 221—corporeal punishments, 222–224—anecdote of Nelson, 225—Gibraltar, *ib.*—Algiers, 226—Smyrna, 227—individual character of the Turks, 227,

- 228—costume, 229—amusements, 230—respect to dogs, *ib.*—vehicles, 231—Constantinople, 232—Sultan Mahmoud, *ib.*—mosque of Sultan Achmet, 233—plain of Troy, 234—attack on Ipsara, 235—the Cyclades, 236—grotto of Antiparos, *ib.*—temple of Minerva, 237—Athens, *ib.*—Corinth, 238—Argos, 239.
- Neal*, John, notice of, 255.
- Nelson*, Lord, anecdote of, 225.
- Newcomen*, his steam-engine, description of, 418, 419.
- O.
- Owen*, his Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, notices of, 334.
- P.
- Paez*, General, his armed opposition to government in Venezuela, 16—continued in command by Bolivar, 18.
- Papin*, French claimant to the invention of steam-engines, 413.
- Park*, John James, Esq. his Contre-Projet to the Humphreysian Code, &c. reviewed, 104—116.
- Pendleton*, Mr. notice of, 504.
- Percival*, Dr. notice of, 256.
- Pierpont*, Mr. notice of, 253.
- Pitkin*, Timothy, his History of the United States, &c. reviewed, 378, &c.—colonial rights, 380, 381—attempt to destroy the charters of the colonies and annex them to the crown, 382—condition and character of the colonists mistaken in Great Britain, 383—battle of Lexington, 384—Jay's reception and negotiations at Madrid, 385, 386—Constitution of the United States, and the blessings enjoyed under it, 387—ratio of representation, 391—Washington's exercise of the veto, 392—declaration of neutrality between the two belligerents, 394—Genet's attempt to urge the Western citizens to invade the Spanish provinces, 395—397—insurrection in Pennsylvania, 397, 398—depredations of the Algerines, 401—arrogant and selfish conduct of Great Britain, 403.
- Pliny*, his Natural History the earliest attempt at an Encyclopædia, 332.
- Pope*, Alexander, his edition of Shakspeare, 25.
- Poplars*, the first cultivators of on the plains of the Rio de la Plata exempted from taxation as public benefactors, 3.
- Prades*, L'Abbé de, his connexion with the French Encyclopédie, 340.
- R.
- Ralph*, James, notice of, 249.
- Randolph*, Thomas Jefferson, his Memoir, &c. of Thomas Jefferson, reviewed, 494, &c. See *Jefferson*, Thomas.
- Reddie*, John, LL. D. his Letter on the expediency of a new civil code for England, notice of, 111.
- Rees*, Dr. his Cyclopædia, notice of, 348, &c.
- Renwick*, Professor James, his account of the Hudson steam-boats, notice of, 408—his Lardner's Lectures, *ib.*
- Rowe*, (the poet) his life of Shakspeare, notice of, 25.
- S.
- San Marino*, history of the republic of, by Melchior del Fico, notice of, 455—Letter from George Washington Erving, Esq. relative to, 456—467.
- Savary*, the first constructor of practical steam engines, 410—412.
- Scott*, Jonathan, LL. D. his translation of Arabic Tales, with an introduction, &c. illustrative of the religion, manners, customs, &c. of the Mohammedans, reviewed, 283, &c. See *Arabian Tales*.
- Shakspeare*, Memorials of, by Nathan Drake, reviewed, 22, &c.—17th century passed with little notice of Shakspeare, 24—Betterton's materials prefixed by Rowe to an edition of his plays, 25—Pope's edition, *ib.*—attempts upon Shakspeare by Theobald, *ib.*—Sir Thomas Hanmer and Bishop Warburton's commentaries, 26—Dr. Johnson's edition, and his qualifications for the task, 26—29—George Steevens' researches, 29—Johnson & Steevens' editions, *ib.*—Edward Capell's edition, *ib.*—Malone's, 30—Steevens' third and fourth editions, *ib.*—fifth, published after his death, by Reed, *ib.*—his character as an editor and commentator, 31—Malone's last edition published under the auspices of Boswell, *ib.*—

- comparison of Homer and Shakspeare, 33—Shakspeare born at a time peculiarly fitted for the development of his genius, 34—36—his early life, 37—visit to London, 38—his first dramas, 39—his learning, powers of intellect, knowledge of human nature, works, &c. 39—55.
- Silliman*, Professor, his additions to Bakewell's Geology, notice of, 103, 104.
- Southey*, Robert, his Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society, reviewed, 55, &c.—advantageously situated for the manufacture of books, 57—a day in November, 60—his opinion on Owen's system, 61—manufacturing system, 62—steam as an engine of war, 64—Catholic emancipation and Ireland, 65—Dissenters, 66—his ignorance of the people and institutions of the U. States, 67, &c.
- Spain*, A Year in, by a Young American, reviewed, 116, &c.—our author sets out from Perpignan, through Junquera, Figueras, Gerona, 120—Barcelona, 121—public coaches, 122—Tarragona, 123—costume of the Valencians, 125—repast at an inn at Amposta, 125, 126—Valencia, 127, 128—journey to Madrid through San Felipe, Mogente, Almansa, Albacete, El Provencio, Tobos, Ocaña, Aranjuez, 128, 129—Madrid, 130—description of a young Spanish lady, 131—daily avocations in a Spanish family, 132—dramatic performances, 134, 135—journey through Andalusia, 136—the road of Dispeniaperros, 137—Carolina, Baylen, *ib.*—Andujar, Cordova, 138—Carmona, *ib.*—Seville, 140—142—character and disposition of the French soldier, 143.
- Spohn*, Professor, account of, 202, 203.
- States*, right of, to public lands, 271—273.
- Steam-Engine*, extensive application of, 409—Savary the first constructor of, 410—description of his apparatus, 411, 412—Papin, the French claimant to the discovery of, 413—Marquis of Worcester's claims in his "Scantling of One Hundred Inventions," 414—safety valve an important addition to Papin's engine, 415—Hiero, of Alexandria, his description of a machine turned by steam, *ib.*—Blasco de Garay, in 1543, propels a vessel by steam, 416—claims of De Caus and Branca, 417—Newcomen's application the first of real utility, 418—James Watt's sketch of it, 420—and improvements on it, 421—425—Leupold's high pressure engine, 425—Oliver Evans the first constructor of high pressure engines of general powers, 426—high pressure engines patented in England by Trevithick and Vivian, 427—precautions for rendering steam-engines safe, 427, 428—Gurney's steam-carriage, 428—Fulton, Robert, reasons for considering him at the head of those who have applied steam to the propelling of boats, 431—Jonathan Hulls, Perier, Fitch, and Marquis de Jouffroy, 432—Miller and Lord Stanhope, 433—John Stevens, sketch of, *ib.*—he associates with Chancellor Livingston and Nicholas Roosevelt, *ib.*—Livingston and Fulton's first boat, 434—Stevens', *ib.*—Bell, a workman of Fulton's, the first successful constructor of steam-boats in Great Britain, 435—the younger Stevens' boat, the North America, *ib.*
- Stevens*, George, his Shakspearian researches, 29—his edition of Shakspeare in conjunction with Dr. Johnson, *ib.*—his third and fourth editions, 30—fifth, published after his death, by Mr. Reed, *ib.*—his character as an editor and commentator, 31.
- Stevens*, John, his efforts for perfecting steam machinery, 433, &c.
- Stewart*, Dugald, his Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man, reviewed, 360, &c.—his qualifications and manner, 360—364—remarks on appetite, 366—desire of society, 367—self-love, *ib.*—moral faculty, 368—377.
- Stuart*, R. his history of the steam-engine, descriptive and historical, notice of, 408.
- Sugden*, Mr. his letter on the codification of English law, 110.

T.

Theobald, his attempts upon Shakspeare, 25.

Thiebaut, Professor, some account of, 194.

Thompson, Benjamin, notice of, and extract from his New England's Crisis, 244.

Ticknor, Professor, his commendation of the Encyclopædia Americana, 353.

Tieck, German poet, some account of, 199.

Trumbull, John, (author of *M'Fingal*), notice of, 251.

Turks, character of the, 227, 228—costume of, 229—amusements, 230—respect to dogs, *ib*.

U.

Uniacke, Crofton, Esq. his plan of a Code of English law, 109.

United States, history of, &c. by Timothy Pitkin, reviewed, 378, &c. See *Pitkin*, Timothy.

University of Paris, account of, 151–153—of France, 155, &c.

V.

Voltaire, *jeu d'esprit* of, 342.

Voss, Professor, some account of, 195.

W.

Wales, Prince of, his character by Jefferson, 506, 507.

Warburton, Bishop, his commentaries on Shakspeare, 26.

Washington, President, his exercise of the *velo*, 392.

Watt, James, sketch of, and his improvements on, steam-engines, 420–425.

Wigglesworth, E. and Francis Lieber. their *Encyclopædia Americana* reviewed, 331, &c.

Wigglesworth, Michael, notice of, 247.

Williams, Dr. Thomas, his dictionary of Arts and Sciences, notice of, 334.

Wolf, Professor, account of, 209–211.

Worcester, Marquis of, his *One Hundred Inventions*, notice of, 414.

Wythe, George, character of, 503.

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